

Repositório ISCTE-IUL

Deposited in *Repositório ISCTE-IUL*:

2023-03-08

Deposited version:

Accepted Version

Peer-review status of attached file:

Peer-reviewed

Citation for published item:

Terzi, I., Guerra, R. & Bierwiazzonek, K. (2022). Acculturation and Adaptation of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: The role of (dis)concordance of acculturation orientations and identity threat. In Hüseyin Çakal, Shenel Husnu (Ed.), *Examining complex intergroup relations: Through the lens of Turkey.*: Routledge.

Further information on publisher's website:

<https://www.routledge.com/Examining-Complex-Intergroup-Relations-Through-the-Lens-of-Turkey/Cakal-Husnu/p/book/9781032022260>

Publisher's copyright statement:

This is the peer reviewed version of the following article: Terzi, I., Guerra, R. & Bierwiazzonek, K. (2022). Acculturation and Adaptation of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: The role of (dis)concordance of acculturation orientations and identity threat. In Hüseyin Çakal, Shenel Husnu (Ed.), *Examining complex intergroup relations: Through the lens of Turkey.*: Routledge.. This article may be used for non-commercial purposes in accordance with the Publisher's Terms and Conditions for self-archiving.

Use policy

Creative Commons CC BY 4.0

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a link is made to the metadata record in the Repository
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

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

İmge Terzi¹, Rita Guerra¹ and Kinga Bierwiazzonek²

¹ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Centro de Investigação e Intervenção Social,
Lisboa, Portugal

²Department of Psychology, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway

Abstract

The present chapter examined the social-psychological factors associated with the adaptation of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Specifically, building on the mutuality approach to acculturation, the current research considered both the role of refugees' acculturation orientations towards culture maintenance and contact with the Turkish society, refugees' meta-perceived acculturation orientations of the Turkish host society and the impact of perceived (dis)concordance of acculturation orientations and perceived identity threat (i.e., discrimination) on their psychological and sociocultural adaptation. This research extends previous research conducted with Syrian refugees in Turkey by examining both psychological and sociocultural adaptation of refugees and by considering the specific impact of (dis)concordance of acculturation orientations. Using data from a survey (109 participants) the results showed a negative association between own culture maintenance and psychological adaptation, whereas own desire for contact was not associated with sociocultural adaptation. Extending previous research, refugees' perceived acculturation orientations from Turkish society, particularly perceived desire for contact, were positively related to psychological and sociocultural adaptation (albeit marginally for the latter). Finally, perceived discordance of acculturation was negatively related to psychological and sociocultural adaptation and positively related to perceived discrimination. The theoretical and practical implications of these results are discussed.

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

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 considerable 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 integration of Syrian refugees in Turkish society and the government's policies during this time have been the subject of debate in both the public and academic spheres. Despite the initial welcoming approach from the Turkish society, in the last years, Syrian refugees faced lack of structural integration in society (e.g., employment and housing), increased discrimination (Akar & Erdoğan, 2019), and have higher risks of depression and posttraumatic stress (Acarturk et al., 2018; Kaya et al., 2019).

Perceived discrimination plays a detrimental role in immigrants' and ethnic minorities' psychological well-being (i.e., one's positive psychological functioning), threatening their social identity (Branscombe et al., 1999; Schmitt et al., 2014). Social identity threat can take many forms (e.g., categorization threat, distinctiveness threat, acceptance threat or threat to the value of one's social identity, Branscombe et al., 1999). Discrimination can be seen as a source of identity threat that occurs when the value or acceptance of one's ingroup is undermined (Branscombe et al., 1999). Meta-analytical evidence shows robust negative effects of discrimination on a variety of well-being indicators, specially for minority/disadvantaged groups (Schmitt et al., 2014). Discrimination has also been related to immigrants' acculturation orientations and shown to have a negative impact on their adaptation to the host society (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2006; Berry & Hou, 2017; Wilson et al., 2013). Despite strong evidence supporting the impact of discrimination and acculturation orientations on immigrants' psychological adaptation, specifically on their well-being, very few studies examined the

impact of these social-psychological variables among Syrian refugees in Turkey. Among them, a recent study conducted with Syrian refugees living in Turkey showed how perceived discrimination is negatively associated with psychological well-being (Bagci & Canpolat, 2020). Similarly, a recent study showed that perceived discrimination was also negatively related with sociocultural adaptation (i.e., functionally and culturally adaptive behaviors, Wilson et al., 2017) of Syrian refugees in Turkey (Kunuroglu & Tok, 2020). Importantly, recent research conducted with Syrian refugees also shows that positive contact with the Turkish host society is associated with less perceived discrimination, higher identification with the Turkish society as well as higher life satisfaction (Ozkan et al., 2021). Together, these studies show that discrimination is an important factor hindering the adaptation of Syrian refugees in Turkey. However, very few studies examined the impact of acculturation orientations of Syrian refugees living in Turkey on their adaptation (e.g., Bagci & Canpolat, 2020), and generally the findings were not consistent (e.g., positive associations of acculturation and psychological adaptation, Bagci & Canpolat, 2020; and no association of acculturation orientations and psychological distress, Kurt et al., 2021).

The current study builds on these findings and aims to extend existing knowledge on the adaptation of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Our contribution is three-fold: (a) we extend the scarce research focusing on the relation between acculturation and adaptation among refugees, since most studies have been conducted with immigrants; (b) contrary to previous research conducted with Syrian refugees in Turkey (Kunuroglu & Tok, 2020), we focused simultaneously on both their psychological (i.e., life satisfaction) and sociocultural adaptation (Wilson et al., 2017); and (c) we considered not only the role of refugees' own acculturation orientations towards culture maintenance and contact with the Turkish society but also 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

a relevant predictor of threat and intergroup attitudes (Rohmann et al., 2006), but previous research on acculturation and adaptation has mostly focused on the impact of own acculturation orientations. For the first time, the present research explored if perceived discordance of acculturation and identity threat (operationalized as perceived discrimination; Baysu et al., 2011; Fleischmann et al., 2019) were associated with Syrian refugees' psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

Acculturation is described as a two-way process of cultural and psychological change resulting from 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), individuals' acculturation orientations involve two dimensions: the desire to maintain one's heritage culture (desire for culture maintenance) and the desire to interact and participate in the host culture (desire for contact). Based on the combination of these two dimensions, Berry proposed four acculturation orientations: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (Berry et al., 1989). Integration refers to one's desire for both culture maintenance and contact with the host society; assimilation refers to one's preference not to maintain the heritage culture while seeking contact with host society members; separation refers to the desire to maintain the heritage culture and not to seek intercultural contact; marginalization refers to a low desire for culture maintenance and intercultural contact.

Berry argued that the integration orientation was related to the best outcomes in terms of psychological and sociocultural adaptation (i.e., the integration hypothesis; Berry, 2005). Psychological and sociocultural adaptation are two dimensions of cross-cultural adaptation proposed by Ward and colleagues (2001). Psychological adaptation refers to overall well-being

within the host culture and is usually operationalized as positive mental health, emotions, and higher life satisfaction among minority group members. Sociocultural adaptation refers to one's ability to participate, function, and interact with others within the mainstream culture; as such, it is related to culture-specific behavioral skills gained in the host society in a culture learning process (Ward et al., 2001). Berry's integration hypothesis has received a good deal of empirical support. Some meta-analytical studies examining the most adaptive acculturation orientation for immigrants suggested that integration was indeed associated with better psychological and social adaptation than assimilation and separation orientations (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Yoon et al., 2013). However, more recent meta-analyses pointed to moderated rather than main effects of integration, indicating the importance of acculturation context (Bierwiazzonek & Kunst, 2021; Yoon et al., 2020). Specifically, main effects of integration, both cross-sectional and longitudinal, seem to be small to very small in size and highly heterogeneous (Bierwiazzonek & Kunst, 2021), which points to a crucial role of contextual moderators such as political climate (Yoon et al., 2020). For example, democratic US states seem to be a more favorable context for integration than republican states, and northern regions seem to be a more favorable context for integration than southern regions (Yoon et al., 2020).

Importantly, research shows that acculturation orientations are differently related to psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Ward, 2013). A study conducted in 13 different countries investigating the relations between acculturation orientations and adaptation of immigrant youth coming from 26 different cultural backgrounds showed that separation was associated with better psychological adaptation than assimilation, indicating the important role of culture maintenance for psychological adaptation relative to the desire for contact (Berry et al., 2006). Results also showed that the desire for culture maintenance impacted psychological adaptation but not sociocultural adaptation, suggesting that the orientation towards culture

maintenance may be more important for psychological adaptation than for sociocultural adaptation. Recent studies conducted with immigrant youth in Germany showed similar findings, with sociocultural adaptation being more strongly related to the orientation towards mainstream culture adoption than towards ethnic culture maintenance (Schachner et al., 2016, 2018).

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. A core difference between immigrants and refugees is the voluntary vs. involuntary/forced nature of migration motives. Refugees, differently than immigrants, are forced to resettle to escape from violence and human rights violations they face in their home countries. Although this difference has been acknowledged in the literature (e.g., Allen, Vaage, & Hauff, 2006), as well as the key role of trauma and coping in refugees' adaptation, studies rarely account for the potential impact that different migration motives may have on acculturation and adaptation (Echterhoff et al., 2020). Only recently, research has started to pay more attention to the impact of the forcedness of migration on several psychological responses (e.g., loss of control, suffering) on refugees' integration (see the psychological antecedents of refugee integration (PARI) model, Echterhoff et al., 2020).

Given these crucial differences between the two groups, findings from research on the link between acculturation and adaptation among migrants may not apply to refugees, and this link needs to be studied among refugees themselves. So far, studies among refugees are rare and report mixed results. One recent study showed that the combination of both mainstream orientation and heritage culture orientation (i.e., integration) was the preferred orientation among Syrian refugees living in Germany and it was positively associated with better mental health and sociocultural adjustment (El Khoury, 2019). In contrast, one study conducted with Syrian refugees in Germany showed that the orientation towards the German mainstream

society but not towards the Syrian heritage culture (i.e., assimilation) predicted refugees' psychological well-being better than integration (Green, King, & Fischer, 2019). Further, a qualitative study with Syrian university students in Turkey showed that most participants preferred integration as their acculturation orientation, whereas those who had spent less time in the host country preferred separation (Safak-Ayvazoglu & Kunuroglu, 2019). Finally, a study conducted with Syrian refugees in different cities in Turkey revealed a generally negative picture of their adaptation. Refugees showed relatively low positive affect and satisfaction with their life, as well as poor sociocultural adjustment regarding their interactions with host citizens. Negative attitudes and discrimination, as well as economic concerns and length of stay were the key explanatory factors for the reported low adjustment (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu, Kunuroglu & Yagmur, 2021).

Overall, current findings regarding Syrian refugees' acculturation orientations and adaptation are mixed, were conducted in different national contexts (e.g., Germany, Turkey), and not much is known whether these differences result from a possible discordance between immigrants' adaptation orientations versus host society's adaptation orientations. Indeed, in line with recent meta-analytical findings pointing to the importance of adaptation context (Bierwiazzonek & Kunst, 2021; Yoon et al., 2020), several lines of research call for a mutual approach in acculturation, considering not only immigrants' acculturation orientations but also the host society's perspective, and the potential mismatch between the two (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2002). Therefore, the current research builds on the mutuality approach to acculturation to examine the adaptation of Syrian refugees in Turkey.

Mutuality in Acculturation: The Concordance Model of Acculturation

According to this mutuality approach to acculturation, the outcomes of the acculturation process (e.g., adaptation, intergroup relations) are better predicted by the concordance/discordance of acculturation orientations of both majority and minority groups

(Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2002; see Horenczyk et al., 2013 for a review). For instance, according to Bourhis et al. (1997), the host society's preferences regarding how they want to deal with immigrants and their acculturation play an essential 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 into three main categories: consensual (full agreement), problematic (partial agreement), and conflicting (disagreement). Similarly, the concordance model of acculturation (CMA; Piontkowski et al., 2002) highlights the importance of considering the concordance/discordance between host society and immigrants' acculturation orientations.

The current study builds on mutuality in acculturation framework. More specifically on the CMA (Piontkowski et al., 2002), examining not only how acculturation orientations of Syrian refugees in Turkey, but also their meta perceptions of acculturation orientations of the Turkish society, and the concordance/discordance between them are related to perceived identity threat (i.e., discrimination) and their psychological and sociocultural adaptation. The CMA (Piontkowski et al., 2002) integrates Berry's acculturation model and the IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997) to examine the dynamics between acculturation orientations and expectations of the host society and the minority groups. 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).

Unlike IAM, this approach specifically focuses on the role of perceived (not actual) acculturation orientations, suggesting that the meta-perception of the outgroup members' acculturation preferences is an important factor that predicts one's own acculturation orientations. Different from IAM, CMA focused on Berry's original two dimensions of

acculturation and explains the discrepancies between own and meta-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 due to 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, CMA argues 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 discordance regarding both 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. However, discordance regarding culture maintenance was a stronger predictor of threat than contact discordance (Rohmann et al., 2006). Similarly, research conducted with majority host society members in Germany showed that discordance of acculturation leads to higher perceived intergroup threat than concordance of acculturation (Rohmann et al., 2008). Consistent with these findings, recent research conducted with Russian host society members showed that the higher the level of mismatch of acculturation orientations, the less positive attitudes (e.g., higher discrimination and lower intentions to engage in contact) they held towards immigrants (Grigoryev et al., 2018).

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 et al., 2013; Piontkowski et al., 2002; Zagefka et al., 2007). Most studies showed that concordance of acculturation preferences generates better outcomes in terms of intergroup relations and discordance is associated with higher levels of perceived threat (Piontkowski, et al., 2002; Rohmann et al., 2008). For instance, Matera et al. (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 host society's attitudes towards immigrants and triggered 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 dimension (Celeste et al., 2014; Kosic et al., 2005). However, there is limited research focusing on the concordance/discordance of minorities' perceptions regarding their own and the host society's acculturation orientations, and even less focusing on the potential impact of concordance/discordance on their adaptation. Zagefka et al., (2011) examined how minorities' perceptions of host society's acculturation orientations affect their own acculturation orientations. The findings showed that 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.

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, one's social identity can be threatened when one's ingroup is devalued. Since experiencing discrimination causes devaluation of one's social identity, it threatens minority groups' identity (Branscombe

et al., 1999). Several studies have used perceived discrimination as an indicator of identity threat in various intergroup settings (Baysu et al., 2011; Fleischmann et al., 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, we used perceived discrimination as an indicator of perceived identity threat in the current research. We defined perceived discrimination as the perception that one has received differential or negative treatment due to being a member of a group considered to be undesirable in society (Bourguignon et al., 2006). Perceived discrimination's detrimental impact on minorities' well-being and adaptation has robust meta-analytical evidence (Schmitt et al., 2014; Wilson et al., 2013). The relation between acculturation and perceived discrimination has received attention in acculturation research (e.g., Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002; Ward et al., 2001). However, while some studies focused on perceived discrimination as an antecedent of acculturation orientations (e.g., Vedder et al., 2006), others frame it as an outcome of the acculturation process (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003) or, as a moderator variable (Berry & Sam, 1997). For example, in line with the Rejection Identification Model (Branscombe et al., 1999) and the Rejection-Disidentification Model (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009), perceived discrimination may predict acculturation orientations. That is, it may lead immigrants to strengthen identification with their own ethnic/cultural group, moving away from the group that rejected them (host society) and ultimately affect their psychological and sociocultural adaptation negatively (Al-Issa, 1997). Consistent with this proposal, in a large-scale study among immigrant youth from 13 different nationalities, Vedder et al. (2006) found that perceived discrimination negatively affected psychological and

sociocultural adaptation. However, most research linking perceived discrimination and acculturation was conducted with immigrants, and there is limited evidence among refugees. Yet, recent theoretical developments (PARI, Echterhoff et al., 2020) emphasize that the forcedness of migration is a key factor among refugees, creating drastically different psychological conditions for refugee integration than those encountered among immigrants. Therefore, it is important to be mindful that these differences between immigrants and refugees might influence the interplay between perceived discrimination and acculturation.

The scarce research conducted with refugees suggests that perceived discrimination and acculturation orientations are also relevant to explain their adaptation to the host society. For example, research conducted with Iranian refugees showed that perceived discrimination was associated with increased orientation towards the ethnic group and was also detrimental for both sociocultural and psychological adaptation (Te Lindert et al., 2008). Qualitative research conducted with refugees in the UK showed a similar pattern, revealing the detrimental consequences of discrimination for refugee's marginalization and psychological stress (Phillimore, 2011). In line with these findings, a recent study conducted with Syrian refugees in Turkey showed that perceived discrimination was negatively related to their psychological well-being (Bagci & Canpolat, 2020). Thus, perceived discrimination, as a source of identity threat, seems to be detrimental for refugees' adaptation, and in some cases, to impact their acculturation orientations.

Present Research

Despite the strong evidence supporting the key role that discrimination and acculturation orientations play in predicting immigrants' well-being, there is scarce research on the impact of these social-psychological variables on well-being among Syrian refugees in Turkey (see Bagci et al., 2020 for an exception). The current research aimed to extend previous research, focusing on both psychological adaptation (i.e., specifically on life satisfaction, a

cognitive component of subjective well-being focusing on one's general sense of satisfaction with life as a whole; Pavot & Diener, 2009) and sociocultural adaptation of Syrian refugees living in Turkey. Besides considering the role of refugees' own acculturation orientations towards culture maintenance and contact with the Turkish society, we also aim to extend previous research by examining the impact of (dis)concordance of own acculturation and meta perceived acculturation orientations from the Turkish host society. Based on the CMA (Piontkowski, et al., 2000), we explored if perceived discordance of acculturation and identity threat (i.e., perceived discrimination) were related to refugees' psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

Hypotheses

Specifically, based on previous findings, we proposed that Syrian refugees' desire for culture maintenance is positively related to their psychological adaptation (H1a), whereas the desire for contact is positively related to their sociocultural adaptation (H1b). Perceived discrimination is negatively associated with both psychological and sociocultural adaptation (H2). Finally, perceived discordance of acculturation orientations is negatively related to both psychological and sociocultural adaptation (H3a) and positively related to perceived discrimination (H3b).

Method

Participants & Procedure

One hundred twelve participants took part in the study. Three incomplete questionnaires (> 75% blank) were excluded, resulting in a final sample of 109 participants. All participants were Syrian refugees living in Turkey; 51 were males (47.2%), 56 females (51.9%), and two did not indicate their sex. 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% 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 remaining indicated "other" (4.9%).

Participants represent a vulnerable population (refugees, minority group), thus following APA recommendations, all materials were carefully reviewed and approved by the ethics committee at the host institution of the first and second authors. The main criterion for selecting participants was being an adult Syrian refugee living in Turkey. We reached the participants through four different non-governmental organizations working with refugees in Ankara. All organizations were informed about the goals of the project and agreed to participate. Prior to data collection, we informed the participants about the goals of the study and its voluntary, anonymous and confidential character, and they provided their informed consent to participate. We obtained all data 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 measures were in English, and the Arabic versions were prepared using the translation/back-translation method.

The questionnaire included different sets of scales assessing the main variables of interest and socio-demographic questions. The order of presentation was the following:

demographics, own and perceived acculturation orientations, perceived identity threat, sociocultural and psychological adaptation.

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

Own and perceived acculturation orientations: Participants' own and perceived acculturation attitudes towards culture maintenance and desire for contact were assessed with 10 items adapted from Zagefka and Brown (2002). Participants were asked to express their agreement on 7-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (do not agree at all) to 7 (totally agree). Own culture maintenance orientation (CM) was assessed with three items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .73$, e.g. "I think it is important that Syrians in Turkey maintain their culture.") Own desire for contact (DC) was assessed with two items ($r = .69, p < 0.01$, e.g. "I think it is important that Syrians have Turkish friends"). We computed two mean indexes: one for the CM and one for the DC, where higher values mean stronger desire towards the acculturation dimension. Perceived CM was assessed with three items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .73$, e.g. "Turks think that Syrians should have the possibility to maintain their own way of living."). Perceived DC was assessed with two items ($r = .77, p < 0.01$, e.g. "I believe the Turks think it is important that Syrians have Turkish friends."). We computed two mean indexes, one for perceived CM and one for perceived DC, where higher values mean stronger agreement with the perceived orientation towards both acculturation dimensions. Also, we computed the indexes for discordance of both acculturation dimensions (CM and DC) by subtracting the perceived orientation score from their own orientation score, where values higher than "0" indicate higher levels of discordance.

Perceived discrimination: Perceived discrimination was assessed with a scale assessing both perceived personal and group discrimination (Bourguignon et al., 2006). Participants indicated their agreement with seven statements on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not agree at all) to 7 (totally agree). One item ("As a Syrian, I have rarely felt personally

discriminated against”) was dropped due to low correlation with other items. An index score was calculated by averaging the remaining six items, with higher scores indicating a higher level of perceived discrimination (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .78$, sample items are “I have personally met with difficulties because I am Syrian” and “I think that Syrians are undervalued in Turkish society”)¹.

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 et al., 2017; sample item “Building and maintaining relationships.”). All items were measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = “not at all competent” to 7 = “extremely competent”). We computed a mean index where higher values indicate higher levels of sociocultural adaptation.

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

¹ The intergroup anxiety scale (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) was also included for exploratory purposes and it was not included in the reported analyses.

Results

Zero-order correlations, means, and standard deviations are presented in Table 1. Overall, mean levels were above the scale midpoint, suggesting that participants revealed moderate/high endorsement of own and perceived CM, own and perceived DC, perceived discrimination, and sociocultural and psychological adaptation. Overall, own CM was negatively related with psychological adaptation, such that the more participants favored maintaining their heritage culture, the lower were their levels of psychological adaptation. However, perceived CM was unrelated to psychological adaptation. Own DC was unrelated to psychological adaptation, whereas perceived DC was positively related to psychological adaptation. Perceived discrimination, perceived discordance of CM and perceived discordance of DC were negatively related to psychological adaptation. Perceived discordance of DC was positively related to perceived discrimination, however perceived discordance of CM was not.

Neither own DC nor own CM was related to sociocultural adaptation. Perceived CM was unrelated to sociocultural adaptation, but perceived DC was positively related to sociocultural adaptation. Discordance of CM was negatively related with sociocultural adaptation while discordance of DC was not significantly associated with sociocultural adaptation. Perceived discrimination was not significantly related to sociocultural adaptation.

Finally, we also found several significant correlations with socio-demographic. Specifically, the age of the participants was positively related to own desire for CM and discordance of CM but negatively associated with sociocultural adaptation. Participants' education level showed a positive association with own DC and sociocultural adaptation, and a negative association with own CM and perceived CM.

Table 1

Pearson Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Perceived Discrimination, 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 Own CM	-											5.84	1.23
2 Own DC	-.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 discrimination	.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 hierarchical multiple regression analyses to examine the relative contribution of own CM, own DC, perceived CM, perceived DC and perceived discrimination in predicting Syrian refugees' psychological adaptation (Model 1) and sociocultural adaptation (Model 2, additionally including sociodemographic controls).

Model 1 coefficients are presented in Table 2. In Step 1, including own acculturation orientations only, the overall model did not explain a significant amount of variance in psychological adaptation ($R^2 = .046$, $F(2,102) = 2.457$, $p = .091$); still, own CM was negatively related to psychological adaptation. In Step 2, perceived CM and perceived DC orientations were added, which significantly increased the explained variance (12%, $R^2 = .120$, $F(4,100) = 3.399$, $p = .012$; $\Delta R^2 = .074$, $p = .018$). Regression coefficients indicated that this increase was driven by the positive effect of perceived DC. In Step 3, perceived discrimination was added, which slightly improved explained variance ($R^2 = .143$, $F(5,99) = 3.301$, $p = .008$; $\Delta R^2 = .023$, $p = .105$) even though this variable was not significantly related to psychological adaptation. Contrary to the hypothesized (H1a), own CM showed a negative effect on psychological adaptation at the limit of the conventional threshold for statistical significance ($p = .052$). In contrast to that, the positive association of perceived DC with psychological adaptation remained significant. Finally, contrary to the predicted (H2), perceived discrimination did not significantly predict psychological adaptation.

Table 2

*Model 1. Hierarchical Regression Coefficients for Variables Predicting Psychological**Adaptation*

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
1	(Constant)	4.932	.988		4.993	.000
	Own CM	-.238	.109	-.211	-2.185	.031
	Own DC	-.047	.119	-.038	-.398	.692
2	(Constant)	4.549	.970		4.689	.000
	Own CM	-.255	.117	-.227	-2.183	.031
	Own DC	-.160	.122	-.131	-1.316	.191
	Perceived CM	.048	.103	.053	.471	.639
	Perceived DC	.204	.081	.264	2.508	.014
3	(Constant)	5.249	1.053		4.986	.000
	Own CM	-.230	.117	-.205	-1.965	.052
	Own DC	-.150	.121	-.122	-1.240	.218
	Perceived CM	.060	.102	.065	.589	.557
	Perceived DC	.166	.084	.216	1.988	.049
	Perceived discrimination	-.168	.102	-.161	-1.638	.105

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

Model 2 coefficients are presented in Table 3. In this model, two demographic variables (education and age) that significantly correlated with sociocultural adaptation were included in Step 1, explaining 10,8% of the variance ($R^2 = .108$, $F(2,95) = 5.742$, $p = .004$). Specifically, being older was related to lower levels of sociocultural adaptation and having higher education level was related to higher levels of sociocultural adaptation. In Step 2, adding acculturation orientations did not significantly increase the explained variance (12%, $R^2 = .121$, $F(4,93) = 3.189$, $p = .017$; $\Delta R^2(2,93) = .013$, $p = .512$), and the positive effect of education became non-significant. In Step 3, adding perceived acculturation orientations significantly increased the

explained variance (18%, $R^2 = .180$, $F(6,91) = 3.326$, $p = .005$; $\Delta R^2(2,91) = .059$, $p = .042$), and age, education, and perceived DC significantly predicted sociocultural adaptation. In Step 4, perceived discrimination was included and the seven predictors together explained 18.6% of the variance ($R^2 = .186$, $F(7,90) = 2.945$, $p = .008$; $\Delta R^2(1,90) = .007$, $p = .398$) but only age and education significantly predicted adaptation, whereas perceived DC became non-significant. Overall, contrary to hypothesized, nor own DC (H1b), nor perceived discrimination predicted sociocultural adaptation (H2b).

Table 3

Model 2. Hierarchical Regression Coefficients for Variables Predicting Sociocultural Adaptation.

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
1	(Constant)	5.035	.482		10.457	.000
	Age	-.025	.011	-.219	-2.250	.027
	Education	.281	.122	.225	2.308	.023
2	(Constant)	4.358	.954		4.570	.000
	Age	-.027	.012	-.230	-2.221	.029
	Education	.244	.137	.196	1.786	.077
	Own CM	.001	.111	.001	.013	.990
	Own DC	.126	.109	.117	1.158	.250
3	(Constant)	3.976	.943		4.216	.000
	Age	-.026	.012	-.225	-2.196	.031
	Education	.274	.136	.219	2.014	.047
	Own CM	-.009	.117	-.009	-.079	.937
	Own DC	.030	.114	.027	.261	.795
	Perceived CM	.046	.094	.057	.492	.624
	Perceived DC	.158	.073	.233	2.179	.032
4	(Constant)	4.277	1.009		4.240	.000
	Age	-.026	.012	-.225	-2.191	.031
	Education	.285	.137	.228	2.081	.040
	Own CM	.005	.118	.005	.045	.964
	Own DC	.032	.114	.030	.280	.780
	Perceived CM	.053	.095	.066	.563	.575
	Perceived DC	.141	.076	.207	1.860	.066
	Perceived discrimination	-.079	.092	-.086	-.850	.398

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

Predicting Psychological and Sociocultural Adaptation: perceived discordance of acculturation

Finally, the relative impact of perceived discordance of CM and perceived discordance of DC was examined in two linear regressions with psychological adaptation (Model 3) and sociocultural adaptation (Model 4) as outcomes. In Model 3 (see Table 4), the two variables explained a significant amount of variance in psychological adaptation ($R^2 = .087$, $F(2,102) = 4.864$, $p = .010$). Regression coefficients indicated that this effect was driven by the perceived discordance of DC. That is, the more discordance between participants' own DC and their perception of how much the host society wants them to have contact, the lower the score on psychological adaptation. In Model 4, neither perceived discordance of CM nor perceived discordance of DC significantly predicted sociocultural adaptation (see Table 5).

Table 4

Model 3. Perceived Acculturation Orientations Predicting Psychological Adaptation

Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
(Constant)	3.677	.191		19.262	.000
Perceived discordance of CM	.132	.088	.145	1.490	.139
Perceived discordance of DC	.174	.075	.225	2.314	.023

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

Table 5

Model 4. Perceived Acculturation Orientations Predicting Sociocultural Adaptation

Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
(Constant)	5.099	.173		29.554	.000
Perceived discordance of CM	.137	.080	.171	1.714	.090
Perceived discordance of DC	.088	.068	.130	1.299	.197

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

Discussion

The present chapter examined the psychological and sociocultural adaptation of Syrian refugees living in Turkey. Relying on the interactionist approach to acculturation, specifically on the proposals of the CMA (Piontkowski et al., 2002), we extended previous research by examining the role of refugees' own acculturation orientations, meta perceived acculturation orientations from the Turkish host society, perceived (dis)concordance, and perceived discrimination in predicting psychological and sociocultural adaptation.

Although the zero-order correlations showed some initial support for the hypotheses, suggesting that refugees' own and perceived acculturation orientations, as well as discordance, were associated with their adaptation outcomes, most of these effects disappeared in the regression analyses. Partially in line with the hypotheses, perceived discordance of desire for contact was negatively related to psychological adaptation. Similarly, the discordance of desire for culture maintenance was negatively associated with sociocultural adaptation, but this effect became non-significant in the regression model. Also, partially in line with the hypothesis, perceived discrimination was positively correlated with the discordance of desire for contact; however, it was not significantly correlated with discordance of culture maintenance. Overall, these findings are in line with the proposal of the CMA (Piontkowski et al., 2002) that more than own acculturation orientations, it is the perceived orientations of the mainstream society, as well as the (dis)concordance between own and perceived orientations that impact intergroup relations. Our findings are also consistent with previous research showing the detrimental impact of discordance of acculturation among majority host groups (e.g., Grigoryev et al., 2018; Rohman et al., 2006; 2008), and extend them by showing the detrimental impact of discordance on adaptation, specifically among a minority group. This is the most consistent finding in the current study and it extends the current knowledge on interactionist approaches to acculturation

to an under-researched group, the refugees, since most studies on the CMA were conducted with majority groups.

Regarding own and perceived acculturation orientations, for psychological adaptation, the only effects that remained significant were the unpredicted negative association of desire for culture maintenance and the positive association of perceived desire for contact. Contrary to previous research results (e.g., Berry et al. 2006), the more Syrian refugees in our sample favored culture maintenance, the lower was their psychological adaptation, that is, the lower their general life satisfaction.

This finding also contradicts findings from recent research which shows that Syrian refugees' desire for culture maintenance is positively associated with life satisfaction and functional well-being (Bagci & Canpolat, 2020). One particular reason for the discrepancy might be the local context. Specifically, in Bagci & Canpolat's study, refugees were recruited from Şanlıurfa, where they represented 22% of the overall city population, constituting one of the Turkish provinces with the highest number of refugees. In the current research participants were recruited in Ankara, where they represent a lower % of the city population (around 2%). The familiarity with Syrians and the Syrian culture might have been higher in Şanlıurfa, given its geographical proximity with the Turkish-Syrian border. Also, although no specific information is provided in the study of Bagci and Canpolat (2020), the samples of the two studies may have differed regarding the refugees' length of stay in Turkey. In the current research, the average length of stay in Turkey was approximately four years. One could speculate that longer exposure to the host community makes refugees more vulnerable to experience exclusion and discrimination from the host society and ultimately impact the protective role of identifying with their heritage culture. Future studies could aim to replicate our findings, specifically comparing diverse samples regarding the length of residence, keeping all other factors constant, and comparing diverse geographical locations, controlling for length

of stay. Extending the current literature on refugees' psychological adaptation, our findings showed the important positive role of perceived desire for refugees' life satisfaction. Specifically, the more they felt that the host society members are willing to contact them, the more they were satisfied with their lives.

Regarding sociocultural adaptation, contrary to the expected, our results did not reveal any significant association between one's own desire for contact and refugees' sociocultural adaptation. This finding is not consistent with previous research suggesting that contact with the host society is a key factor for immigrants' cultural learning and, accordingly, for their sociocultural adaptation (Masgoret & Ward, 2012; Ward et al., 2001). In line with this, recent research conducted with Syrian refugees in Turkey showed the beneficial impact of positive vs. the detrimental impact of negative contact with the Turkish host society. Whereas positive contact with Turks was associated with less perceived discrimination, higher identification with the host society, and higher life satisfaction, negative contact was related to higher perceived discrimination, lower identification and lower life satisfaction (Ozkan et al., 2021). Besides direct contact, positive extended contact with Turks has also been associated with Syrian refugees lower return migration intentions (Ozkan, Chapter XX; see Bagci et al, Chapter XX for a review).

Also, previous research conducted with immigrant 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 assessing different dimensions of acculturation (desire for contact, as proposed by Berry, or culture adoption, as proposed by Bourhis et al., 1997) result in different acculturation preferences (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Ward & Kus, 2012). For example, minority groups in Belgium preferred an integration strategy when acculturation was assessed using Berry's original proposal of culture maintenance and contact,

but favored separation when acculturation was assessed with culture maintenance and adoption dimensions (Snauwaert, et al. 2003). A review study concludes that research using the culture maintenance–contact measures reports a higher proportion of participants favoring integration than research using the culture maintenance-adoption measures (Ward and 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, the finding we discuss above 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. Indeed, research comparing refugees and migrants mental health, sense of belonging, and discrimination experiences in Canada showed that the two groups differ. Refugees revealed lower mental health than migrants, and perceived discrimination and sense of belongingness to the origin country were more detrimental for their mental health than for migrants’ mental health (Beiser & Hou, 2017).

Similar to the findings regarding psychological adaptation, perceived desire for contact positively predicted sociocultural adaptation, but this effect became non-significant once other variables were included in the regression model. On the other hand, contrary to the findings of Wilson et al. (2017), age was a significant predictor of refugees’ sociocultural adaptation. That is, the older the participants were, the lower the reported levels of sociocultural adaptation. Although previous findings regarding the association of adaptation and age are generally inconsistent, one hypothesis is that that culture learning is more difficult for older people who

have less resources to deal with cultural transition (Ward et al., 2001). With age, cultural patterns may become less flexible and adaptability may decrease, making it harder for older participants to acquire new cultural patterns; this could explain why older participants in our sample showed poorer socio-cultural adaptation.

Thus, overall, refugees' own acculturation orientations were not associated with their adaptation, whereas refugees' perceptions of the acculturation orientations of the Turkish society, especially regarding desire for contact, emerged as an important predictor. Future research could replicate this finding with a larger sample, and further explore the differential impact of perceived acculturation orientations vs. own acculturation orientations among refugees.

Contrary to the predicted, refugees' perceptions of discrimination were not associated with their sociocultural adaptation. Overall, the detrimental impact of discrimination among Syrian refugees was found only for their psychological adaptation and this effect became non-significant in the regression analysis. The lack of association between perceived discrimination and adaptation is not in line with previous research (cf., Wilson et al., 2013), including a recent study showing the negative correlation between perceived individual discrimination and the sociocultural adaptation of Syrian refugees living in Turkey (Kunuroglu & Tok, 2020). The relatively small sample size of our study might explain the lack of a significant relation between perceived discrimination and adaptation. However, correlation results revealed a different noteworthy relationship: 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. It could be, therefore, that the variance shared by perceived desire for contact and perceived discrimination was why the effects of perceived discrimination were not present in the regression; the perception of whether the mainstream society is willing to have contact with

refugees could simply be more relevant for our participant's adaptation. This suggests that, as proposed by the CMA, perceptions of host society's acculturation preferences are an important factor when examining acculturation conditions and outcomes. Future research could further explore this finding, focusing on the potential protective role of perceived acculturation orientations with a larger sample.

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, however, these findings did not replicate previous results for sociocultural adaptation, an aspect that deserves further attention in future research. Extending previous research, refugees' perceived acculturation orientations from Turkish citizens, particularly perceived desire for contact, emerged as an important positive predictor, especially for psychological adaptation. In sum, our 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, which is likely the reason why some effects, although otherwise consistent, show *p*-values close to the conventional threshold of significance. Therefore, future research is needed to replicate our findings in a larger, well powered sample. Another limitation regarding the generalizability of the study is related to participant recruitment method. Participants were reached through organizations that support refugees in Ankara, Turkey. Although all participants were included in the study randomly without any further 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. Thus, the positive experiences with the Turkish organizations may have affected their reported discrimination and adaptation. Future research could replicate the findings with a more diverse sample of refugees, specially involving those who may feel less supported by the host society. Finally, this study is cross-sectional, thus not allowing to infer causality between the proposed predictors and Syrian refugees' adaptation. Considering the current "causality crisis" in acculturation research, it is crucial to use longitudinal designs to draw more solid conclusions on the causal direction of the reported effects (Bierwiazzonek & Kunst, 2021; Kunst, 2021).

Practical implications

Considering the high number of Syrian refugees currently living in Turkey, it is imperative to investigate the factors that improve their psychological and sociocultural adaptation, as well as the factors that impede successful adjustment, with the goal of creating solutions for both current and future societal problems. Despite the above-mentioned limitations, the current research has the potential to provide practical implications that can support this goal. Insights into the dynamic nature of refugees' own and perceived acculturation orientations and their perceived discrimination are important for providing a more comprehensive picture of refugees' adaptation. Such insights may serve practitioners (e.g., governmental and non-governmental organizations working with refugees) to develop better interventions aiming at facilitating sociocultural and psychological adaptation of refugees, and ultimately fostering their integration in the host society. Specifically, interventions based around shaping positive perceptions of the host society as a welcoming environment may be a fruitful avenue; these, however, may not be reliable if such perceptions are disproved by the social reality. That is, fostering actual welcoming attitudes of the public opinion toward refugees might be a pre-requisite. Overall, this finding points out the importance of developing

interventions to strengthen and reinforce positive communication and expectations between refugees and the host society.

Conclusion

The current study 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.

References

- Acarturk, C., Cetinkaya, M., Senay, I., Gulen, B., Aker, T., & Hinton, D. (2018). Prevalence and predictors of posttraumatic stress and depression symptoms among syrian refugees in a refugee camp. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 206(1), 40–45.
- Akar, S., & Erdoğan, M. M. (2019). Syrian Refugees in Turkey and Integration Problem Ahead. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 20(3), 925–940.
- Al-Issa, I. (1997). The psychology of prejudice and discrimination. In I. Al-Issa & M. Tousignant (Eds.), *Ethnicity, immigration, and psychopathology* (pp. 17–32). Plenum Press.
- Allen, J., Vaage, A. B., Hauff, E. (2006). Refugees and asylum seekers in societies. In Sam, D. L., Berry, J. W. (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (pp. 198–217). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Arends-Tóth, J., & Vijver, F. J. R. van de. (2006). Issues in conceptualization and assessment of acculturation. In *Acculturation and parent-child relationships: Measurement and development*.
- Bagcı, S. C., & Canpolat, E. (2020). Group efficacy as a moderator on the associations between perceived discrimination, acculturation orientations, and psychological well-being. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*.
- Baysu, G., Phalet, K., & Brown, R. (2011). Dual identity as a two-edged sword: Identity threat and minority school performance. *Social Psychology Quarterly*.
- Beiser, M., & Hou, F. (2017). Predictors of positive mental health among refugees: Results from Canada's General Social Survey. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 54(5-6), 675-695. doi.org/10.1177/1363461517724985
- Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Power, S., Young, M., & Bujaki, M. (1989). Acculturation Attitudes in Plural Societies. *Applied Psychology*.
- Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. L. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. In John W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga, J. Pandey, M. H. Segall, & Ç. Kâğıtçıbaşı (Eds.), *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology: Social behavior and applications* (pp. 291–326). Allyn & Bacon.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*.
- Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29(6), 697–712.
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied psychology*, 55(3), 303-332.
- Berry, J. W., & Hou, F. (2017). Acculturation, discrimination and wellbeing among second generation of immigrants in Canada. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 61, 29–39.
- Berry, J. W., & Sabatier, C. (2011). Variations in the assessment of acculturation attitudes: Their relationships with psychological wellbeing. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 35(5), 658–669.
- Bierwiazzonek, K., & Kunst, J. R. (2021). Revisiting the integration hypothesis: Little meta-analytic evidence for acculturation predicting cross-cultural adaptation. *Psychological Science*, 32 (9), 1476-1493 doi.org/10.1177/09567976211006432
- Bourguignon, D., Seron, E., Yzerbyt, V., & Herman, G. (2006). Perceived group and personal discrimination: Differential effects on personal self-esteem. *European Journal of Social Psychology*.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Moïse, L. C., Perreault, S., & Senécal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*.
- Branscombe, N. R., Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (1999). The context and content of

- social identity threat. *Social Identity: Context, Commitment, Content*.
- Branscombe, Nyla R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(1), 135–149.
- Celeste, L., Brown, R., Tip, L. K., & Matera, C. (2014). Acculturation is a two-way street: Majority–minority perspectives of outgroup acculturation preferences and the mediating role of multiculturalism and threat. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 43, 304–320.
- Echterhoff, G., Hellmann, J. H., Back, M. D., Kärtner, J., Morina, N., & Hertel, G. (2020). Psychological antecedents of refugee integration (PARI). *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 15(4), 856–879. doi.org/10.1177/1745691619898838
- El Khoury, S. J. (2019). Factors that impact the sociocultural adjustment and well-being of Syrian refugees in Stuttgart – Germany. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 47(1), 65–80.
- Fleischmann, F., Leszczensky, L., & Pink, S. (2019). Identity threat and identity multiplicity among minority youth: Longitudinal relations of perceived discrimination with ethnic, religious, and national identification in Germany. *British Journal of Social Psychology*.
- Grigoryev, D., van de Vijver, F., & Batkhina, A. (2018). Discordance of acculturation attitudes of the host population and their dealing with immigrants. doi.org/10.1080/17475759.2018.1497678
- Horenczyk, G., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Sam, D. & Vedder, P., (2013). Mutuality in Acculturation Toward an Integration. *Zeitschrift für Psychologie*. 221. 205.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., Horenczyk, G., & Schmitz, P. (2003). The interactive nature of acculturation: perceived discrimination, acculturation attitudes and stress among young ethnic repatriates in Finland, Israel and Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(1), 79–97.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., & Solheim, E. (2009). To Identify or Not To Identify? National Disidentification as an Alternative Reaction to Perceived Ethnic Discrimination. *Applied Psychology*, 58(1), 105–128.
- Kaya, E., Kiliç, C., Karadağ Çaman, Ö., & Üner, S. (2019). Posttraumatic Stress and Depression among Syrian Refugees Living in Turkey: Findings from an Urban Sample. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 207(12), 995–1000.
- Kosic, A., Mannetti, L., & Lackland Sam, D. (2005). The role of majority attitudes towards out-group in the perception of the acculturation strategies of immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*.
- Kunuroglu, F., & Tok, E. S. (2020). The Impact of Personality and Perceived Discrimination on the Sociocultural Adaptation Processes of Syrian Refugees in Turkey. In H. Uzun (Ed.), *Recent Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research* (1st ed., pp. 79–94). Gece.
- Kunst, J. R. (2021). Are we facing a “causality crisis” in acculturation research? The need for a methodological (r) evolution. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2021.08.003
- Kurt, G., Acar, İ. H., Ilkkursun, Z., Yurtbakan, T., Acar, B., Uygun, E., & Acarturk, C. (2021). Traumatic experiences, acculturation, and psychological distress among Syrian refugees in Turkey: The mediating role of coping strategies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 81, 214–225. doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2021.02.001
- Masgoret, A.-M., & Ward, C. (2012). Culture learning approach to acculturation. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology* (pp. 58–77). Cambridge University Press.
- Matera, C., Stefanile, C., & Brown, R. (2015). Majority-minority acculturation preferences

- concordance as an antecedent of attitudes towards immigrants: The mediating role of perceived symbolic threat and metastereotypes. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*.
- Montgomery, J. R. (1996). Components of refugee adaptation. *International Migration Review*, 30(3), 679-702.
- Nguyen, A.-M. D., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2013). Biculturalism and Adjustment: A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 44(1), 122–159.
- Özkan, Z., Ergün, N., & Çakal, H. (2021). Positive versus negative contact and refugees' intentions to migrate: The mediating role of perceived discrimination, life satisfaction and identification with the host society among Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*.
- Pavot, W., & Diener, E. (2009). *Review of the Satisfaction With Life Scale* (pp. 101–117). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Phelps, J. M., Ommundsen, R., Türken, S., & Ulleberg, P. (2013). Intergroup Perception and Proactive Majority Integration Attitudes. *Social Psychology*, 44(3), 196–207.
- Phillimore, J. (2011). Refugees, Acculturation Strategies, Stress and Integration. *Journal of Social Policy*, 40, 575–593.
- Piontkowski, U., Rohmann, A., & Florack, A. (2002). Concordance of Acculturation Attitudes and Perceived Threat. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 5(3), 221–232.
- Piontkowski, U., Rohmann, A., Florack, A., Piontkowski, U., Rohmann, A., & Florack, A. (2002). *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations Concordance of Acculturation Attitudes and Perceived Threat*. 5(3), 221–232.
- Rohmann, A., Florack, A., & Piontkowski, U. (2006). The role of discordant acculturation attitudes in perceived threat: An analysis of host and immigrant attitudes in Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*.
- Rohmann, A., Piontkowski, U., & van Randenborgh, A. (2008). When attitudes do not fit: Discordance of acculturation attitudes as an antecedent of intergroup threat. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34(3), 337–352.
- Safak-Ayvazoglu, A., & Kunuroglu, F. (2019). Acculturation Experiences and Psychological Well-Being of Syrian Refugees Attending Universities in Turkey: A Qualitative Study. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*.
- Şafak-Ayvazoğlu, A., Kunuroglu, F., & Yağmur, K. (2021). Psychological and sociocultural adaptation of Syrian refugees in Turkey. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 80, 99–111.
- Schachner, M. K., Noack, P., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Eckstein, K. (2016). Cultural Diversity Climate and Psychological Adjustment at School—Equality and Inclusion Versus Cultural Pluralism. *Child Development*, 87(4), 1175–1191.
- Schachner, M. K., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Noack, P. (2018). Acculturation and School Adjustment of Early-Adolescent Immigrant Boys and Girls in Germany: Conditions in School, Family, and Ethnic Group. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 38(3), 352–384.
- Snauwaert, B., Soenens, B., Vanbeselaere, N., & Boen, F. (2003). When integration does not necessarily imply integration: Different conceptualizations of acculturation orientations lead to different classifications. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 34, 231-239. doi:10.1177/0022022102250250
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity of intergroup behavior. In *Psychology and intergroup relations*.
- Te Lindert, A., Korzilius, H., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., Kroon, S., & Arends-Tóth, J. (2008). Perceived discrimination and acculturation among Iranian refugees in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32(6), 578–588.

- UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR). (2019). Global Trends - Forced Displacement in 2019. In *UNHCR Global Trends 2019*. <https://www.unhcr.org/5ee200e37.pdf>
- UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR). (2020). *UNHCR Turkey Operational Update April 2020*. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/76727>
- Van Oudenhoven, J. P., Prins, K. S., & Buunk, B. P. (1998). Attitudes of minority and majority members towards adaptation of immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28(6), 995–1013.
- Vedder, P., van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Liebkind, K. (2006). Predicting Immigrant Youths' Adaptation Across Countries and Ethnocultural Groups. In J. W. Berry, J. S. Phinney, D. L. Sam, & P. Vedder (Eds.), *Immigrant Youth in Cultural Transition: Acculturation, identity and adaptation across national contexts* (pp. 143–166). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Verkuyten, M., & Thijs, J. (2002). Multiculturalism among minority and majority adolescents in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26(1), 91–108.
- Ward, C. (2013). Probing identity, integration and adaptation: Big questions, little answers. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 37(4), 391–404.
- Ward, C., Bochner, S., & Furnham, A. (2001). *The Psychology of Culture Shock*. Routledge.
- Ward, C., & Geeraert, N. (2016). Advancing acculturation theory and research: the acculturation process in its ecological context. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 8, 98–104.
- Ward, C., & Kus, L. (2012). Back to and beyond Berry's basics: The conceptualization, operationalization and classification of acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 36(4), 472–485.
- Wilson, J., Ward, C., Fetvadjev, V. H., & Bethel, A. (2017). Measuring Cultural Competencies: The Development and Validation of a Revised Measure of Sociocultural Adaptation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*.
- Wilson, J., Ward, C., & Fischer, R. (2013). Beyond Culture Learning Theory: What Can Personality Tell Us About Cultural Competence? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*.
- Yoon, E., Cabirow, L., Galvin, S., Hill, L., Daskalova, P., Bhang, C., Ahmad Mustaffa, E., Dao, A., Thomas, K., & Baltazar, B. (2020). A Meta-Analysis of Acculturation and Enculturation: Bilinear, Multidimensional, and Context-Dependent Processes. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 48(3), 342–376.
- Yoon, E., Chang, C. T., Kim, S., Clawson, A., Cleary, S. E., Hansen, M., Bruner, J. P., Chan, T. K., & Gomes, A. M. (2013). A meta-analysis of acculturation/enculturation and mental health. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 60(1), 15–30.
- Zagefka, H., & Brown, R. (2002). The relationship between acculturation strategies, relative fit and intergroup relations: Immigrant-majority relations in Germany. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 32(2), 171–188.
- Zagefka, H., Brown, R., Broquard, M., & Leventoglu Martin, S. (2007). Predictors and consequences of negative attitudes toward immigrants in Belgium and Turkey: The role of acculturation preferences and economic competition. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 46(1), 153–169.
- Zagefka, H., González, R., & Brown, R. (2011). How minority members' perceptions of majority members' acculturation preferences shape minority members' own acculturation preferences: Evidence from Chile. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50(2), 216–233.