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**INSTITUTO  
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School of Social Sciences

Department of Social and Organizational Psychology

**Acculturation and Adaptation of Syrian Refugees in Turkey:  
The role of (dis)concordance of acculturation orientations and  
identity threat**

İmge Terzi

Supervisor:

Dr. Rita Guerra, Investigadora do Centro de Investigação e de Intervenção Social (CIS-IUL)

ISCTE-IUL – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

November, 2020

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## Resumo

O presente estudo examinou os factores psicossociais que afectam a adaptação de refugiados Sírios na Turquia. Especificamente, com base na abordagem mutualista da aculturação, o presente estudo considerou o impacto das orientações de aculturação dos refugiados em relação à manutenção da cultura e ao seu desejo de contacto com a sociedade turca, as suas meta-orientações de aculturação relativas à sociedade turca de acolhimento, e ainda o impacto das percepções de (dis)concordância de aculturação na sua adaptação psicológica e sociocultural. Com base no modelo de concordância da aculturação (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000), esperava-se que a discordância relativamente à manutenção cultural e ao contacto desejado estivesse associada a uma menor satisfação com a vida, a uma menor adaptação sociocultural, e a uma maior percepção de ameaça à identidade (percepção de discriminação). Cento e nove participantes responderam a um questionário que media as variáveis de interesse (orientações de aculturação próprias e meta-percepções de aculturação, ameaça à identidade, adaptação sociocultural, e satisfação com a vida). Os dados foram recolhidos através de questionários em papel/lápis. Os resultados mostraram uma associação negativa entre o desejo de manutenção da cultura e a satisfação com a vida, contradizendo estudos anteriores. Alargando a investigação anterior, os resultados mostraram que a meta-percepção das orientações de aculturação dos refugiados, particularmente a meta-percepção do desejo de contacto, foi um importante preditor positivo tanto da sua adaptação sociocultural como psicológica. Finalmente, a percepção da discordância da aculturação esteve negativamente relacionada com a adaptação psicológica e sociocultural dos refugiados, e positivamente relacionada com a sua percepção de discriminação. As implicações teóricas e práticas destes resultados são discutidas.

**Palavras-chave:** aculturação, concordância, ameaça percebida, adaptação psicológica, adaptação sociocultural, refugiados, Turquia

Códigos PsycInfo:

2900 Processos Sociais e Questões Sociais

3020 Processos de Grupo e Interpessoais

## **Abstract**

The present study examined the social psychological factors affecting the adaptation of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Specifically, building on the mutuality approach of acculturation, the current study considered both the role of refugees' own acculturation orientations towards culture maintenance and contact with the Turkish society, refugees' meta perceived acculturation orientations from the Turkish host society, and the impact of perceived (dis)concordance acculturation orientations on their psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Based on the concordance model of acculturation (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000), it was expected that discordance on cultural maintenance and desired contact would relate to lower life satisfaction, and sociocultural adaptation, while predicting higher identity threat (perceived discrimination). One hundred and nine participants completed a questionnaire measuring the variables of interest (own and meta perceived of acculturation, perceived identity threat, sociocultural adaptation, and life satisfaction). Data were collected by the paper/pencil questionnaires. The results showed a negative association between culture maintenance and life satisfaction, contradicting previous findings. Extending previous research, refugees' perceived acculturation orientations from Turkish citizens, particularly perceived desire for contact, was an important positive predictor of both sociocultural and psychological adaptation. Finally, perceived discordance of acculturation was negatively related to psychological and sociocultural adaptation, and positively related to perceived discrimination. Theoretical and practical implications of these results are discussed.

**Keywords:** acculturation orientations, concordance, perceived threat, psychological adaptation, sociocultural adaptation, refugees, Turkey

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2900 Social Processes & Social Issues

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## Introduction

According to the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), there are currently 79.5 million forcibly displaced people worldwide (UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), 2019), and Turkey is hosting the largest number of refugees in the world. According to UNHCR Turkey Operational Update, a very large portion of this population consists of Syrian nationals. As of April 2020, the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey has reached 3.6 million (UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), 2020). The adaptation process of the Syrian refugees in the Turkish society and the policies that the government implemented during this time, have been the subject of many debates in both the public and academic spheres. As Turkey almost leaves behind ten years of hosting Syrian refugees, studies show that many important societal problems still occur for both host society and refugees. Despite the initial welcoming approach from the Turkish society, in the last years, Syrian refugees faced increased discrimination (Akar & Erdoğan, 2019), lack of structural integration in society (e.g., employment and housing), and have higher risks of depression and post-traumatic stress (Acarturk et al., 2018; Kaya, Kiliç, Karadağ Çaman, & Üner, 2019).

Meta-analytical findings showed that perceived discrimination is a key predictor of immigrants' and ethnic minorities' psychological well-being (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014), and discrimination has also been related to immigrants' acculturation orientations and to have a detrimental impact on their adaptation (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2006; Berry & Hou, 2017). Despite the strong evidence supporting the key role of discrimination and acculturation orientations on immigrants' psychological adaptation, specifically on well-being, very few studies examined the impact of these social-psychological variables on Syrian refugees in Turkey. A study, recently conducted with adult Syrian refugees living in Turkey, showed that perceived discrimination was detrimental for refugees' psychological well-being, and this effect occurred via culture maintenance orientations, especially for those low on group efficacy beliefs (Bagci & Canpolat, 2020).

The current study aims to extend existing knowledge on the adaptation of Syrian refugees by focusing not only on psychological adaptation (e.g., life satisfaction) but also on another important form of adaptation that has been neglected, sociocultural adaptation (i.e., a behavioral dimension reflecting functionally and culturally adaptive behaviors, Wilson, Ward, Fetvadjev, & Bethel, 2017). Importantly, besides considering the role of refugees' own acculturation orientations towards culture maintenance and contact with the Turkish society, this study also considered the impact of (dis)concordance of refugees' own acculturation and meta perceived acculturation orientations from the Turkish host society. Concordance of



acculturation has been shown to be an important predictor of threat and intergroup attitudes (Rohmann, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006). Based on the concordance model of acculturation (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000), this study explored if perceived discordance of acculturation and identity threat (i.e., perceived discrimination) were negatively related to refugees' psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

## Chapter I – Literature Review

Acculturation is described as a two-way process of cultural and psychological change that occurs as a result of intercultural contact at both group and individual levels (Berry, 2005). It is a process that explains the psycho-social shifts in attitudes, behaviors, identities, and values that individuals experience while they are in an extended interaction with other cultural contexts, which then impact their psychological well-being and social functioning (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). According to Berry (1997), acculturation orientations are determined by individuals' attitudes towards two dimensions: the degree of a minority group's desire to maintain their heritage culture (desire for culture maintenance), and their desire to interact and participate in the host culture (desire for contact). Based on the possible combinations of these two dimensions, Berry proposed four strategies of acculturation: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). Integration refers to one's desire for both culture maintenance and contact with the host society; assimilation refers to one's preference to not maintain the heritage culture while seeking contact with host society members; separation refers to the desire to maintain the heritage culture and not seek intercultural contact; marginalization refers to a low desire for culture maintenance and intercultural contact.

Berry's proposal that the integration strategy/orientation was related to better psychological and social adaptation has been generally supported. Recent meta-analytical findings examining the most adaptive acculturation orientation for immigrants showed that integration was indeed associated with better psychological and social adaptation than assimilation and separation orientations (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). However, most research focusing on the link between acculturation orientations and adaptation, specifically on the positive impact of integration on psychological adaptation, was conducted with immigrants, not refugees. Thus, it is important to also examine if and how different acculturation orientations relate to refugees' adaptation. In line with previous research conducted with immigrants, a recent study showed that integration is indeed the preferred orientation among Syrian refugees living in Germany and, it was associated with the least amount of acculturation stress (El Khoury, 2019). Similarly, a recent qualitative study with Syrian university students in Turkey reported that most of the participants preferred integration as their acculturation strategy, whereas the ones spending less time in the host country preferred separation (Safak-Ayvazoglu & Kunuroglu, 2019). However, as El Khoury (2019) stated, for refugees being able to practice integration in their daily life also depends on factors such as the

level of contact with the host society and the place of residence. There are studies highlighting the importance of considering not only immigrants acculturation orientations but also the host society's acculturation orientations, as the outcomes of the acculturation process (e.g., adaptation, intergroup relations) are better determined by the concordance/discordance of acculturation orientations of both majority and minority groups (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Sénécal, 1997; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). For instance, according to Bourhis et al. (1997), preferences of the host society regarding how they want to deal with immigrants and about how they want immigrants to acculturate play an important role in intergroup relations. The interactive acculturation model (IAM; Bourhis et al., 1997) proposed that the relationship between minority and host society members' acculturation orientations can be divided in three main categories: as consensual (full agreement), problematic (partial agreement), and conflicting (disagreement). Similarly, the concordance model of acculturation also highlights the importance of considering the concordance/discordance between host society and immigrants' acculturation orientations (CMA; Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002). Differently than IAM, this approach specifically focused on the role of perceived (not actual) acculturation orientations, suggesting that the perception of the outgroup's acculturation preferences is an important factor that predicts one's own acculturation orientations. Especially discrepancy between perceived acculturation preferences of the host society and immigrants' own acculturation orientations was found to be an important predictor of perceived intergroup relations (Piontkowski et al., 2002). Also, CMA emphasized the importance of considering the impact of perceived threat, as a key intergroup variable that should be considered when examining acculturation orientations and outcomes.

The current study builds on the proposals of the concordance model of acculturation (CMA; Piontkowski, et al., 2002), examining a) the impact of acculturation orientations of Syrian refugees in Turkey, as well as their meta perceptions of acculturation orientations of the Turkish society on their psychological and sociocultural adaptation, and b) the impact of concordance/discordance between refugees' own and perceived acculturation orientations on their adaptation.

### **Concordance Model of Acculturation**

The Concordance model of acculturation (CMA; Piontkowski et al., 2002) was developed based on both Berry's acculturation model and the interactive acculturation model (IAM; Bourhis et al., 1997) to explore the dynamics between acculturation attitudes and expectations

of the host society and the minority group. Generally, CMA proposed “a model of acculturation that is based on the assumption that the perception of threat as an important predictor of intergroup conflict is not only correlated to specific attitudes, but also depends on discrepancies in the attitudes of dominant and non-dominant group members” (Piontkowski et al., 2002, pp. 222).

CMA has extended IAM by including the subjective perception of the outgroup's acculturation preferences as a key variable when measuring the concordance/discordance of acculturation attitudes. Also, differently than IAM, CMA focuses on Berry's original two dimensions of acculturation and explains the discrepancies between own and perceived acculturation orientations in both the culture maintenance and contact dimensions. According to CMA, four different outcomes can occur as a result of the match/mismatch between one's own and perceived acculturation orientations: consensual, contact-problematic, culture-problematic, and conflictual. Consensual refers to a concordance between own and perceived orientations on both acculturation dimensions. Discordance can occur as a result of a mismatch between own and perceived orientations regarding culture maintenance (culture-problematic), or desire for contact (contact-problematic). Finally, conflictual outcomes occur when there is a mismatch on both acculturation dimensions.

Another important feature of CMA, different from IAM, is the proposal that perceived threat is a key component of the model. Specifically, the authors proposed that a mismatch between own acculturation and meta perceptions of the outgroup's acculturation orientations results in intergroup threat. Indeed, research conducted with majority host society members (Germans) and immigrants (Turkish and Italian) showed that both discordance regarding culture maintenance and contact predicted different forms of intergroup threat (e.g., realistic threat, symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety) for both majority and minority groups. Discordance regarding culture maintenance was however a stronger predictor than contact discordance (Rohmann et al., 2006).

Overall, studies on the CMA were mostly developed around the perspective of the majority group and how the majority's acculturation attitudes are shaped by acculturation discordance/concordance (Phelps, Ommundsen, Türken, & Ulleberg, 2013; Piontkowski, et al., 2002; Zagefka, Brown, Broquard, & Leventoglu Martin, 2007). Most studies showed that the concordance of acculturation preferences generates better outcomes in terms of intergroup relations and, acculturation discordance is associated with higher levels of perceived threat (Piontkowski, et al., 2002; Rohmann, Piontkowski, & van Randenborgh, 2008). For instance, Matera, Stefanile, and Brown (2015) experimentally investigated how acculturation

concordance influenced host society's attitudes towards immigrants. Results showed that especially concordance of desire for contact played an important role in determining the attitudes of the host society towards immigrants and, it created the most favorable attitudes. In line with these results, other studies also found that host society members show more positive attitudes towards immigrants when they perceive concordance regarding the desire for contact (Celeste, Brown, Tip, & Matera, 2014; Kopic, Mannetti, & Lackland Sam, 2005).

On the other hand, there is limited research focusing on the minorities' perceptions in terms of concordance of acculturation attitudes. Zagefka, González, and Brown (2011) investigated how minorities' perceptions of host society's acculturation preferences affect their own acculturation preferences. The findings showed that the acculturation preferences of minorities depended on their perceptions of the host society's expectations about minorities' acculturation orientations. That is, minorities' perception that the host society desires both culture maintenance and contact (i.e., integration) was associated with minority group members' own preference for integration. As Zagefka et al. (2011) showed, it is not likely for minorities to follow an acculturation orientation that they think will be rejected by the host society. Hence, another important factor that plays a role in the acculturation process of minorities is the perception of threat, which will be explained in the next section.

### **Perceived Identity Threat**

According to social identity theory, it is important for people to maintain a positive social identity as much as having a positive personal identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Much like one's personal identity can be threatened by unfavorable social comparisons with members of an outgroup, one's social identity can be threatened when one's ingroup is devalued. Since experiencing discrimination causes devaluation of one's social identity, it is seen as a threat to minority group members' identity (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). Therefore, several studies have used perceived discrimination as an indicator of identity threat in a variety of intergroup settings (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011; Fleischmann, Leszczensky, & Pink, 2019). Research conducted with Turkish Belgian young adults showed that dual identifiers (both high ethnic and national identification) were more likely to disengage from school when they reported high levels of perceived identity threat (i.e., discrimination, Baysu, et al., 2011). Recently, longitudinal findings further supported the detrimental impact of perceived discrimination on minority youth's identification with the national group (Fleischmann, et al., 2019).

Building on these findings, in the current study, perceived discrimination was used as an indicator of perceived identity threat. Perceived discrimination was defined as the perception that one has received differential or negative treatment as a result of being a member of a group considered to be undesirable in society (Bourguignon, Seron, Yzerbyt, & Herman, 2006). The relation between acculturation and perceived discrimination is a widely studied subject in the literature (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). While perceived discrimination plays a role as an antecedent variable in some studies, it can also be seen as the outcome of the acculturation process (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003) and, sometimes it can be an intervening variable (Berry & Sam, 1997). For example, in line with the proposal of the Rejection Identification Model (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999), perceived discrimination may lead minorities to strengthen identification with their own ethnic group by moving away from the group that exposed them to discrimination (host society), and therefore affect their sociocultural adaptation negatively (Al-Issa, 1997). Consistent with this proposal, Vedder et al. (2006) found that perceived discrimination negatively affected psychological adaptation and contributed to the poorer sociocultural adaptation of immigrant youth. Albeit acculturation theories elaborate on the relationship between acculturation orientations and perceived discrimination (Berry, 2003), the research on this relationship is still limited among refugees. Research suggest that the key role of perceived discrimination as a predictor of acculturation outcomes is similar for both refugees (Te Lindert, Korzilius, Van de Vijver, Kroon, & Arends-Tóth, 2008) and immigrants (Vedder, van de Vijver, & Liebkind, 2006). Indeed, research conducted with Iranian refugees showed strong negative relations between perceived discrimination and psychological adaptation (i.e., positive affect, Te Lindert et al., 2008; and life satisfaction, Werkuyten & Nekuee, 1999).

### **Acculturation & Adaptation: Psychological and Sociocultural**

According to Ward, Bochner, and Furnham (2001), outcomes of acculturation can be divided into two main categories, as psychological outcomes and sociocultural outcomes. Psychological outcomes can be explored via variables related to mental health, emotions, and life satisfaction of the minority groups, whereas sociocultural outcomes imply one's ability to participate and function in the mainstream culture and, it is more related to social skills gained in the host society. Psychological and sociocultural outcomes were found to be positively correlated (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). In the current study, life satisfaction and sociocultural adaptation were used as the outcome variables of acculturation. Life satisfaction refers to a cognitive component of subjective well-being and, focusing on one's general sense of

satisfaction with his/her life as a whole (Pavot & Diener, 2009). Socio-cultural adaptation refers to a behavioral dimension about one's ability to effectively interact in a new environment, accompanying changes in the performance of learning or social competence (Ward et al., 2001). Importantly, research shows that acculturation orientations are differently related to psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Ward, 2013). A study investigating the relations between acculturation orientations and adaptation of immigrant youth showed that a separation strategy was associated with better psychological adaptation than an assimilation strategy, indicating the important role of culture maintenance for psychological adaptation, relative to desire for contact (Berry et al., 2006). Additionally, results showed that the desire for culture maintenance impacted psychological adaptation, but not sociocultural adaptation, suggesting that the orientation towards culture maintenance is more important for psychological adaptation than for sociocultural adaptation. Recently, studies conducted with immigrant youth in Germany, showed similar findings, with sociocultural adaptation being more strongly related to an orientation to culture adoption than towards culture (ethnic) maintenance (Schachner, Noack, Van de Vijver, & Eckstein, 2016; Schachner, Van de Vijver, & Noack, 2018).

### **Present Study**

Despite the strong evidence supporting the key role of discrimination and acculturation orientations on immigrants' well-being, few studies examined the impact of these social psychological variables among Syrian refugees in Turkey (see Bacgi et al., 2019 for an exception). The current study aimed at extending previous research, focusing not only on the psychological adaptation (e.g., life satisfaction), but also on another important form of adaptation, sociocultural adaptation of Syrian refugees. Besides considering the role of refugees' own acculturation orientations towards culture maintenance and contact with the Turkish society, we also considered the impact of (dis)concordance of own acculturation and meta perceived acculturation orientations from the Turkish host society. Based on the concordance model of acculturation (Piontkowski, et al., 2000), we explored if perceived discordance of acculturation and identity threat (i.e., perceived discrimination) were negatively related to refugees psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Specifically, we proposed that:

Hypothesis 1: Syrian refugees' desire for culture maintenance is positively related to their psychological adaptation (H1a), whereas the desire for contact will be positively related to sociocultural adaptation (H1b).

Hypothesis 2: Discrimination perceived by Syrian refugees is negatively associated with both psychological (H2a) and sociocultural adaptation (H2b).

Hypothesis 3: Finally, perceived discordance of acculturation orientations is negatively related to both psychological (H3a) and sociocultural adaptation (H3b), and positively related to perceived discrimination (H3c).



## Chapter II – Methods

### Participants

In total, 112 participants took part in the study, and 3 were excluded since they left almost all of the questionnaires empty. All participants were Syrians refugees who currently live in Turkey. Among these, 51 were males (47.2%), 56 females (51.9%), and two of them did not indicate their gender. The mean age of the participants was 32.62 years ( $SD = 10.5$ , range: 18-61). The mean length of their residence in Turkey was 3.94 years ( $SD = 2.06$ ). Regarding the educational level, 35.6% of the participants had less than a high school diploma, 27.9% had a high school degree, 28.8% had a Bachelor's degree, and 7.7% had a Master's degree. Most of the participants were unemployed (53.4%), 30.1% were employed, 11.7% were students and the rest were indicated as "other" (4.9%).

### Procedure

Since the participants of the study include a vulnerable population (refugees, minority group), all materials of the study were reviewed and approved by the ethics committee of ISCTE. To gain a representative picture, we did not restrict our sample in terms of demographics such as education, marital status, age or time in Turkey. The main criteria for selecting participants was being a Syrian refugee living in Turkey. The participants were reached through various non-governmental organizations working with refugees in Ankara. All organizations were informed about the goals of the project and agreed to participate. Participants were first given an informed consent, stating that the study was voluntary, anonymous, and confidential. After they had agreed to take part in the study, the researcher encouraged open and honest answers to the questions. All data were obtained with paper/pencil questionnaires. Participants did not receive any compensation or reward for their participation. The questionnaire and informed consent were presented in Arabic. The original versions were prepared in English and the Arabic versions were developed using the translation/back-translation method.

### Measures

Participants received a questionnaire comprised of different sets of scales besides the socio-demographic questions. Participants expressed their agreement or disagreement with the statements on 7-point rating scales. The order of presentation was the following:

**Socio-demographics:** Participants answered questions regarding their age, country of origin, sex, education level, current employment status, and residence status.

***Own and perceived acculturation:*** Participants' acculturation attitudes towards culture maintenance and desire for contact were assessed with a modified version of the scale used by Zagefka and Brown (2002). For these two dimensions, a total of five items were presented, and participants were asked to express their agreement on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (do not agree at all) to 7 (totally agree). Culture maintenance was assessed with three items (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .73$ ). A sample item is "I think it is important that Syrians in Turkey maintain their culture." The desire for contact was assessed with two items ( $r = .69, p < 0.01$ ), and a sample item is "I think it is important that Syrians have Turkish friends." We computed two indexes, one for desire for culture maintenance and one for desire for contact, where higher values mean stronger desire towards the acculturation dimension. Perceived acculturation orientation towards culture maintenance was assessed with three items (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .73$ ) and, a sample item is "Turks think that Syrians should have the possibility to maintain their own way of living." Perceived acculturation orientation towards the desire for contact was assessed with two items ( $r = .77, p < 0.01$ ), and a sample item is "I believe the Turks think it is important that Syrians have Turkish friends." We computed two indexes, one for perceived desire for culture maintenance and one for perceived desire for contact, where higher values mean stronger agreement with perceived desire towards both acculturation dimensions. Also, we computed the indexes for discordance of both acculturation orientations (culture maintenance and contact) by subtracting the perceived orientation score from their own orientation score, where values moving away from "0" indicate higher levels of discordance.

***Perceived identity threat:*** Perceived identity threat was assessed via perceived personal and group discrimination scale (Bourguignon et al., 2006). Participants indicated their agreement with seven statements on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (not agree at all) to 7 (totally agree). One of the items, the reversed-score item ("As a Syrian, I have rarely felt personally discriminated against") was excluded from the analyses considering the low Cronbach's alpha score. For the final six items, the Cronbach's alpha score was .78 (sample items are "I have personally met with difficulties because I am Syrian" and, "I think that Syrians are undervalued in Turkish society"). An index score was calculated, averaging all items, with a higher scores indicating a higher level of perceived discrimination. Intergroup anxiety scale (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) was also used as a second dimension to measure perceived threat, but the results were not included in the analyses.

***Sociocultural adaptation:*** An 11-item version (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .89$ ) of the original Sociocultural adaptation scale was used to measure the cognitive and behavioral ability of the participants to "fit in" to the host culture (SCAS; Wilson, Ward, Fetvadjev, & Bethel, 2017).

All items were measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = “not at all competent” to 7 = “extremely competent”). A sample item is “ Building and maintaining relationships.” We computed an index where higher values mean higher sociocultural adaptation.

***Psychological adaptation:*** To measure psychological adaptation, we used The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), a five-item scale (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .79$ ) measuring global life satisfaction based on participants’ cognitive self-evaluation. Participants were asked to rate their responses on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with higher scores indicating greater life satisfaction. A sample item is “ In most ways, my life is close to my ideal.”

## Chapter III – Results

Analyses were conducted with the statistics-software IBM SPSS Statistics (version 22). First, zero-order correlations were described (see Table 3.1), and then hierarchical regression analyses testing the proposed hypotheses were presented.

### **Descriptives and correlations**

Zero-order correlations, means, and standard deviations are presented in Table 3.1. Contrary to the expected (H1a), there was a negative correlation between own culture maintenance orientation and psychological adaptation, such that the more participants favored maintaining their cultural heritage, the lower their levels of psychological adaptation. Own desire for contact, however, was not significantly associated with psychological adaptation. On the other hand, perceived desire for contact was positively related to psychological adaptation, suggesting that the more the participants perceived that the host society desired to contact with them, the higher their levels of psychological adaptation. Perceived culture maintenance, however, was not significantly correlated with psychological adaptation. As predicted (H3a), both perceived discordance of culture maintenance and perceived discordance of desire for contact were negatively related to psychological adaptation, suggesting that the more disagreement between the participants' own acculturation orientations and their perceptions of the host society's orientations, the lower their psychological adaptation. Contrary to the expected (H3c), perceived discordance of culture maintenance was not significantly associated with perceived discrimination. As expected, discordance regarding the desire for contact was positively related to perceived discrimination (H3c). Finally, as predicted, perceived discrimination was also negatively related to psychological adaptation (H2a).

Contrary to the hypothesized, own desire for contact orientation was not significantly related to sociocultural adaptation, and a similar pattern was also found for culture maintenance. Still, the coefficients seem to suggest that acculturation orientations are differently related to sociocultural adaptation, with culture maintenance desire showing a negative, albeit not significant, association with adaptation. Also, the perceived desire for culture maintenance was not significantly correlated with sociocultural adaptation. However, perceived desire for contact was positively related to sociocultural adaptation, suggesting that the more the participants perceived that the host society members are willing to have contact with them, the more they showed higher levels of sociocultural adaptation. Partially in line with the hypotheses, the discordance of desire for culture maintenance showed a negative

correlation with sociocultural adaptation, while discordance of desire for contact was not significantly associated with sociocultural adaptation (H3a, H3b). Thus, a higher perception of disagreement on the desire for culture maintenance was related to less sociocultural adaptation.. Finally, contrary to the hypothesis (H2b) perceived discrimination was not significantly related to sociocultural adaptation.

The age of the participants was positively related to both own culture maintenance orientation and discordance of desire for culture maintenance, suggesting that, as the age of the participants increased, the more they desired to maintain their cultural heritage and the more they perceived higher levels of disagreement on culture maintenance. Age was also negatively associated with sociocultural adaptation, that is, as the participants' age increased, they showed lower levels of sociocultural adaptation. The education level of participants showed a positive association with own desire for contact, and sociocultural adaptation. That is, higher education levels were associated with higher sociocultural adaptation and more desire for contact with the host society. However, the education level was negatively correlated to culture maintenance and perceived desire for culture maintenance. In other words, the higher the education level the less participants showed a desire for maintaining their cultural heritage and, the less they perceived that the host society thinks that they should maintain their culture.

Table 3.1

*Pearson Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Perceived Threat, Adaptation Variables, Socio-demographic Variables, and Acculturation Orientations.*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1 Culture maintenance	-											5.84	1.23
2 Desire for contact	-.011	-										6.20	1.12
3 Perceived CM	.394**	.196*	-									4.53	1.50
4 Perceived DC	-.022	.309**	.353**	-								4.76	1.79
5 Perceived threat	.178	-.027	.039	-.259**	-							4.70	1.33
6 Sociocultural adaptation	-.154	.150	.080	.265**	-.147	-						4.79	1.22
7 Psychological adaptation	-.211*	-.036	.031	.248*	-.248*	.406**	-					3.25	1.38
8 Discordance of CM	.421**	-.215*	-.668**	-.366**	.099	-.202*	-.198*	-				1.30	1.52
9 Discordance of DC	.006	.307**	-.232*	-.810**	.239*	-.170	-.259**	.235*	-			1.46	1.79
10 Age	.335**	.065	.019	.024	.045	-.240*	-.083	.243*	-.001	-		32.62	10.51
11 Education	-.393**	.244*	-.260**	.039	.001	.246*	.121	-.065	.119	-.095	-	2.08	.97
12 Sex***	.036	-.107	-.223*	-.180	.042	-.065	.099	.256**	.095	.137	.013	.47	.50

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

\*\*\* Dummy-coded: 0 = female; 1 = male

CM = Culture maintenance, DC = Desire for contact

### **Predicting Psychological and Sociocultural Adaptation: own and perceived acculturation orientations and perceived discrimination**

We conducted two hierarchical multiple regression analyses (enter method) to examine the relative contribution of culture maintenance (CM), desire for contact (DC), perceived desire for CM, perceived DC, and perceived discrimination in predicting Syrian refugees' psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Additionally, two other regression analyses were conducted to specifically examine the relative impact of discordance of desire for CM and discordance of DC on each of the outcome variables.

The coefficients for the model predicting psychological adaptation are presented in Table 3.2. The predicted model was tested in three steps: the first model included the two own acculturation orientations (culture maintenance and desire for contact), the second included perceived CM and perceived DC, finally, in the third model, perceived discrimination was included. The results of the first step, including own acculturation orientations only, indicated that the overall model did not significantly explain the variance ( $R^2 = .049$ ,  $F(2,101) = 2.578$ ,  $p = .081$ ), and only CM orientations negatively predicted psychological adaptation. The results of the second step showed that including perceived CM and perceived DC orientations significantly increased the explained variance, (12%,  $R^2 = .121$ ,  $F(4,99) = 3.416$ ,  $p < .05$ ), since there was a significant change of  $F$  between step one and two ( $\Delta F(2,100) = 4.187$ ,  $p < .05$ ). That is, over and above the impact of own CM orientations, perceived DC significantly predicted psychological adaptation. In the final step, perceived discrimination was included. Results showed that together the five predictors explained 15% of the variance ( $R^2 = .154$ ,  $F(5,98) = 3.564$ ,  $p = .005$ ), slightly improving the model ( $\Delta F(1,98) = 3.776$ ,  $p = .055$ ). Besides CM orientations that continued to negatively predict psychological adaptation, the positive impact of perceived DC orientations became marginally significant (see Table 3.2), while perceived discrimination did not significantly predict the outcome, albeit the coefficient was in the expected, negative direction.

Table 3.2

*Hierarchical Regression Coefficients for Variables Predicting Psychological Adaptation*

Model	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>
1	(Constant)	4.798	1.004		4.778
	Culture maintenance	-.245	.108	-.220*	-2.266
	Desire for contact	-.018	.123	-.014	-.143
2	(Constant)	4.444	.986		4.507
	Culture maintenance	-.269	.116	-.242*	-2.315
	Desire for contact (DC)	-.131	.126	-.103	-1.041
	Perceived CM	.059	.102	.065	.583
	Perceived DC	.196	.081	.255*	2.424
3	(Constant)	5.292	1.066		4.965
	Culture maintenance	-.243	.116	-.218*	-2.098
	Desire for contact (DC)	-.121	.124	-.096	-.976
	Perceived CM	.075	.101	.083	.744
	Perceived DC	.152	.083	.198	1.835
	Perceived discrimination	-.197	.101	-.190	-1.943

Note. \*  $p < .05$

We then conducted similar analyses for sociocultural adaptation. Besides examining the impact of CM orientations, DC orientations, perceived CM, perceived DC, and perceived discrimination, two demographic variables (education and age) that were significantly associated with sociocultural adaptation were also included in the analysis. The coefficients for the model predicting sociocultural adaptation are presented in Table 3.3. The predicted model was tested in four steps: the first model included the two demographic variables which were age and education. The second included the two own acculturation orientations (culture maintenance and desire for contact) and the third included perceived CM and DC orientations. Finally, in the fourth model perceived discrimination was included. The results of the first step, including demographic variables only, showed that education level and age explained 8,4% of the variance ( $R^2 = .084$ ,  $F(2,91) = 4.159$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Specifically, being older was related to having lower levels of sociocultural adaptation. The results of the second step showed that including acculturation orientations did not significantly increase the explained variance (10%,  $R^2 = .099$ ,  $F(4,89) = 2.457$ ,  $p = .051$ ) since there was no significant change of  $F$  between the step one and two ( $\Delta F(2,89) = .776$ ,  $p = .463$ ), and the negative effect of age became non-significant. In the third step, results showed that the six predictors including perceived acculturation orientations



explained a significant portion of the variance (13%,  $R^2 = .133$ ,  $F(6,87) = 2.223$ ,  $p < .05$ ), although it did not increase the explained variance significantly ( $\Delta F(2,87) = 1.680$ ,  $p = .192$ ), and none of the predictors significantly predicted sociocultural adaptation. Albeit not significant, the relations of perceived DC and education with adaptation were in the expected, positive direction. In the final step, perceived discrimination was included and, results showed that together the seven predictors explained 15.6% of the variance ( $R^2 = .156$ ,  $F(7,86) = 2.276$ ,  $p < .05$ ). None of the predictors significantly predicted adaptation, but the coefficient for perceived discrimination was in the predicted, negative direction.

Table 3.3

*Hierarchical Regression Coefficients for Variables Predicting Sociocultural Adaptation.*

Model	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>
1	(Constant)	5.030	.495		10.161
	Age	-.023	.012	-.203*	-2.018
	Education	.235	.125	.190	1.885
2	(Constant)	4.813	.963		4.999
	Age	-.022	.012	-.189	-1.766
	Education	.155	.142	.125	1.091
	Culture maintenance	-.075	.109	-.079	-.687
	Desire for contact	.123	.115	.114	1.070
3	(Constant)	4.486	.973		4.611
	Age	-.023	.012	-.198	-1.855
	Education	.199	.144	.161	1.380
	Culture maintenance	-.056	.117	-.059	-.482
	Desire for contact	.042	.123	.039	.342
	Perceived CM	.015	.097	.018	.154
	Perceived DC	.128	.078	.190	1.643
4	(Constant)	5.054	1.033		4.893
	Age	-.022	.012	-.192	-1.813
	Education	.213	.143	.172	1.491
	Culture maintenance	-.030	.117	-.031	-.252
	Desire for contact	.051	.122	.047	.419
	Perceived CM	.021	.097	.026	.221
	Perceived DC	.094	.081	.138	1.162
	Perceived discrimination	-.148	.096	-.164	-1.544

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

### **Predicting Psychological and Sociocultural Adaptation: perceived discordance of acculturation**

Finally, the relative impact of perceived discordance of acculturation regarding culture maintenance and desire for contact was examined. Two linear regression analyses (enter method) were conducted to examine the predictive role of perceived discordance regarding culture maintenance and desire for contact on psychological and sociocultural adaptation (SCA). Results showed that perceived discordance regarding desire for contact significantly predicted psychological adaptation (see Table 3.4), whereas discordance regarding culture maintenance did not. That is, the more participants perceived discordance between their own desire for contact and their perception of how much the host society wants them to have contact, the lower they scored on psychological adaptation.

Table 3.4

*Linear Regression Coefficients. Perceived Acculturation Orientations Predicting Psychological Adaptation*

Model	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>
1	(Constant)	3,696	,189		19,562
	Perceived discordance of CM	-,142	,087	-,158	-1,627
	Perceived discordance of DC	-,170	,074	-,222*	-2,281

$$R^2 = .091$$

$$F(2,102) = 5.094, p < .05$$

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

CM = Culture maintenance, DC = Desire for contact

However, perceived discordance regarding desire for contact did not significantly predict SCA, whereas perceived discordance of culture maintenance was negatively related to SCA, albeit only marginally (see Table 3.5).

Table 3.5

*Linear Regression Coefficients. Perceived Acculturation Orientations Predicting Sociocultural Adaptation*

Model	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>
1	(Constant)	5,112	,173		29,539
	Perceived discordance of CM	-,139	,080	-,176	-1,748
	Perceived discordance of DC	-,087	,070	-,124	-1,239

*Note.* CM = Culture maintenance, DC = Desire for contact

## Chapter IV – Discussion

Turkey is the country that hosts the largest number of refugees in the world, with a population of 4 million (UNHCR, 2019). Since the perspective in both public and academic spheres regarding the Syrian refugees' situation has shifted from short-term protection to long-term social integration, it is important to understand both host society's and refugees' perspectives (Akar & Erdoğan, 2019). Although efforts of both government and non-governmental organizations for almost ten years, recent studies still show various problems regarding intergroup relations between Syrian refugees and the Turkish society, such as discrimination (Akar & Erdoğan, 2019; Bağcı & Canpolat, 2020; Kaya, 2016). The main aim of this study was to examine the adaptation of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Relying on the interactionist approach to acculturation, specifically on the proposals of the CMA (Piontkowski et al., 2002), we examined the relation between perceived discrimination (i.e., a form of identity threat), acculturation orientations, perceived discordance of acculturation orientations, and Syrian refugees' psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

As predicted, acculturation orientations of refugees were related to their psychological and sociocultural adaptation. However, contrary to the hypothesized, desire for culture maintenance was not positively associated with psychological adaptation (H1a). Moreover, as opposed to previous research (e.g., Berry et al. 2006), our results showed a negative relation between desire for culture maintenance and psychological adaptation, that is, the more Syrian refugees favored culture maintenance the lower their level of psychological adaptation. A possible explanation for this finding might be found in the recent research by Bağcı and Canpolat (2020). Indeed, this recent study conducted with Syrian refugees in Turkey revealed that for those who perceived their ethnic group to have low group efficacy, perceived discrimination drawn them away from their cultural heritage. Our findings showing that refugees' desire for culture maintenance was negatively related to their life satisfaction (i.e., psychological adaptation) could be due to feelings of discrimination in the Turkish society. In line with the idea that perceived discrimination has detrimental effects for refugees, our results showed that, as predicted (H2a) perceived discrimination was negatively associated with psychological adaptation. That is, the more Syrian refugees felt discriminated in the Turkish society the lower their life satisfaction. This finding is in line with a previous study showing multiracial people's perceptions of discrimination were negatively related to their life satisfaction (Giamo, Schmitt, & Outten, 2012), and the meta-analytic review highlighting the

detrimental effect of perceived discrimination on mental health, including life satisfaction (Pascoe & Richman, 2009).

Regarding sociocultural adaptation, contrary to the expected (H1b), desire for contact was not related to refugees' sociocultural adaptation. This finding is not consistent with previous research suggesting that contact with the host society is a key factor for immigrants' culture learning, and accordingly to their sociocultural adaptation (Masgoret & Ward, 2012; Ward et al., 2001). Also, previous research conducted with youth showed that a mainstream orientation was positively related to sociocultural adaptation (Schachner et al., 2016; 2018). However, this research did not focus on immigrants' desire for contact, but rather on culture adoption (orientation towards the mainstream culture). Research shows that assessing different dimensions of acculturation (desire for contact, as proposed by Berry, or culture adoption, as proposed by Bourhis et al., 1997) results in different acculturation preferences (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Ward & Kus, 2012). Thus, future studies could further explore if different acculturation dimensions of desire for contact and desire for culture adoption are differently related to Syrian refugees' sociocultural adaptation. Importantly, this finding can also be possibly explained by the unique characteristics of the current sample (adult Syrian refugees). Previous research linking acculturation dimensions and adaptation have mainly focused on immigrant youth. Since "Unlike refugees, who are forcibly 'pushed' into an alien environment, migrants are 'pulled' towards a new country in pursuit of personal, familial, social, financial and political goals" (Ward et al., 2001, pp.192), differences regarding the acculturation outcomes might be explained by the different characteristics of the immigrants and refugees.

Contrary to the hypothesis (H2b), and to the findings relating perceived discrimination and lower psychological adaptation, sociocultural adaptation was not associated with refugees' perceptions of discrimination. Overall, the detrimental impact of discrimination among Syrian refugees was found only for their psychological well-being. Our results also revealed a noteworthy relationship concerning perceived discrimination. Refugees' perceived desire for contact was negatively associated with perceived discrimination. That is, the more Syrian refugees perceived that Turkish society members are willing to have contact with them, the less they perceived discrimination, that is the less they perceive identity threat. This suggests that, as proposed by the CMA, perceptions of host society acculturation preferences are a very important factor when examining acculturation outcomes. In this case, positive meta perceptions regarding the Turkish society desire for contact with Syrian refugees seemed to be a protective factor against discrimination. Future research could further explore this finding,

with a larger sample, focusing for instances on the underlying mechanisms that can account for the positive impact of perceived acculturation orientations vs. own acculturation orientations.

Finally, as predicted (H3a), both perceived discordance of culture maintenance and perceived discordance of desire for contact were negatively related with psychological adaptation. Partially in line with the hypothesis (H3b), discordance of desire for culture maintenance was negatively associated with sociocultural adaptation, while discordance of desire for contact was not associated with sociocultural adaptation. Also, partially in line with the hypothesis (H3c), perceived discrimination (i.e., identity threat) was positively associated with the discordance of desire for contact, whereas it was not significantly associated with discordance of culture maintenance. These findings supported the CMA proposal that more than own acculturation orientations, it is the perceived (dis)concordance between own and perceived orientations of the host society that impacts intergroup relations. Indeed, perceived discordance of acculturation orientations was associated with more identity threat, and poorer adaptation among Syrian refugees. This is the most consistent finding in the current study, and extended existing knowledge on interactionist approaches to acculturation to an under researched group, refugees.

Overall, the current findings were consistent with previous research conducted in Turkey, showing that both refugees' own desire for culture maintenance and perceived discrimination were negatively related to life satisfaction (Bagci & Canpolat, 2020; Safak-Ayvazoglu & Kunuroglu, 2019). Importantly, these findings did not replicate to sociocultural adaptation, which deserves further attention in future research, considering this is also an important facet of adaptation. Extending previous research, refugees' perceived acculturation orientations from Turkish citizens, particularly perceived desire for contact, was an important positive predictor of both sociocultural and psychological adaptation. In conclusion, the findings supported and extended the scarce research focusing on Syrian refugees living in Turkey, highlighting the important role of perceived acculturation orientations (i.e., perceived discordance), supporting the importance of considering a mutual approach of acculturation when aiming to understand the social-psychological predictors of refugees' adaptation.

### **Limitations and future research**

One of the main limitations of this study is the small sample size. Since the study was conducted with Syrian refugees, a minority group that is difficult to reach and vulnerable, it was not possible to reach a large number of participants. Also, a few cases couldn't be included in the study because of the high rate of missing data in the questionnaires. Another limitation

regarding the generalizability of the study is related to the recruitment method of the participants. Participants were reached through organizations that provide services to refugees in Ankara, Turkey. Although all participants were included in the study randomly without any criteria, the sample of the study consists of Syrian refugees who applied to these organizations as beneficiaries and the Syrian refugees who work as volunteers there.

Another limitation to consider is that the results regarding the adaptation of Syrian refugees may have also be related to different variables that were not investigated in the current study. Factors related to income such as economic status, problems related to employment, and being able to take care of the family also have shown to be important challenges that refugees face on a daily-basis (Bache, 2019). Therefore, although we found a negative relation between perceived discrimination and psychological adaptation, the mentioned factors may also be detrimental to participants' life satisfaction. Similarly, another important factor that needs to be considered in future research is the proficiency of the host language, which is positively related to the socio-cultural adaptation of refugees (El Khoury, 2019). Future research might address the relation between the mentioned factors and Syrian refugees' perception of discrimination and their adaptation.

Lastly, considering the specific characteristics of the current study's sample, it could be interesting to take into account a recent approach to evaluate psychological adaptation. That is, future research could assess psychological adaptation with a more specific measure of life satisfaction, the Satisfaction With Migration Life Scale (SWMLS; Neto & Fonseca, 2016), which assesses one's global satisfaction with migration life.

### **Practical implications**

Considering the high number of Syrian refugees that Turkey is hosting, it is quite important to investigate the factors that improve their psychological and sociocultural adaptation, as well as, the factors that prevent a successful adjustment, in terms of creating solutions for both existent and future societal problems. The current research has the potential to provide practical implications that can be useful to develop interventions to support the adaptation of refugees. Considering the dynamic nature of refugees' own and perceived acculturation orientations and their perceived threat is important for providing a more comprehensive picture of refugees' adaptation and also for professionals to have the necessary knowledge to develop better interventions that aim to facilitate the socio-cultural and psychological adaptation process of refugees, ultimately fostering their integration in the host society. Finally, an important implication of this research is the critical negative role of perceived discrimination on Syrian

refugees' adaptation, which highlights the need for more effective policies and interventions to reduce discrimination against minorities.

### **Conclusion**

The current study showed the importance of considering both the perspective of refugees as well as of the host society when investigating acculturation processes and outcomes. It extended the scarce research focusing on Syrian refugees living in Turkey, highlighting the key role of perceived acculturation orientations (i.e., perceived discordance), ultimately supporting the importance of considering a mutual approach of acculturation when aiming to understand the social-psychological predictors of refugees' adaptation.



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## Appendix A – Informed Consent

### INFORMED CONSENT

The present study arises in the context of a master’s dissertation underway at **Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa**. This study concerns intercultural relations and aims to understand the adaptation process of Syrian refugees in Turkey.

The study is carried out by Imge Terzi, a master student, who can be contacted in case of any questions or should you wish to share comments.

Your participation, which is highly valued, consists of completing a questionnaire and could take around 12 minutes. There are no expected significant risks associated to participation in the study.

Participation in this study is strictly **voluntary**: you can choose to participate or not to participate. If you choose to participate, you can stop your participation at any time without having to provide any justification. In addition to being voluntary, your participation is also **anonymous** and **confidential**. The data are intended merely for statistical processing and no answer will be analysed or reported individually. You will never be asked to identify yourself at any time during the study.

This study follows the ethical recommendations of the Iscte Ethics Committee and is scientifically supervised by Dr. Rita Guerra ([ana\\_rita\\_guerra@iscte-iul.pt](mailto:ana_rita_guerra@iscte-iul.pt)).

If you have any questions or comments, please can contact Imge Terzi ([imgeterzi@yahoo.com](mailto:imgeterzi@yahoo.com)), the master student conducting this research.

In view of this information, please indicate if you accept participating in the study and confirm that **you are aged 18 years or older**:

I ACCEPT

I DO NOT ACCEPT

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature:

## Appendix B – Questionnaire

### Demographics

1. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ years
  
2. What is your gender?  
 Female  
 Male  
 Other  
 Prefer not to tell
  
3. What is your marital status?  
 Single  
 Married  
 Widowed  
 Separated
  
4. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?  
 Less than a high school diploma  
 High school degree  
 Bachelor's degree  
 Master's degree  
 Doctorate degree
  
5. What is your current employment status?  
 Employed  
 Unemployed  
 Student  
 Other: \_\_\_\_\_
  
6. In what country were you born? \_\_\_\_\_
  
7. Please indicate your nationality: \_\_\_\_\_
  
8. How old were you when you came to Turkey? \_\_\_\_\_ years
  
9. What residence status do you have in Turkey?  
 Residence permit  
 Sufferance  
 I do not know  
 Prefer not to tell

## Instructions

For each statement in this questionnaire you will see two words with opposite meanings on a line. These words form the end points of a scale. The words are separated by numbers, which represent the degree of how much you disagree or agree with the statement or how much you experienced or felt something.

For example:

Not at all							Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

where:

Not at all = you have never experienced or felt something like this  
Very Much = you experienced or felt something like this very often

Strongly Disagree							Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

where:

Strongly disagree = you do not agree at all with this statement  
Strongly agree = you agree a lot with this statement

*Using the scale below, mark the answer that best represents how much you agree or disagree with each statement.*

	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>			<b>Strongly Agree</b>			
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>
I think it is important that Syrians in Turkey maintain their culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think Syrians in Turkey should maintain their religion, language and clothing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think it is important that Syrians in Turkey maintain their own way of living	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think it is important that Syrians have Turkish friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think that it is important that Syrians have contact with Turks also in their leisure time	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Using the scale below, mark the answer that best represents how much you agree or disagree with each statement about what Turkish people think about Syrians.*

	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>			<b>Strongly Agree</b>			
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>
Turks think that Syrians should have the possibility to maintain their own culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Turks think that Syrians should have the possibility to maintain their religion, language and clothing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Turks think that Syrians should have the possibility to maintain their own way of living	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe the Turks think it is important that Syrians have Turkish friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that Turks find it important that Syrians have contact with Turks also in their leisure time	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



*Using the scale below, mark the answer that best represents how much you agree or disagree with each statement about you personally and Syrians in general.*

	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>			<b>Strongly Agree</b>			
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>
I have personally met with difficulties because I am Syrian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I happen to be set aside because I am a Syrian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
As a Syrian, I have rarely felt personally discriminated against	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think that Syrians are undervalued in Turkish society	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In Turkish society, people often despise Syrians	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Syrians meet with more obstacles in their daily life than native Turks	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Syrians are often confronted with discrimination	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Using the scale below, mark the answer that best represents how do you feel when interacting with Turks (talking with them, working with them).*

	<b>Not at all</b>			<b>Very much</b>			
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>
Nervous	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Uncertain	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Worried	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Threatened	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Awkward	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Anxious	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Comfortable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Trusting	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Confident	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Safe	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
At ease	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Using the scale below, mark the answer that best represents how competent you feel in the following situations of your daily life in Turkey.*

	<b>Not at all competent</b>					<b>Extremely competent</b>	
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>
Building and maintaining relationships	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Obtaining community services I require	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Understanding and speaking (Turkish)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Interacting at social events	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attending or participating in community activities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Finding my way around	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Accurately interpreting and responding to other people's emotions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Dealing with the bureaucracy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Adapting to the pace of life	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Interacting with members of the opposite sex	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading and writing (Turkish)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by marking the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.*

	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>						<b>Strongly Agree</b>	
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	
In most ways my life is close to my ideal	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The conditions of my life are excellent	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am satisfied with my life	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
So far, I have gotten the important things I want in life	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>