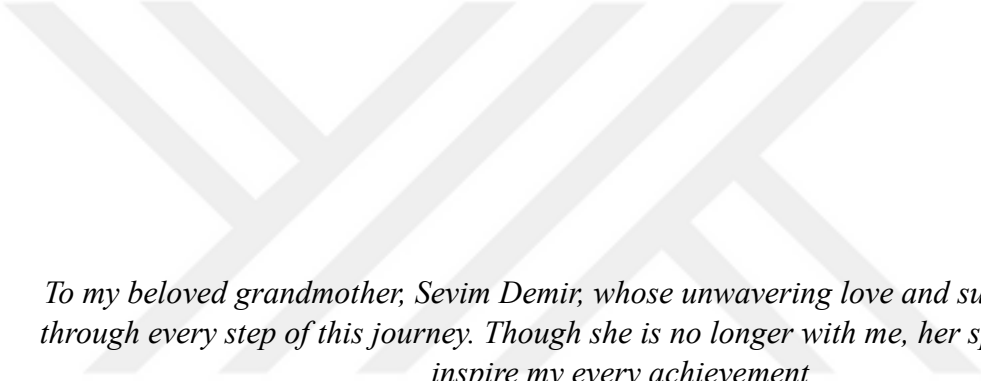


WHAT DETERMINES POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD REFUGEES
AND WHY? COMPARING TÜRKİYE AND GERMANY IN RESPONSE TO
POST-2011 FORCED MIGRATION CRISIS BASED ON THE CONTEXT OF
VALUE CHANGE AND INSTITUTIONAL TRUST

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by
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Ankara
September 2024



To my beloved grandmother, Sevim Demir, whose unwavering love and support guided me through every step of this journey. Though she is no longer with me, her spirit continues to inspire my every achievement

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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
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THE DEPARTMENT OF
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ABSTRACT

WHAT DETERMINES POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD REFUGEES AND WHY? COMPARING TÜRKİYE AND GERMANY IN RESPONSE TO POST-2011 FORCED MIGRATION CRISIS BASED ON THE CONTEXT OF VALUE CHANGE AND INSTITUTIONAL TRUST

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This study aims to provide empirical evidence in exploring the determinants of creating positive attitudes toward refugees and the reason behind this by responding the question: ‘Under what conditions do communities with migration experience in refugee-receiving states become more open toward accepting more refugees, and why?’. This research seeks answers to this question by testing two hypotheses: (i) post-materialist, cooperative, inclusive and egalitarian norms within the population may serve as an effective strategy for fostering a more welcoming attitude towards refugees and mitigating xenophobic sentiments and (ii) well-functioning migration governance based on the high-level of institutional and regulatory capacity of host

countries and the ability to foster institutional trust within the resident communities are anticipated to play a crucial role in shaping a positive attitude towards refugees. Even though findings obtained under this research did not produce any significant result for supporting or falsifying the first hypothesis which aims to examine the impact of change in value preferences on attitudes toward refugees, this research found that regulatory and institution of host countries and institutional trust toward them among people matter in shaping people's attitudes toward acceptance of further refugees in a positive way.

Keywords: Refugee, Cohesion, Values, Institutional Trust, Migration

ÖZET

MÜLTECİLERE KARŞI OLUMLU TUTUMLARI NE BELİRLER VE NEDEN? 2011 SONRASI ZORUNLU GÖÇ KRİZİNE YANIT OLARAK DEĞER DEĞİŞİMİ VE KURUMSAL GÜVEN BAĞLAMINDA TÜRKİYE VE ALMANYA KARŞILAŞTIRMASI

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Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Ioannis Grigoriadis

Eylül 2024

Bu çalışma, mültecilere karşı olumlu tutumları oluşturma nın belirleyicilerini ve bunun arkasındaki nedenleri araştırmak amacıyla ampirik kanıt sağlamayı hedeflemektedir. Araştırma, şu soruyu yanıtlamayı amaçlar: "Göç deneyimi yaşayan topluluklar, mülteci kabul eden devletlerde daha fazla mülteci kabul etmeye ne zaman ve neden daha açık hale gelir?" Bu araştırma, iki hipotezi test ederek bu sorunun yanıtını arar: (i) toplumdaki post-materyalist, işbirlikçi, kapsayıcı ve eşitlikçi normların güçlendirilmesi, mülteciler karşısında daha olumlu bir tutum geliştirmek ve yabancı düşmanlığına yönelik duyguları törpülemek için etkili bir strateji olarak hizmet edebilir ve (ii) ev sahibi ülkelerin yüksek düzeyde kurumsal ve düzenleyici

kapasitesine dayanan iyi işleyen bir göç yönetimi ve yerel topluluklar içinde kurumsal güveni geliştirme yeteneği, mülteciler karşısında olumlu bir tutum şekillendirmede önemli bir rol oynaması beklenmektedir. Bu araştırmanın bulguları, değer tercihlerindeki değişimin etkisini incelemeyi amaçlayan ilk hipotezi destekleyecek veya çürütecek herhangi bir anlamlı sonuç vermemiş olsa da, bu araştırma, ev sahibi ülkelerin düzenleyici ve kurumsal kapasiteleri ile bu konudaki kurumsal güvenin, insanların daha fazla mülteci kabulüne yönelik olumlu tutumlarını şekillendirmede önemli olduğu bulgusuna ulaşmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mülteci, Uyum, Değerler, Kurumsal Güven, Göç

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Chapter I – Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This study aims to explore and identify the determinants of creating positive attitudes toward refugees and the reason behind this by responding the question: ‘Under what conditions do communities with migration experience in refugee-receiving states become more open toward accepting more refugees, and why?’. While seeking for an answer to this question, the following hypotheses were proposed and tested under this study:

- H1: Post-materialist, cooperative, inclusive and egalitarian norms within the population may serve as an effective strategy for fostering a more welcoming attitude towards refugees and mitigating xenophobic sentiments.
- H2: Well-functioning migration governance based on the high-level of institutional and regulatory capacity of host countries and the ability to foster institutional trust within the communities are anticipated to play a crucial role in shaping a positive attitude towards refugees.

The study is designed as a two-stage research process. The first stage involves analyzing data on respondents' experiences before and after migration to understand how these experiences correlate with changes in attitudes toward refugees. The study draws on theories that link economic and security improvements to the adoption of more inclusive

and cooperative social norms, inspired by value change theories in the literature. This approach allows for an examination of whether changes in value preferences align with greater openness to refugees. The first hypothesis investigates the relationship between improvements in economic and security conditions and changes in value preferences. It is hypothesized that these changes will lead to more positive attitudes toward refugees and a reduction in xenophobic sentiments. The research employs an online survey of 157 participants to test this hypothesis. The survey measures respondents' perceptions of their economic and security conditions before and after migration, as well as their attitudes towards refugees and their value preferences. However, findings obtained from this survey did not provide significant support for the hypothesis, indicating that only focusing on equipping people with collaborative and inclusive norms and self-expression and secular-rational norms is not sufficient for enhancing refugee-welcoming attitudes among communities live in host countries.

The second hypothesis is developed by covering existing literature on migration governance and institutional trust. It examines how the regulatory and institutional capacities of host states influence public attitudes toward refugees. To test this hypothesis, semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants to gain deeper insights into the role of effective migration governance and institutional trust in shaping attitudes. The findings underline the importance of strong migration governance established and ruled by host countries and high levels of institutional trust among people live in host states. They play a key role in influencing public attitudes and enhancing the effectiveness of refugee integration policies.

For hypothesis testing, Türkiye and Germany were selected as case studies due to their contrasting economic and security profiles, as well as their significant historical migration patterns. Türkiye was chosen because it represents a context with ongoing economic and security challenges, making it a relevant source of migrants. Germany was selected for its advanced economic conditions and well-established migration policies, providing a contrasting environment for comparison. The selection of these cases is supported by the long history of migration between Türkiye and Germany in terms of its suitability to easily reach out more participants for conducting this research. Additionally, both countries have faced substantial refugee inflows in recent years, with Türkiye hosting a large number of Syrian refugees and Germany receiving a significant number. This comparative approach enables a strong analysis of how different conditions and policies influence attitudes of people live in host communities toward the acceptance of further refugees.

The study employs a mixed-methods approach, integrating an online survey and semi-structured interviews to gather comprehensive data from Turkish citizens residing in Germany for at least one year. The online survey captures respondents' perceptions of their economic and security conditions before and after migration, along with their attitudes toward refugees and value preferences. The semi-structured interviews provide qualitative insights, allowing for an in-depth exploration of respondents' experiences and perceptions. This combination of methods helps to uncover additional factors that may influence refugee-welcoming attitudes beyond those captured in the survey.

The findings from the online survey indicate that participants are more tend to choose post-materialist statements, however this did not result in strengthening refugee-welcoming attitudes among them. Participants reported increased economic satisfaction and a greater

sense of security after migration from Germany to Türkiye, which aligned with a shift toward more inclusive values. However, the survey did not reveal a strong correlation between these value shifts and increased acceptance of refugees. The semi-structured interviews provided further insights, highlighting that improved conditions alone are insufficient to foster a welcoming environment for refugees. Participants emphasized the importance of effective migration governance established and implemented by host states and institutional trust built regarding it, noting that these factors are crucial for shaping positive attitudes toward refugees. The interviews revealed that while changes in values are important, they must be accompanied by robust policies and trustworthy institutions to effectively and positively impact public attitudes.

In the conducted semi-structured interviews, four key themes emerged as components of effective migration governance implemented by host states: (i) the acceptance of highly educated refugees, (ii) the enhancement of registration procedures, (iii) the implementation of systematic integration measures, and (iv) robust monitoring and law enforcement mechanisms. Participants frequently referred to these themes to articulate their pessimism regarding the acceptance of additional refugees in Türkiye, contrasted with their optimism towards Germany's capacity to accept more refugees. To rigorously analyze the data, a manual coding process was employed, complemented by automated coding using MAXQDA software. This methodological approach identified the most frequently mentioned and emphasized theme as the systematic integration of refugees, highlighting its paramount importance to the participants. This theme demonstrates the importance of the provision of cultural, social, legal, and linguistic knowledge to refugees in terms of facilitating their integration into society or shaping their acceptance by the people who

already live in host communities/countries. The prominence of this theme, as determined by frequency analysis, underlines the participants' prioritization of well-structured and comprehensive integration processes over other aspects of migration governance. This finding demonstrates the crucial role of effective integration policies in shaping public attitudes and fostering social cohesion within host countries.

This study also considered whether Turkish participants support pro-immigrant policies due to their own migrant status in Germany or not. To address this question, responses were reviewed in detail, however, no significant reference regarding their pro-immigrant status in Germany or citizenship ties with Türkiye were identified. In addition, the analysis included examining their perspectives on Ukrainian refugees. Despite their general approval of Germany's migration governance, participants expressed their strong sense of unfair distribution of resources and regarding the differential treatment of Ukrainian refugees compared to other refugee groups due to political and cultural reasons. This perception of preferential treatment has influenced their views towards Ukrainian refugees, suggesting that their support for the acceptance of further refugees in Germany is not solely based on their own migrant identity. Participants emphasized that the perceived inequities in the treatment of different refugee groups detracted from their overall support for these policies. This finding indicates that participants' attitudes towards migration governance are shaped not only by their own experiences as migrants but also by broader principles of migration governance based on justice, equality and also its effectiveness.

This thesis makes significant theoretical and empirical contributions to the understanding of migration governance and public attitudes towards refugees, offering invaluable insights for policymakers. Theoretically, it provides alternative considerations

for value change theories and its impact on creating cohesive societies and also refugee-welcoming attitudes. Empirically, the study introduces new, robust data from an online survey and semi-structured interviews conducted with Turkish citizens who have lived in Germany for at least a year, underlining the pivotal role of institutional trust in shaping positive attitudes towards refugee acceptance. These findings are not only academically significant but also provide a strong, evidence-based foundation for policymakers. They can be instrumental in designing and implementing targeted policies that promote refugee-welcoming attitudes and enhance social cohesion in host communities. The research proposes innovative policy areas and strategies that can transform the way host communities perceive and integrate refugees, thereby contributing to more effective and sustainable migration governance on a global scale.

However, the research has certain limitations that should be acknowledged. One significant limitation is the focus on participants with higher education levels, which was driven by their greater inclination towards post-materialist values. While this demographic focus allows for a deep exploration of these values, it also narrows the scope of the study and may limit the generalizability of the findings to broader populations, particularly those with lower levels of education who may hold different value orientations. Additionally, the reliance on online data collection due to COVID-19 restrictions presents another limitation. Although online surveys and interviews offer convenience and a broad reach, they may inadvertently exclude individuals without technological literacy, further skewing the sample towards more educated and technologically proficient groups. Moreover, the sampling group in this study was politically sensitive, leading to a noticeable reluctance among previous generations of immigrants to participate in online research. This reluctance

resulted in the study being conducted primarily with educated recent immigrants, who came to Germany for looking for professional work or pursuing post-graduate education opportunities and who may have different perspectives compared to earlier immigrant cohorts, i.e., first-and-second generation migrants in Germany. These factors could constrain the extent to which the findings can be applied to diverse and less educated populations or to first-and-second generation of immigrants with different political sensitivities.

1.2. Significance of the Study

This study is essential in providing empirical evidence in exploring the determinants of creating positive attitudes toward refugees and the reason behind this by responding the question: ‘Under what conditions do communities with migration experience in refugee-receiving states become more open toward accepting more refugees, and why?’ through testing the following two hypotheses:

- H1: Post-materialist, cooperative, inclusive and egalitarian norms within the population may serve as an effective strategy for fostering a more welcoming attitude towards refugees and mitigating xenophobic sentiments.
- H2: Well-functioning migration governance based on the high-level of institutional and regulatory capacity of host countries and the ability to foster institutional trust within the resident communities are anticipated to play a crucial role in shaping a positive attitude towards refugees.

Due to the political crises experienced in different regions of the world, irregular and forced refugee flows began towards the neighboring countries of the countries experiencing these crises and towards Western Europe. Although these refugee influxes seemed to be a

short-term and temporary crisis at first, a global crisis that was difficult to manage but also needed to be managed with the adoption of a well-designed and executed migration governance was created due to the long duration of the crises and the more extended stay of the migrants in those countries. For this reason, it is essential for people living in the host countries to adopt a more tolerant and welcoming attitude towards forced irregular refugees to manage this crisis well and minimize the cost and damage caused by this crisis. Almost all host states conduct research and produce policies to measure the attitudes of people currently living in those countries towards incoming refugees and to encourage these attitudes positively.

The findings obtained within the scope of this study indicated that the institutional and regulatory capacities of those host states play a decisive role in making people currently living in host states adopt positive attitudes towards incoming and future refugees and that the trust of people currently living there in this capacity of their country has a vital factor. Hence, this study is critical in providing empirical data to policymakers in areas such as social cohesion, institutional trust, social inclusion, and refugee integration.

While much research and policy design focus on people's values and norms to encourage them to be more tolerant and welcoming toward refugees, this study underlines the role of migration governance in building institutional trust and shaping people's attitudes toward refugees with four characteristics: (i) admission of educated refugees, (ii) proper refugee registration procedures, (iii) systematic integration processes, and (iv) effective monitoring and law enforcement mechanisms and trust in the fair, well-functioning, and strong institutional and regulatory capacity of host countries to strengthen refugee-welcoming attitudes. The study claims that local communities view public

authorities as the key actors in managing the consequences of mass migration and establishing and sustaining good mass migration governance at the receiving state level is likely to facilitate positive attitudes towards accepting more refugees.

1.3. Structure of the Study

This study is structured as follows:

Chapter I, the introductory chapter, serves as a foundational guide, offering a comprehensive overview of the study's scope, the hypotheses identified and rigorously tested, the selected cases and sampling group, the applied methodology, and the overall significance of the research. This chapter is meticulously designed to equip readers with the essential background and contextual information needed to fully grasp the theoretical frameworks, empirical analyses, and findings presented in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter II offers an explanation of the applied methodology, emphasizing the systematic approach taken throughout the research process. It begins by detailing how the research questions were meticulously formulated to address the core objectives of the study. The chapter then explains the rationale behind the selection of cases, ensuring they are representative and relevant to the study's aims. It also discusses the identification and outreach of the sampling group, highlighting the strategies employed to engage participants, especially in light of the political sensitivities involved. Furthermore, the chapter provides a comprehensive account of how the online surveys and semi-structured interviews were carefully designed and conducted to yield reliable and meaningful findings, ensuring the robustness of the research.

Chapter III offers a comprehensive review and explanation of the key theories explored within this study, focusing on the debates surrounding value change theories, the

various types of trust and their development, social cohesion, and refugee-welcoming attitudes. This chapter not only presents the theoretical framework underpinning these concepts but also critically examines how each theory relates to the study's objectives. By doing so, Chapter III explains how this research contributes to the broader academic discourse, enriching the existing debates and offering new insights into the complex interplay between these theoretical constructs.

Chapter IV provides a detailed analysis of the mass migration crisis experienced in the post-2011 period. It thoroughly examines the migration governance frameworks established in Türkiye and Germany, with a detailed exploration of various policy areas, including employment, education, and housing. This chapter is designed to equip readers with the necessary background to interpret the findings, particularly those presented in the second stage of the study. By understanding the differing approaches of participants towards the decisions made by the governments of Türkiye and Germany, readers can gain deeper insights into the study's results. Consequently, while Chapter III is crucial for interpreting the findings from the first stage of the study, Chapter IV plays a pivotal role in contextualizing and understanding the findings from the second stage.

Chapter V and Chapter VI are dedicated to the presentation of empirical findings obtained through online survey and semi-structured interviews.

In Chapter V, the results of the online survey conducted with 157 participants are meticulously presented and analyzed to rigorously test the first hypothesis. This hypothesis expected that a shift in value preferences toward more post-materialist, egalitarian, inclusive and cooperative norms will led the strengthening refugee-welcoming attitudes. However, the survey findings did not yield statistically significant evidence to conclusively

support or refute this hypothesis. While the data provided some insights into the relationship between migration and value change, the results were inconclusive in demonstrating a direct impact on attitudes toward refugees, suggesting that other factors may play a more pivotal role.

Chapter VI presents the obtained findings from semi-structured interviews conducted with 37 participants, offering a detailed analysis to test the second hypothesis. This chapter explores how the migration governance frameworks, institutional and regulatory capacities of host states, and the level of institutional trust among the populace influence the development of refugee-welcoming attitudes. The analysis highlights the critical importance of well-functioning governance and the public's trust in institutions, revealing how these elements contribute to fostering inclusive and supportive attitudes towards refugees.

Chapter VII serves as the concluding chapter of the study, where all the findings from the conducted online survey and semi-structured interviews are comprehensively summarized and synthesized. This chapter reflects on the empirical and theoretical contributions of the research, discussing how the study advances the existing literature on migration, public attitudes, and policy. In addition to summarizing the key findings, Chapter VII critically examines the strengths and limitations of the research. It addresses the methodological challenges encountered, the scope and limitations of the data, and the implications of the findings for future research and policy-making. The chapter concludes by offering reflections on how this study's insights can inform and improve migration governance and social cohesion in diverse host communities.

Chapter II - Research Design and Methodology

This chapter provides a detailed explanation of the research design and the methodology identification process. Unlike studies that follow a pre-established research design and methodology, this research adopted a more organic and dynamic approach. The research question was identified and formulated through an iterative process that involved extensive examination of various reputable databases. This data-driven approach shaped both the selection of cases and the determination of the methodology, allowing the research design to evolve naturally in response to the insights gained from the data. Consequently, the study maintained a flexible and adaptive structure from its inception to its conclusion. To address the research question effectively, two central hypotheses were formulated, and the study was designed around these hypotheses:

- H1: Post-materialist, cooperative, inclusive and egalitarian norms within the population may serve as an effective strategy for fostering a more welcoming attitude towards refugees and mitigating xenophobic sentiments.
- H2: Well-functioning migration governance based on the high-level of institutional and regulatory capacity of host countries and the ability to foster institutional trust within the resident communities are anticipated to play a crucial role in shaping a positive attitude towards refugees.

The first hypothesis was inspired by debates in the literature about value change and also inspired by Ronald F. Inglehart's following statements underlined in his recent book titled as *Cultural Evolution. People's Motivations Are Changing and Reshaping the World*:

“A society's culture is shaped by the extent to which its people grow up feeling that survival is secure or insecure. This book presents a revised version of modernization theory – Evolutionary Modernization theory –which argues that economic and physical insecurity are conducive to xenophobia, strong in- group solidarity, authoritarian politics and rigid adherence to their group's traditional cultural norms – and conversely that secure conditions lead to greater tolerance of outgroups, openness to new ideas and more egalitarian social norms. It then analyzes survey data from countries containing most of the world's population, showing how, in recent decades, changing levels of economic and physical security have been reshaping human values and motivations, and thereby transforming societies”. (Inglehart, 2019: 8)

The second hypothesis of this study suggests that a host state's ability to foster a refugee-welcoming environment depends significantly on its regulatory and institutional capacities. This hypothesis was also designed and inspired by research indicating that institutional trust—confidence in the effectiveness and fairness of governing institutions—plays a crucial role in shaping attitudes toward refugees. For example, Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) claim that effective migration management and fair policies enhance public support for refugees. Similarly, Schneider and Ingram (1993) find that transparent and responsive governance helps reduce fears and prejudices, leading to more welcoming attitudes. Thus, the hypothesis is formulated based on the debates in the literature regarding

strong migration governance and institutional trust which are considered as vital for creating a supportive environment for refugees by encouraging people to adopt refugee-welcoming attitudes.

Based on this, during the case selection process, all databases were examined in detail in order to identify the most suitable cases by considering the following criteria: (i) two countries, one with a lower economic and security performance and the other with a higher economic and security performance, (ii) a historical and numerical migration flow from a country with a lower economic and security performance to another one, (iii) both countries have been affected by the migration flows after 2010 and host significant numbers of refugees and (iv) being able to study with a population with an experience in these two host countries' migration governance to be able to make a comparison. In the light of these requirements, Türkiye and Germany came to the forefront as the most suitable cases because they fulfill each of the above-mentioned criteria to be studied under this study. That's why, Turkish citizens live in Germany at least a year were identified as sampling group of the study in order to seek answers to the research question.

This study was carried out in a very dynamic manner during its execution phase. The data obtained while conducting this study led to changing the design of this research, adding new hypothesis and even introducing new data collection methods. For this reason, this study was carried out in a very flexible and adaptive way and is therefore quite organic, original and different. For this reason, the second hypothesis emerged after the idea of better understanding why the online survey study could not produce the results regarding the impact of value preferences on refugee-welcoming attitudes and obtaining the answers to the research question in more detail. Because it could not be clarified whether the

increasing trend towards post-materialist values had an impact on creating a welcoming attitude towards immigrants. Hence, a second hypothesis was created which focuses on trust in host countries' institutional and regulatory capacities and their well-designed and well-functioning migration governance. To test this hypothesis, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 37 people who participated in the online survey and already indicated that their economic and security conditions were improved after migrated from Germany to Türkiye and also have a tendency to choose post-materialist statements rather than materialist ones, and it was tested whether this hypothesis worked or not.

In addition to the introductory paragraphs given above, research design, case selection and methodology identification process is explained in a more detailed way in the following sub-sections. The structure of Chapter II is designed as follows:

- 2.1. Explaining research questions identification and formulation process.
- 2.2. Explaining case selection process.
- 2.3. Explaining methodology identification by separately examining the details of conducted online survey and interviews under this study.

2.1. Identification and Formulation of Research Question

This research aims to explore and identify the determinants of creating positive attitudes toward refugees and the reason behind this by asking the question: 'Under what conditions do communities with migration experience in refugee-receiving states become more open toward accepting more refugees, and why?'.

The formulation of the research question is grounded in a comprehensive review of literature and empirical data. The first hypothesis, which explores the adoption of post-materialist values and its impact on refugee-welcoming attitudes, is inspired by debates

related to the value change in the literature. The second hypothesis is formulated in response to the observed limitations in understanding the role of institutional trust in shaping refugee attitudes. Drawing on the work of Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) and Schneider and Ingram (1993), this hypothesis posits that the effectiveness of a host state's migration governance significantly impacts public support for refugees. Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) highlight the importance of fair and effective migration management, while Schneider and Ingram (1993) emphasize that transparent governance can reduce fears and prejudices. This hypothesis aims to address gaps in the initial research by exploring how institutional capacities and trust influence refugee-welcoming attitudes, thus providing a better understanding of the mechanisms at play.

2.2. Justification for Case Selection

Case selection process was characterized by the first hypothesis and inspired theories related to the change in value preferences. Based on this, sampling of the study was identified as people who immigrated from a country with a lower economic performance and existential security to another country with a higher economic performance and existential security. During the case selection and sampling identification process, each wave of WVS and economic indicators of many countries from other resources were examined in detail. While doing so, the focus was understanding the level of people's satisfaction related to their economic situation, sense of existential security, and people's preferences towards materialist and post-materialist statements by their countries. The data related to the following questions and statements were taken into the consideration:

Table 1. Examined WVS Questions within the Case and Sample Selection Process

Statements Related to the Existential Security
Immigration in your country: Increases the risks of terrorism
Worries: A terrorist attack
Things done for reasons of security: Didn't carry much money
Things done for reasons of security: Preferred not to go out at night
Things done for reasons of security: Carried a knife, gun or other weapon
Statements and/or Questions Related to the Materialist vs. Post-Materialist Values
For each of the following statements I read out, can you tell me how much you agree with each. Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly?
Men make better political leaders than women do
Men make better business executives than women do
Jobs scarce: Men should have more right to a job than women
Jobs scarce: Men should have more right to a job than women (3-point scale)
Jobs scarce: Employers should give priority to (nation) people than immigrants
Jobs scarce: Employers should give priority to (nation) people than immigrants (3-point scale)
Do you agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements?
Problem if women have more income than husband
Homosexual couples are as good parents as other couples
Duty towards society to have children
Here are two statements people sometimes make when discussing the environment and economic growth. Which of them comes closer to your own point of view?

Protecting environment vs. Economic growth
Please use this scale to indicate. 10 means “very important” and 1 means “not at all important.”
Importance of God
In which of the following things do you believe, if you believe in any?
Believe in: God
Please tell us if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:
Whenever science and religion conflict, religion is always right
The only acceptable religion is my religion
Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card.
Homosexuality
Abortion
Divorce
Euthanasia
Freedom and security - Which more important

Source: Extracted from World Values Survey, <https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp>

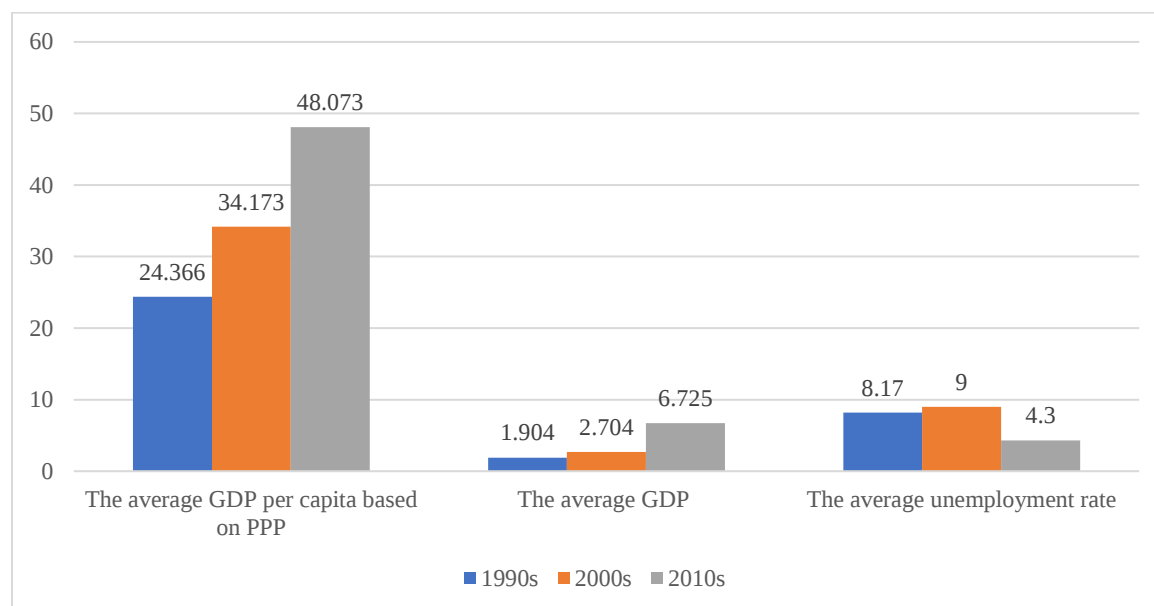
After examining the responses and data from the World Value Survey, a significant difference between Germany and Türkiye was noticed. Then, data related to the economic growth and existential security were collected and examined for both countries to check their suitability for the study to be in line with the inspired theories related to the value change in the literature. In addition, Germany and Türkiye are also appropriate case for the

following reasons: (i) two countries, one with a lower economic and security performance and the other with a higher economic and security performance, (ii) a historical and numerical migration flow from a country with a lower economic and security performance to another one, (iii) both countries have been affected by the migration flows after 2010 and host significant numbers of refugees. In the light of these requirements, Türkiye and Germany came to the forefront as the most suitable cases because they fulfill each of the above-mentioned criteria to be studied under this study. That's why, Turkish citizens live in Germany at least a year were identified as sampling group of the study in order to seek answers to the research question, and (iv) working with a population with an experience in these two host countries' migration governance to be able to make a comparison. The obtained data for Germany and Türkiye were briefly given below in order to explain the rationale behind the case and sampling section process in detail.

2.2.1. Germany

Germany presents a prototypical case conforming to all the premises of the theoretical construct. The average GDP per capita based on PPP in Germany was \$ 24.366 in the 1990s, \$ 34.173 in the 2000s, and \$ 48.073 in the 2010s. Germany's average GDP has also increased from \$ 1.904 in the 1990s to \$ 2.704 in the 2000s and \$ 6.725 in the 2010s. The average unemployment rate in Germany, additionally, increased from 8.17% in the 1990s to 9% in the 2000s and fell to 4.3% in the 2010s. These data show that there has been a remarkable economic development in Germany since 1990, which has also reflected on employment (Knoema, 2023; Macro Trends, 2023).

Figure 1. Germany's Comparative Economic Indicators by Decades¹



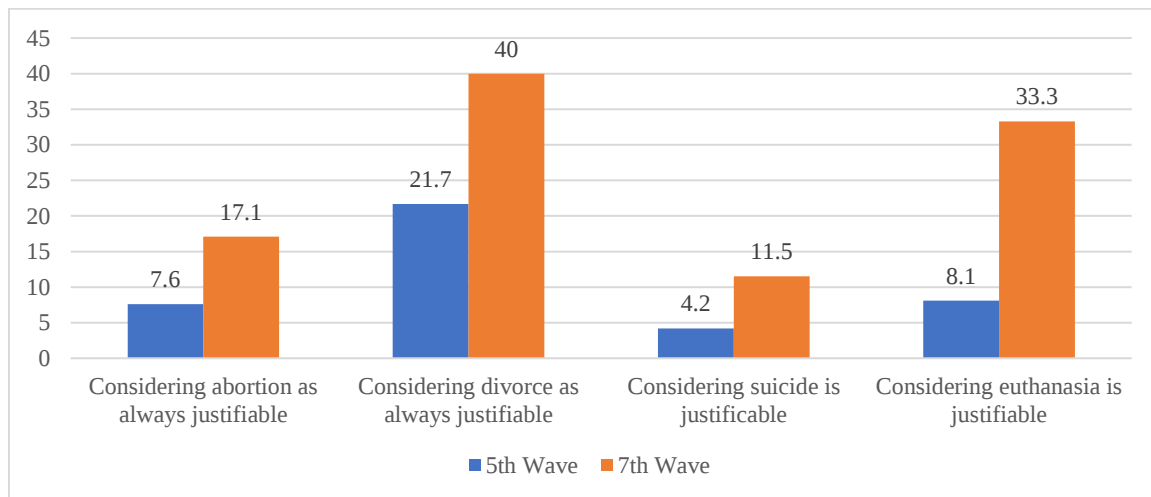
Source: All the data extracted from Knoema and Macro Trends

A similar development is also observed in ensuring people's existential and physical security in Germany. The average life expectancy in Germany was, for example, 76.4 in the 1990s, but in the 2000s, the average life expectancy increased to 78.7 and 80.6 in the 2010s. Infant mortality rate was around 7.3% in 1990, 3.5% in 2010, and 2.75% in 2020 (Macro Trends, 2023). Furthermore, while the rate of those who say they worry about the possibility of a civil war is below 15%, the rate of those who say that they are worried about their country being involved in a war is only around 30%. In addition, the rate of those who say they are very worried about a terrorist attack is less than 20% in Germany (Haerpfer, C. et.al, 2022). The data demonstrates that Germany has made significant and steady development in terms of both economic and physical/existential security and all

¹ The average GDP per capita based on PPP and The average GDP's currencies are USD. The average unemployment rate is also given as percentage (%).

favorable conditions have been prepared for the transition from materialist to post-materialist values within the society. According to the comparative analysis of the waves of the WVS², there is a transition from traditional to secular-rational and survival to self-expression values in Germany. Whereas only 7.6% of people in Germany said that abortion is always justifiable in the 5th wave, this rate reached 17.1% in the 7th wave. Divorce was considered as always justifiable by only 21.7% of people in Germany according to the 5th wave, however, this ratio reached 40% according to the 7th wave. Furthermore, while the rate of those who found suicide justifiable was 4.2% in the 5th wave, this rate increased to 11.5% in the 7th, Interestingly, the greatest increase is recorded in euthanasia in the rise in secular-rational values in Germany. While the rate of those who found euthanasia justifiable was 8.1% in the 5th, this rate increased to 33.3% in the 7th wave (Haerpfer, C. et.al, 2022).

Figure 2. Comparative Related Data Score (%) from WVS for Germany

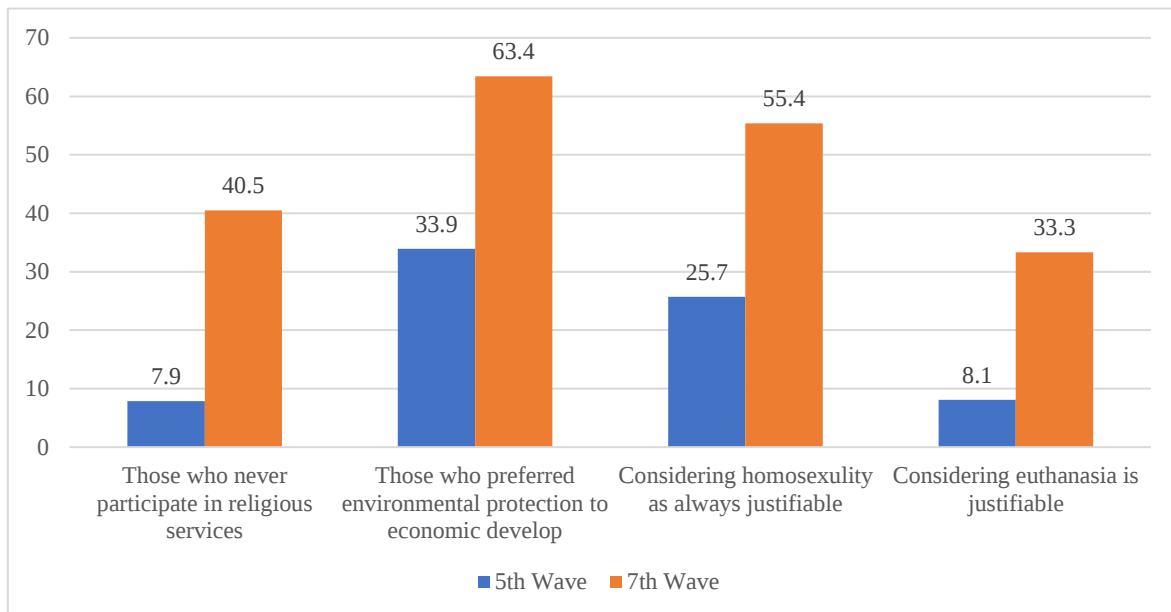


Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the data obtained from WVS

² All the data comparatively collected and analyzed from mentioned waves of World Values Survey

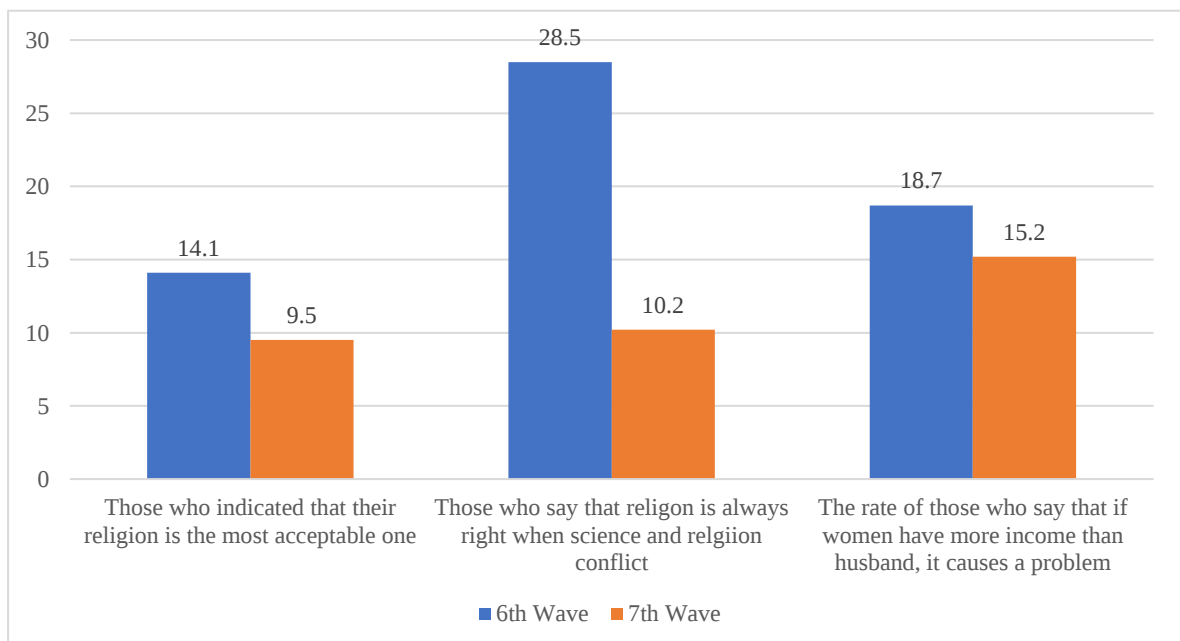
Although there has not been a significant change in German society's rate of defining themselves as religious and their expressions about the importance of religion in their lives, the rate of those who never participate in religious services has increased from 7.9% in the 5th wave to 40.5% in the 7th wave. Besides, the proportion of those claiming that their religion is the most acceptable has dropped from 14.1% in the 6th wave to 9.5% in the 7th wave. The rate of those who say that religion is always right when science and religion conflict has dropped from 28.5% in the 6th wave to 10.2% in the 7th wave. A similar comparison regarding the transition from survival to self-expression values demonstrates how the self-expression values of people in Germany have been getting stronger. In the 5th wave, for example, only 33.9% of Germans preferred environmental protection to economic development, while in the 7th wave this ratio increased to 63.4%. In the 3rd wave, only 2.1% of Germans were actively working in environmental protection associations/organizations, while this ratio increased to 7.1% in the 7th wave. Additionally, in the 5th wave, only 25.7% of the people living in Germany found homosexuality always justifiable, while in the 7th wave it increased more than 2 times to 55.4%. In terms of gender equality, the rate of those who said they strongly disagree with the statement that men could be better political leaders than women increased from 30.1% in the 3rd wave in Germany to 45.9% in the 7th wave. The rate of those who strongly disagree with the statement that men can be better business executives than women was 32.1% in Germany according to the 3rd wave, while this rate increased to 45.7% in the 7th wave. The rate of those who say that if women have more income than husband, it causes a problem was 43.4% in the 3rd wave, while this rate decreased to 18.7% in the 6th wave and 15.2% in the 7th wave (Haerpfer, C. et.al, 2022).

Figure 3. Comparative Related Data Score (%) from WVS for Germany (extracted from most updated available data – comparison between 5th and 7th waves)



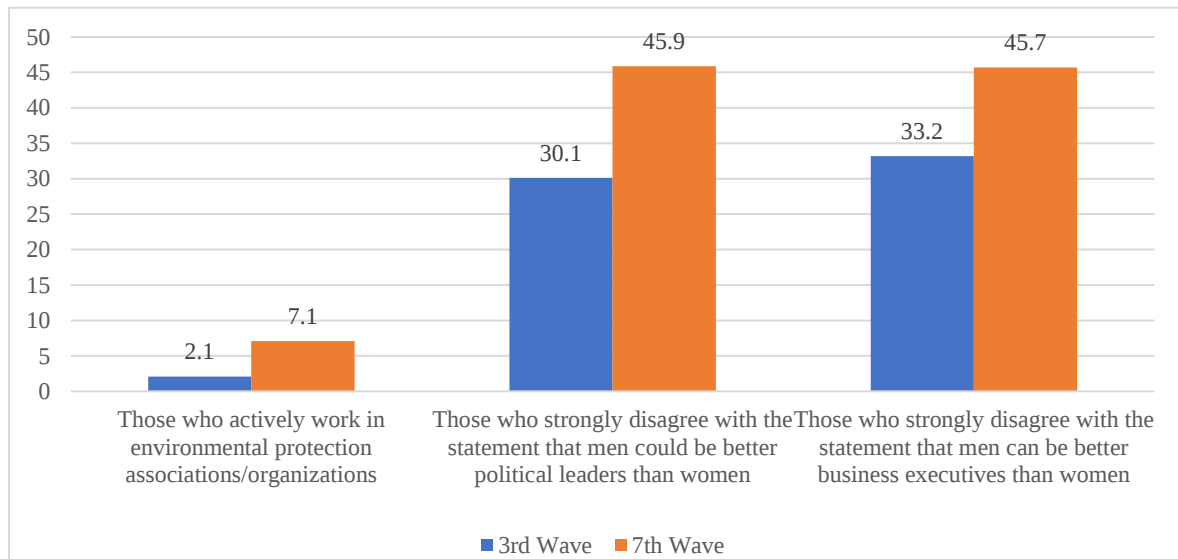
Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the data obtained from WVS

Figure 4. Comparative Related Data Score (%) from WVS for Germany (extracted from most updated available data – comparison between 6th and 7th waves)



Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the data obtained from WVS

Figure 5. Comparative Related Data Score (%) from WVS for Germany (extracted from most updated available data – comparison between 3rd and 7th waves

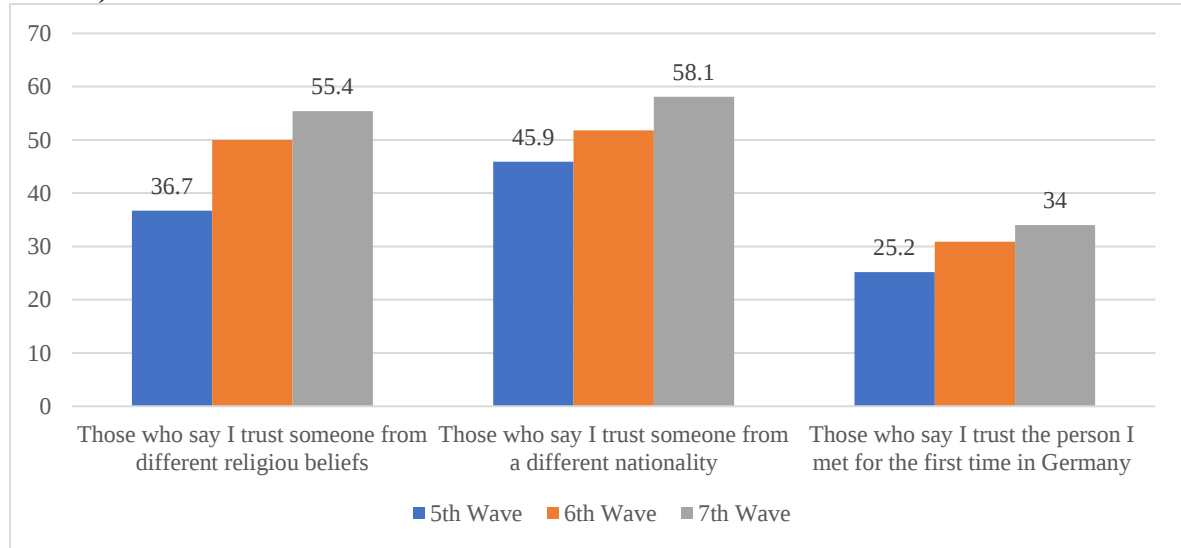


Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the data obtained from WVS

In the case of Germany, the similar situation exists in the theory's claim that generalized trust will also increase in societies where secular-rational and self-expression values have been getting stronger. In parallel with this increase, it is seen that generalized trust has constantly and dramatically increased in Germany. The rate of those who say I trust someone from different religious beliefs increased from 36.7% in the 5th wave to 50% in the 6th wave and 55.4% on the 7th wave. The percentage of those who say I trust someone from a different nationality increased from 45.9% in the 5th wave to 51.8% in the 6th wave and 58.1% in the 7th wave. In addition to all these, the rate of those who say I trust the person I met for the first time in Germany was 25.2% in the 5th wave, while this rate increased to 30.9% in the 6th wave. In the 7th wave, it increased to 34% (Haerpfer, C. et.al, 2022).

Figure 6. Comparative Trust-Related Data Score (%) from WVS for Germany
(extracted from most updated available data – comparison between 5th, 6th and 7th

Waves)



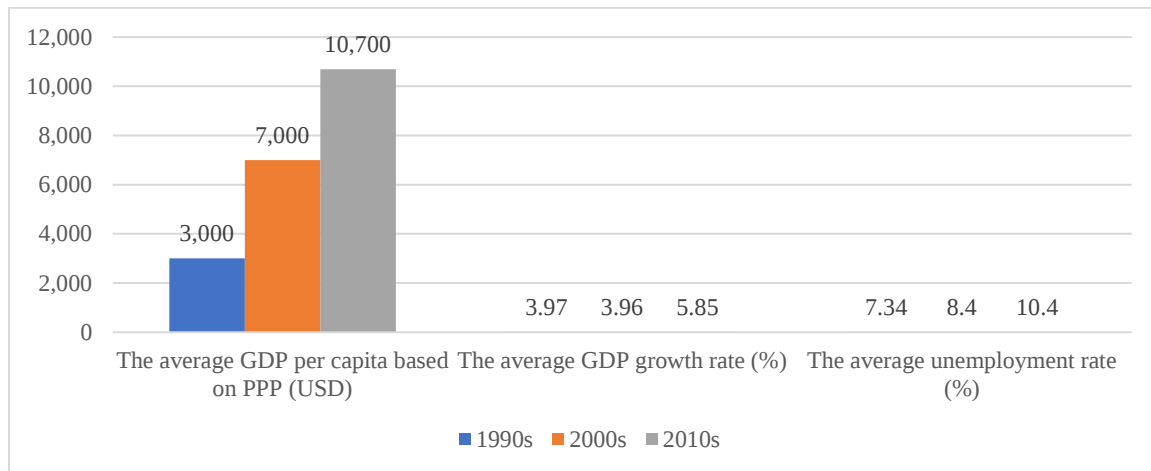
Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the data obtained from WVS

2.2.2. Türkiye

Türkiye has been experiencing more limited transition from materialist to post-materialist values without any remarkable and stable development in the areas of economic development and physical/existential security. The average GDP per capita was around \$ 3.000 in the 1990s, \$ 7.000 in the 2000s, and \$ 10.700 in the 2010s. Despite the dramatic rise in GDP per capita based on PPP in Türkiye, the average GDP growth rate was around 3.97% in the 1990s, 3.96% in the 2000s and 5.85% in the 2010s. The average unemployment rate in Türkiye, additionally, was 7.34% in the 1990s, 8.4% in the 2000s and 10.4% in the 2010s. The average life expectancy in Türkiye was 66.4 in the 1990s, 71.8 in the 2000s, and 76 in the 2010s. The average infant mortality rate has also dramatically been decreasing in Türkiye. Data show that Türkiye has made a limited development in the areas of economic growth and security. Despite this, there is a

transition from traditional and survival values to secular-rational and self-expression ones in Türkiye.

Figure 7. Türkiye's Comparative Economic Indicators by Decades³

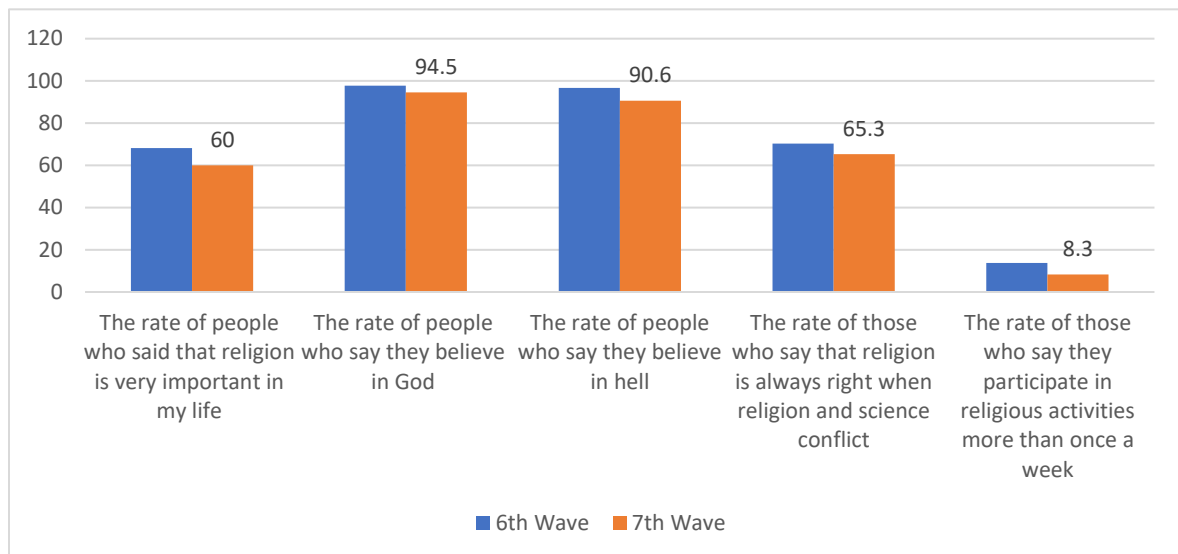


Source: All the data extracted from Knoema and Macro Trends

Türkiye comes to the forefront as a highly crucial case to be examined in many sub-fields including religiosity, gender equality, environmental protection, and placing more emphasis on progress toward a more humane society in which ideas count more than money. According to the 6th and 7th waves, the rate of people who said that religion is very important in my life fell from 68.1% to 60%. While the rate of people who say they believe in God has decreased from 97.8% to 94.5%, the rate of people who say they believe in hell fell from 96.6% to 90.6%. The rate of those who say that religion is always right when religion and science conflict has dropped from 70.3% to 65.3%. The rate of those who say they participate in religious activities more than once a week has decreased from 13.8% to 8.3%.

³ The average GDP per capita based on PPP and The average GDP's currencies are USD. The average unemployment rate is also given as percentage (%).

Figure 8. Comparative Related Data Score (%) from WVS for Türkiye (extracted from most updated available data – comparison between 6th and 7th waves

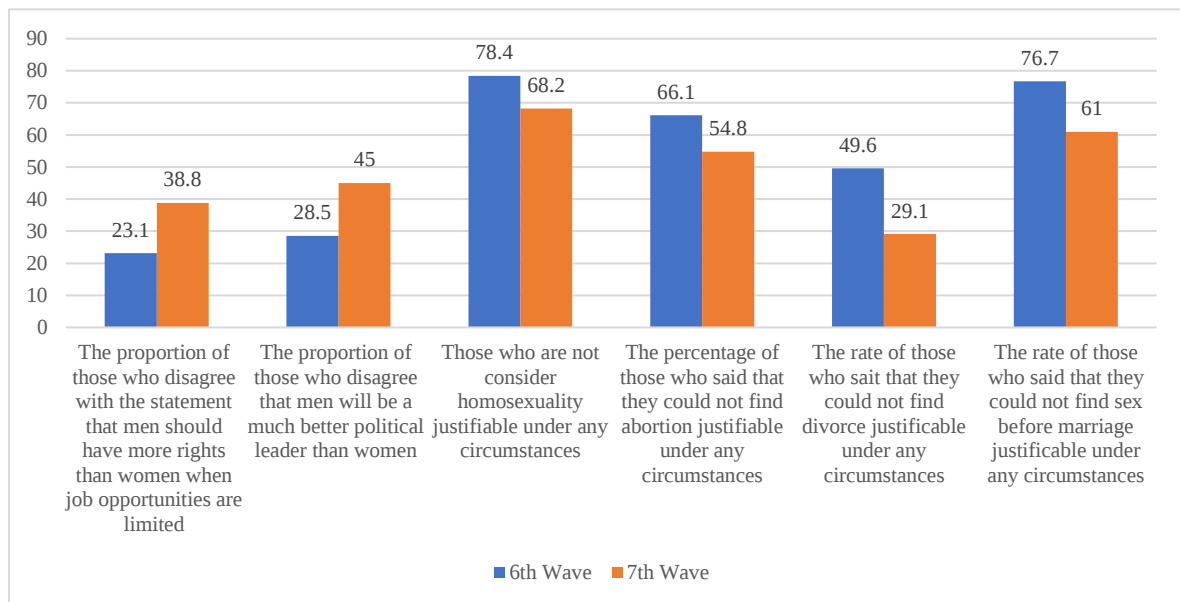


Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the data obtained from WVS

According to Inglehart (2017; 2018), the rise of physical/existential and economic security caused the shift from pro-fertility norms to individual choice norms in the world. In Türkiye, however, shift from pro-fertility norms to individual choice norms has been experienced with a limited economic development and security to some areas. A comparative analysis of the results presented by WVS in its 6th and 7th waves show that the proportion of those who disagree with the statement that men should have more rights than women when job opportunities are limited increased from 23.1% to 38.8%. The proportion of those who disagree that men will be a much better political leader than women has increased from 28.5% to 45%. This indicates the beginning of a change in values in terms of gender equality in Türkiye. Between 6th and 7th waves, the rate of those who said that they could not find homosexuality justifiable under any circumstances, additionally, decreased from 78.4% to 68.2%. The percentage of those who said that they could not find abortion justifiable under any circumstances fell from 66.1% to 54.8%. The rate of those

who said that they could not find divorce justifiable under any circumstances has decreased from 49.6% to 29.1%. The rate of those who said that they could not find sex before marriage justifiable under any circumstances fell from 76.7% to 61% (Haerpfer, C. et.al, 2022).

Figure 9. Comparative Related Data Score (%) from WVS for Türkiye (extracted from most updated available data – comparison between 6th and 7th waves

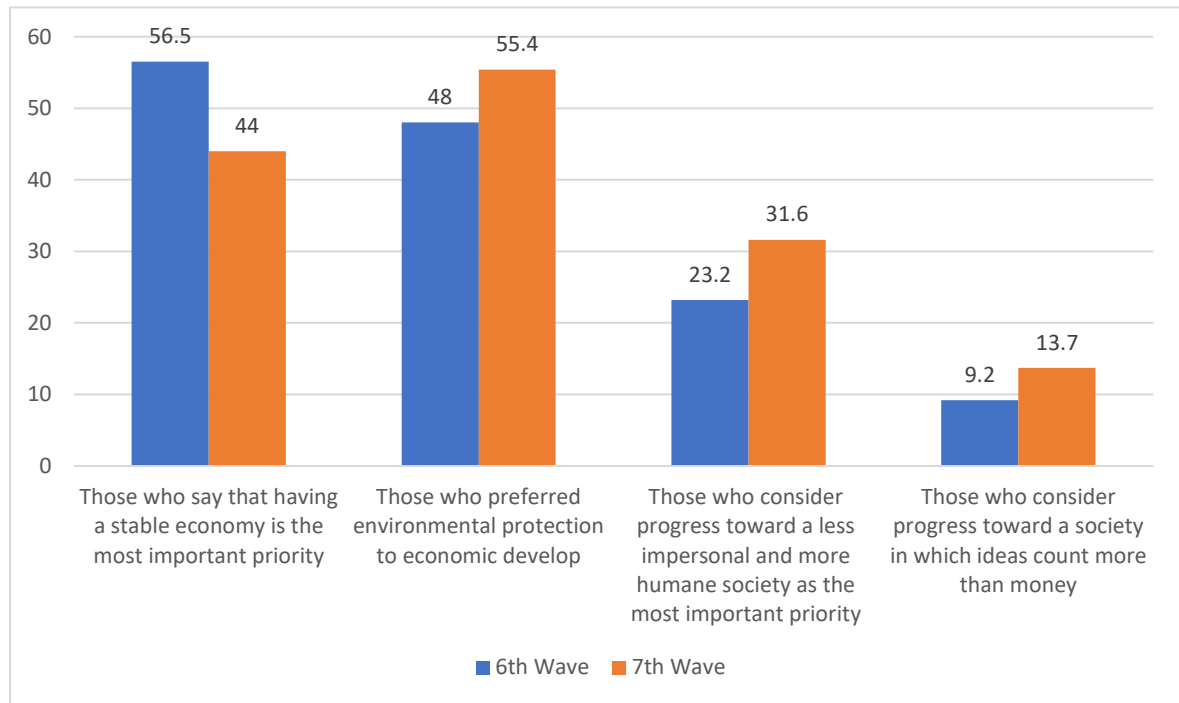


Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the data obtained from WVS

Increased sensitivity for environmental protection in Türkiye comes to the forefront as another important indicator to demonstrate the transition from survival to self-expression values. The environmental protection answer given to the question of whether environmental protection or economic development is a priority, has increased from 48% to 55.4% between 6th and 7th waves. According to the 6th and 7th waves, the statement of those who say that having a stable economy is the most important priority has decreased to 44% from 56.5%. In parallel with this, the proportion of those who consider progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society as the most important priority has increased to

31.6% from 23.2%. Furthermore, the statement of those who consider progress toward a society in which ideas count more than money has increased to 13.7% from 9.2%.

Figure 10. Comparative Related Data Score (%) from WVS for Türkiye (extracted from most updated available data – comparison between 6th and 7th waves

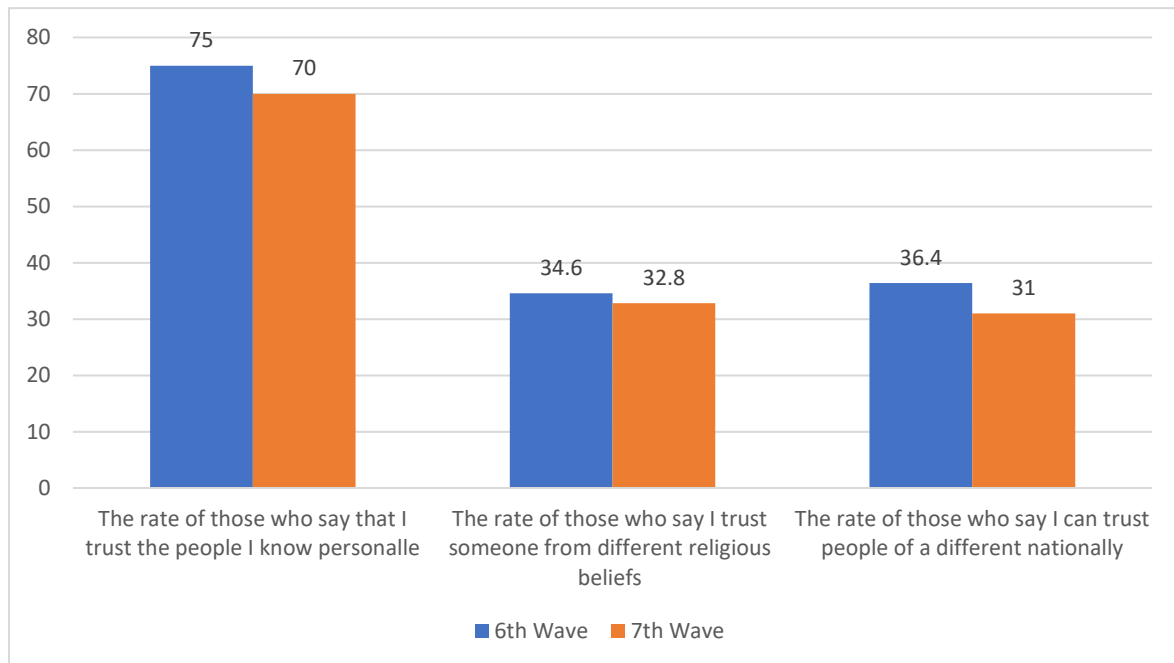


Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the data obtained from WVS

The data shows that post-materialist (secular-rational and self-expression values) have been getting stronger in Türkiye. In Türkiye, however, the rise of post-materialist values (secular-rational and self-expression values) did not produce high-level generalized trust. The rate of those who say that “I trust the people I know personally” was more than 75% in the 5th and 6th waves, whereas this ratio fell below 70% in the 7th wave. Between 6th and 7th waves the rate of those who say “I trust someone from different religious beliefs” decreased from 34.6% to 32.8%. The rate of those who say “I can trust people of a different nationality” has additionally decreased from 36.4% to 31% between the 6th and 7th waves (Haerpfer, C. et.al, 2022). Data demonstrates that the increase in post-

materialist values (secular-rational and self-expression values) did not significantly affect the level of generalized trust in Türkiye.

Figure 11. Comparative Trust-Related Data Score (%) from WVS for Germany
(extracted from most updated available data – comparison between 6th and 7th Waves)



Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the data obtained from WVS

By comparing the impact of the context on the experience of transformation of values of a certain group, the study proposes to explain whether post-materialist values develop once individuals begin to enjoy security and economic development after they move to a country with high levels of economic development and security or preserve material values while living in that society. Turkish citizens living in Germany is, therefore, selected as sample for this study due to three reasons: First, Türkiye's lower economic and security levels compared to Germany create a relevant environment for examining value changes. Second, the long history and large scale of migration between Türkiye and

Germany make it easier to reach participants. Third, both Türkiye and Germany have hosted large numbers of Syrian refugees since 2015, yet their migration policies and integration approaches differ significantly.

2.3. Methodology

As detailed in Section 2.1, this study's primary research question is: "Under what conditions do communities with migration experience in refugee-receiving states become more open toward accepting more refugees, and why?" To address this question, the study tests two hypotheses, guiding data collection and analysis. The first hypothesis, value change theories in the literature and its impact on people's political orientations and attitudes toward refugees and in-group or out-group solidarity, is formulated as: H1: Post-materialist, cooperative, inclusive and egalitarian norms within the population may serve as an effective strategy for fostering a more welcoming attitude towards refugees and mitigating xenophobic sentiments. This hypothesis explores the idea that improved economic and security conditions foster an acceptance of progressive values, which in turn encourages a more welcoming attitude toward refugees.

The second hypothesis emerged from the lack of significant results in the first stage of the study to test the first hypothesis and is formulated as: H2: Well-functioning migration governance based on the high-level of institutional and regulatory capacity of host countries and the ability to foster institutional trust within the resident communities are anticipated to play a crucial role in shaping a positive attitude towards refugees. This hypothesis shifts the focus from individual value changes to the structural and institutional factors that might influence public attitudes toward refugees. It posits that the competence

of host states in managing migration and fostering institutional trust is crucial in shaping a society's openness to refugees.

By testing these hypotheses, the study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the conditions and mechanisms that foster a welcoming attitude toward refugees in communities with migration experience. The methods employed in testing these hypotheses and the subsequent findings will contribute to the overarching research question, offering insights through the specific theoretical and empirical frameworks utilized in this study.

The first stage is dedicated to testing the first hypothesis. At this stage, an online survey was carried out with the participation of 157 participants (Turkish citizens live in Germany for at least a year) in total. However, the lack of obtained findings to measure the impact of change in value preferences among people with migration experience on their attitudes towards the acceptance of further refugees required designing and conducting further research to examine the reason behind this. In the second stage of the study, semi-structured interviews were, therefore, conducted with 37 Turkish citizens live in Germany at least a year and previously participated in carried out online survey. Based on the findings obtained from the semi-structured interviews, it was found that state's institutional and regulatory capacity in managing mass migration and people's trust regarding it come to the forefront as a key factor in strengthening refugee-welcoming attitudes among people live in host societies.

However, in the online survey carried out, no significant results were obtained related to the impact of value transition, i.e., from materialist to post-materialist, on refugee-welcoming attitudes among the participants. The lack of significant results required

to carry out further research to understand the reasons behind this by identifying any other possible factors that may affect strengthening refugee-welcoming attitudes. Therefore, 37 Turkish citizens who participated in the online survey were invited to participate in the semi-structured interviews. In these semi-structured interviews, many questions were asked to the participants, however, the most important one was ‘What would your reaction be if the governments of Germany and Türkiye made a decision today and announced that they would accept as many Syrian refugees as they have accepted so far, and if you thought that the region you live in would also be affected by the influx of refugees?’. While the participants answered this question with an optimistic attitude for Germany, they gave very pessimistic answers for Türkiye. The main reason behind this is that they put forward arguments regarding the performance of both countries in migration governance. Semi-structured interviews show that simply change in value preferences or improved economic and security conditions are not sufficient to strengthen refugee-welcoming attitudes, and that the institutional and regulatory role of states and people’s level of trust in states’ institutional and regulatory capacity still appears as an important factor in creating refugee-welcoming attitudes.

It is also essential that in addition to the WVS, the study also analyzes data from survey results conducted by the World Bank, OECD, PEW Research Center, the UK-based National Center for Social Research, European Social Survey, and European Values Survey before designing online survey and semi-structured interview questions and statements in order to formulate the best questions and statements.

In the following sub-sections, more detailed information regarding the conducted online survey and semi-structured interviews in order to collect data for answering research questions asked under this study are provided.

2.3.1. Online Survey

An online survey was conducted for understanding the impact of migrating from Türkiye to Germany on people's economic and security conditions and also their value preferences with the participation of 157 Turkish citizens living in Germany for at least a year, who received the survey through social media tools, i.e., Instagram, Twitter and Facebook. For reaching out participants, administrators of the social media accounts created or followed by Turkish citizens living in Germany on social media tools were contacted, and the survey link was shared with the participants who stated that they are interested in participating in the survey through the advertisements posted on their pages for many times, and they were asked to fill out the survey. The online survey was conducted between November 2021 – April 2022. Some participants left some survey questions unanswered, however, most of the respondents filled the survey. The online survey was conducted in Turkish, however, the English version of asked questions is listed below. The profile of the participants is as follows: 69.9 percent of the participants were women and 30.1 percent of the participants were men; 15.4 percent of participants were from Generation X; 73.1 percent of participants from Generation Y and 10.3 percent of participants from Generation Z. 85.2 percent of participants migrated from Türkiye to Germany between 2000 and 2015. 46.8 percent of participants hold a bachelor's degree; 25.9 percent of participants hold a Master's Degree/Ph.D.; and others hold high school, secondary and primary school diplomas. 63 percent of the participants were at middle

income level. However, the share of participants who stated that they were at a high-income level after immigrating to Germany from Türkiye increased dramatically from 17.2 percent to 26.9 percent. This is important to demonstrate that people who migrated from one setting to another experience an economic increase in terms of their income level and that this survey was conducted with a correct sampling. It is also essential that most of the participants are from the third generation and recent immigrants come to Germany from Türkiye.

Table 2. Online Survey Questions

No.	Questions
Q1	What is your gender?
Q2	What date were you born on?
Q3	When did you immigrate from Türkiye to Germany?
Q4	What is your education level?
Q5	Did you live in urban or rural areas before immigrating to Germany?
Q6	How would you describe your income level before immigrating to Germany? a. Upper-income level b. Middle-income level c. Low-income level
Q7	How would you describe your income level after immigrating to Germany a. Upper-income level b. Middle-income level c. Low-income level

Q8	For each of the following statements, can you say how much you agree with each? a. How safe did you feel in Türkiye? (answer by taking into account the safety of life and property, concern for civil war and terrorist attack, and satisfaction with other security services) b. How safe do you feel in Germany? (answer by taking into account the safety of life and property, concern for civil war and terrorist attack, and satisfaction with other security services)
Q9	Which of the following words best describes the attitude of the local people towards you when you first go to Germany? a. Inclusive b. Exclusionary c. Condescending d. Cynical e. Tolerant f. Helpful g. Empathetic
Q10	Which of the following best describes the current attitude of the locals towards you in Germany? a. Inclusive b. Exclusionary c. Condescending d. Cynical

	e. Tolerant f. Helpful g. Empathetic
Q11	For each of the following statements, could you say how much you agree with each? a. If job opportunities are limited, men should take priority over women when recruiting b. Men have more managerial skills than women c. Men are much better at political leadership than women d. In any family, if the woman earns more money than her husband, it will cause various problems in the family e. Men and women cannot be equal by nature
Q12	For each of the following statements, could you say how much you agree with each? a. When my religious belief and science conflict, I follow the orders of my religious belief b. My religion is the most correct and acceptable religion c. A person belonging to any religion must strictly fulfill all the requirements of his/her religion d. I started to participate in religious activities more than in the past e. I think the place of religion in my life is increasing day by day.
Q13	For each of the following statements, could you say how much you agree with each?

	a. If employment is to be provided to people, various projects should be implemented at the expense of harming the environment b. The economic growth of countries is much more important than the protection of the environment c. In cases where people have difficulty in living, resources should not be allocated to projects related to environmental protection d. We should support nuclear power plant projects to reduce our country's energy dependency e. Companies should allocate the resources they allocate to environmental projects to employ more people.
Q14	For each of the following statements, could you say how much you agree with each? a. Abortion is murder and should not be recognized as a legal right. b. The increasing number of divorces in recent years harms the social structure. c. Euthanasia should not have the status of a legal right. Only God can take the life given by God. d. Same-sex marriage should not be legally recognized. Same-sex relationships and marriages harm the social structure. e. Having a child is a social duty and should take precedence over a career

Q15	For each of the following statements could you say how much you agree with each? a. I feel that I should be more cautious and careful when I encounter refugees. b. I do not feel safe in refugee-dominated areas. c. I do not prefer to communicate with people who have different religious beliefs or do not have any religious beliefs. d. I trust people of my own nationality more than those who are not. e. In recent years, my trust in people who do not have the same religious belief, ethnicity, and political views as me has begun to decline.
Q16	For each of the following statements, could you say how much you agree with each? a. I trust the justice system. b. I trust the police force. c. I trust institutions that provide public services. d. I trust the media. e. I trust banks and financial institutions

2.3.2. Semi-Structured Interviews

In the second stage of the study, the data has been collected through semi-structured interviews with the participation of 37 interviewees identified from the participants from online survey. The criteria for the identification of interviewees were as follows:

First, all interviewees are selected from people who have been to Türkiye and have been living in Germany for at least a year in the last ten years and have experienced the migration crisis and observed both countries' responses. Second, interviewees were selected from people with at least bachelor's degree and between the ages of 20 and 44 because they constitute an age group with concerns regarding continuing their education, finding a job to secure a steady income and finding a house. Once the responses began to reveal similar patterns, the study was limited to 37 participants. Third, Turkish citizens living in Germany stand out as a convenient group in having experienced the migration governance of both countries and being at a level to evaluate both. This was confirmed by requesting interviewees to evaluate both countries' migration governance and experienced challenges at the beginning of interviews. Fourth, there are significant differences in the policies of Türkiye and Germany towards migration management and reception and integration of Syrian refugees into the host communities. The second stage of the study aims to understand how the perceptions about a state's regulatory and institutional capacity matter in shaping the attitudes of people in receiving states toward accepting more refugees. While doing so, the question of, 'What would your reaction be if the governments of Germany and Türkiye made a decision today and announced that they would accept as many Syrian refugees as they have accepted so far, and if you thought that the region you live in would also be affected by the influx of refugees?' was asked to the participants to record their immediate reactions. In order to estimate their familiarity with migration governance in their country of origin and country of residence at the time of the interviews, the participants were asked how they would assess Türkiye's and Germany's migration

governance and explain the reasons for their response with examples based on their own experiences and observations in both countries.

Table 3. Interview Questions

No.	Questions
Q1	Introductory questions to understand the participant's profile, i.e., age, education level, gender and spent year in Germany
Q2	Could you please compare your life in Türkiye and Germany economically by providing examples from your real-life experiences?
Q3	Could you please compare your life in Türkiye and Germany in terms of the sense of security by providing examples from your real-life experiences?
Q4	Could you please compare your life in Türkiye and Germany in terms of social and institutional trust by providing examples from your real-life experiences?
Q5	Germany, like Türkiye, hosts a very high number of refugees. Türkiye is the country that accepts the most Syrian refugees in the world. Germany is also the country that accepts the most Syrian refugees in Europe. What do you think about this issue?
Q6	What would your reaction be if the government in Germany decided to accept as many Syrian refugees as we have received so far?
Q7	What would your reaction be if the government in Türkiye decided to accept as many Syrian refugees as we have received so far?

Q8	You will go to a men's or women's hairdresser. There are two shops side by side. One is owned by German; the other is owned by Syrian. Both have the same price. Which one would you prefer?
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All interviews were carried out between September 2022 and December 2022. Each interview took about half an hour. Interviews were transcribed. Each participant was presented anonymously in this study as I (Interviewee) 1, I2, I3, and so on. The list of interviewees was anonymously provided below:

Table 4. The List of Interviewees

Interviewee No.	Gender	Age (Range)	Interview Date (Month)
I1	Male	15-29	August, 2022
I2	Female	15-29	August, 2022
I3	Female	15-29	August, 2022
I4	Female	15-29	August, 2022
I5	Male	15-29	August, 2022
I6	Female	15-29	August, 2022
I7	Female	30-44	August, 2022
I8	Female	15-29	August, 2022
I9	Male	15-29	August, 2022
I10	Male	15-29	August, 2022
I11	Female	15-29	August, 2022
I12	Female	15-29	August, 2022
I13	Male	30-44	August, 2022
I14	Male	15-29	August, 2022

I15	Female	15-29	September, 2022
I16	Male	15-29	September, 2022
I17	Female	15-29	September, 2022
I18	Female	15-29	September, 2022
I19	Female	30-44	September, 2022
I20	Female	15-29	September, 2022
I21	Female	30-44	October, 2022
I22	Female	30-44	October, 2022
I23	Female	30-44	October, 2022
I24	Female	15-29	November, 2022
I25	Male	30-44	November, 2022
I26	Female	30-44	November, 2022
I27	Male	30-44	November, 2022
I28	Male	30-44	November, 2022
I29	Female	30-44	November, 2022
I30	Female	30-44	November, 2022
I31	Male	15-29	November, 2022
I32	Female	30-44	November, 2022
I33	Male	30-44	November, 2022
I34	Male	30-44	November, 2022
I35	Female	15-29	November, 2022
I36	Female	30-44	November, 2022
I37	Female	15-29	November, 2022

During the interviews, all responses were transcribed, and then interpretive coding was carried out while identifying and preparing themes. All critical answers to the interview questions were narratively analyzed around four themes: (i) acceptance of highly educated refugees, (ii) enforcing better registration procedures; (iii) implementing systematic integration procedures, i.e., language and social integration courses; and (iv) implementing an effective monitoring and law enforcement mechanism. The four themes were determined by grouping the reasons the participants most frequently put forward while explaining why their attitudes towards the decision to accept more refugees, which Türkiye and Germany may take, are different.

2.4. Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, this chapter has provided a comprehensive approach to researching the dynamics of refugee acceptance in host communities, emphasizing a dynamic and organic methodology that adapts to evolving findings and insights. By formulating a clear research question as understanding the conditions under which communities become more open to accepting refugees. This question was answered through testing two hypotheses. The first hypothesis is related to the impact of improved economic and security conditions experienced with migrating from Türkiye to Germany and change in value preferences and also their impact on people's attitudes towards refugees. The second hypothesis is also related to the questioning further factors, i.e., institutional and regulatory capacity of host states and institutional trust among people live in host states on their attitudes toward refugees.

The selection of Türkiye and Germany as case studies reflects a deliberate choice based on their contrasting economic and security performances, historical migration flows,

and substantial refugee populations. This strategic selection allows for a more detailed exploration of how improved economic and security conditions, coupled with evolving values towards post-materialism, impact attitudes towards refugee acceptance. The study's methodology, characterized by its flexibility and adaptability, incorporates both quantitative (online surveys) and qualitative (semi-structured interviews) methods, ensuring a multifaceted analysis of the research questions at hand.

Moreover, the chapter underlines the study's contribution to the field by not only examining theoretical premises in new contexts but also by proposing alternative hypotheses when initial findings warrant further investigation. By focusing on factors like institutional and regulatory capacities and trust in migration governance, the study broadens the scope of understanding beyond initial expectations, enriching the discourse on refugee integration and societal openness. This chapter, therefore, sets the stage for a robust exploration of how socio-economic and cultural factors intersect to shape attitudes towards refugees, offering a methodologically sound framework that balances theory with empirical investigation. The ensuing sections will delve deeper into the findings gleaned from the data collected, providing a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics at play in refugee-welcoming attitudes across different societal contexts.

Chapter III - Theoretical Framework

This chapter will analyze the theoretical framework in detail by covering all the theories this research touches on. This study's main objective is to explore the determinants of creating positive attitudes toward refugees and the reason behind this by responding the question: 'Under what conditions do communities with migration experience in refugee-receiving states become more open toward accepting more refugees, and why?' through testing the following two hypotheses:

- H1: Post-materialist, cooperative, inclusive and egalitarian norms within the population may serve as an effective strategy for fostering a more welcoming attitude towards refugees and mitigating xenophobic sentiments.
- H2: Well-functioning migration governance based on the high-level of institutional and regulatory capacity of host countries and the ability to foster institutional trust within the resident communities are anticipated to play a crucial role in shaping a positive attitude towards refugees.

This chapter provides a theoretical analysis of value change theories to understand their relevance to this study for particularly formulation and test of the 1st hypothesis mentioned above. The focus is on how these theories address changes in values toward post-materialist values consist of self-expression and secular-rational ones and also

includes more comperative and inclusive senses and their impact on strengthening refugee welcoming attitudes. The study examines whether improved economic and security conditions for migrants lead to value changes that foster more welcoming attitudes towards refugees. By examining these theories, the research aims to understand if and how changes in values can influence attitudes towards refugees, particularly in the context of migration.

In addition to value change, the study explores the role of institutional trust and its practical implications for the formulation and test of the 2nd hypothesis mentioned above. This chapter outlines how trust in institutions is crucial for fostering cohesive communities and positive attitudes towards refugees. By comparing attitudes towards refugees in Germany and Türkiye, the study evaluates how institutional trust built among people who live in host communities in migration governance impact people's willingness to accept more refugees. This focus on institutional trust, especially given migrants' concerns about resource competition, adds significant theoretical and empirical dimensions to the research.

The study also contributes to theories on social cohesion and refugee-welcoming attitudes by providing empirical evidence on the role of institutional trust. It emphasizes how perceptions of effective migration governance influence attitudes towards refugees, offering valuable insights for policymakers. The findings suggest the need for a reconsideration of approaches to building trust and creating cohesive societies in host states. Policy recommendations will be made to help policymakers design and implement effective strategies for fostering social cohesion and welcoming attitudes towards refugees. The outline of this chapter is as follows:

3.1. Review of theories related to the value change

3.2. Review of theories on types of trust, particularly institutional trust

3.3. Review of theories on social cohesion and creating refugee-welcoming societies.

3.4. Review of debates on impact of value change on politics, identity politics, the rise of populism, and the extreme right

3.5. Explaining the theoretical contribution of the study

3.1. Debates on Value Change Theories – Inspiration for the 1st hypothesis of this study

According to the Oxford Reference, culture is a people's way of life that consists of attitudes, values, and beliefs. Many scholars have theoretically discussed culture to make an exact definition of the concept by understanding its roots. Taylor defines culture as the "name of all things and events peculiar to the human species." (White, 1959). Keesing (1958) additionally considers culture as the "totality of learned, socially transmitted behavior." By considering the early approaches and efforts to define what culture is in the literature, it is possible to define culture as a concept (i) consisting of attitudes, values, and beliefs, (ii) belonging to the human being, and (iii) is a socially transmitted behavior. In other words, culture is a factor that impacts all behaviors in our lives. For this reason, scholars have started to place more emphasis on culture to consider it as the focus of contemporary debates in the social sciences in the 1970s (Nash, 2001; Moret, 2019). In parallel with this, empirical studies on culture have emerged in Britain in the mid-1950s and gained popularity in the 1960s and 1970s (Lee, 2003). Then, in 1980s, cultural studies started to be quantified by scholars. For example, Hostede's work on cultural dimensions created a paradigm to shape cross-cultural studies. It was the first study that quantifies people's cultural orientations in more than 60 countries, and it has started to be used for

cross-cultural management, business, and also cross-cultural psychology (Hofstede and Bond, 1984; Hostede, 1982; Wu, 2006; Beugelsdijk and Welzel, 2018).

Today, culture maintains its popularity in academic studies, particularly empirical ones, as an independent variable that strongly influences individual preferences for countries' economic and institutional performance. There is a consensus in the literature that cultural values influence people's decisions and preferences in their lives. Weber (2002), for example, explains the birth of capitalism by arguing that many cultural values peculiar to Calvinists led first to diligence, then to capital accumulation, and finally to the birth of capitalism. Fukuyama (1989) additionally operationalized the concept of culture as the focus of his argument regarding the end of history. Putnam (1993) also emphasized cooperative norms to explain the difference between North and South Italy in democracy and development. Huntington (2014) developed his well-cited thesis, namely the clash of civilization, by emphasizing the importance of cultural values in the future of world politics. Crossette also examines the influence of culture on gender equality and human rights (Harrison and Huntington, 2000).

Culture is shaped by value preferences by the people in any society. Therefore, change in value orientations became a popular subject to be studied in the late 1960s and 1970s due to the societal transformation experienced in the post-WWII period and started to be noticed by scholars after 20-30 years of WW-II by linking these transformations with people's changing value preferences. Daniel Bell's popular hypothesis which is named as the End of Ideology argues that experienced social changes in Western democracies and tremendous economic progress have created a significant impact on the transformation of the employment patterns and living conditions (Dalton, 2006). According to Bell, countries

where experienced this transformation are more secular and the influence of religion in these societies even though it remains an important element (Brick, 2013). Bell's hypothesis can be considered as one of the pioneering and important studies on the causes and effects of value change based on the unprecedented economic growth and experienced transformation in social and economic structure in Western democracies after the World War (WW) II (Dalton, 2006). However, Bell's hypothesis has been discussed more in the context of debates about whether ideologies have come to an end, and later objections have been raised to Bell's arguments about the end of ideologies. The strongest of these objections was raised by Inglehart (1977) in his famous book *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. According to Inglehart's post-material hypothesis, ideology did not end but its content changed due to the social transformation experienced (Inglehart, 1977).

Ronald F. Inglehart also explains the sources of value change with two hypotheses. The first one is the unprecedented economic prosperity occurred in Western countries after the World War II. The second one is the absence of total war since the end of the WWII. By transforming Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory, Inglehart also proposed two hypotheses namely scarcity and socialization hypotheses. The scarcity hypothesis argues that people's priorities are shaped by their socio-economic environment. The socialization hypothesis also argues that people's preferred values reflect the conditions during their formative years. Deth (1983) questioned the reliability of Inglehart's hypotheses and he claimed that by conducting a Dutch panel from 1974 to 1979 his observation regarding the changes in values do not aligned with Inglehart's socialization hypothesis by criticizing Inglehart's measurement tools because he found that there is a tendency toward increased materialism.

In addition, he argued that there were unstable responses in conducted survey and therefore proposed instrument to measure values is not reliable. Inglehart responds Deth's critique by criticizing weakness of his data set and also puts emphasis on period effects and cohort effects as integrals to his theory (1983).

Inglehart's theory is derived from Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Gatto and Power, 2016). According to Maslow, individuals hierarchically pursue their interests. At the first step of this hierarchy are physiological needs such as water, air, shelter, and food. There is a need for security in the second level, a sense of belonging in the third, esteem in the fourth, and self-actualization in the fifth (Mathes, 1981). Advancing Maslow's theory of a need hierarchy, evolutionary modernization theory suggested that if a person no longer has financial or existential security problems, then they are highly likely to develop post-materialist values (Inglehart, 1990). Alternatively, suppose a person cannot satisfy their basic needs. In that case, s/he is highly unlikely to develop post-materialist values because s/he has to pursue material interests such as food, shelter, water, and security to survive. Moreover, people may seek to satisfy their intellectual and aesthetic needs only when they ensure their economic and physical/existential security. Maslow calls people's intellectual and aesthetic satisfaction self-actualization needs (Knutsen, 1990).

Parallel to Maslow, Inglehart explains the cultural transformation and transformation of prevalent values in societies with the increase in physical/existential and economic security. Societies that display economic development and whose citizens enjoy physical/existential security tend to adopt post-materialist values such as internalizing individual-choice norms, providing support for environmental protection, and gender equality (Inglehart, 2019). Inglehart developed his theory to demonstrate the sources of the

shift in value preferences and argues that when people's physiological and safety needs are guaranteed, there will be a shift from materialist values (traditional and survival) to post-materialist values (secular-rational and self-expression). Inglehart tested his thesis by carrying out (i) cross-sectional age-cohort and (ii) time-series data analyses (Inglehart, 1977).

In Inglehart's thesis, a person's formative years and educational level matter in their value preferences. He linked his formative years emphasis with intergenerational differences. For example, in his article published in 2008, he analyzed the post-war birth cohorts by underlining the following paragraph:

“The post-war birth cohorts spent their formative years under levels of prosperity that were unprecedented in human history, and the welfare state reinforced the feeling that survival was secure, producing major differences in the priorities of older and younger generations that became evident when the first post-war cohort emerged into political relevance two decades after World War II.” (Inglehart, 2008: 131).

This direct quotation was provided in order to demonstrate how Inglehart builds his theory related to the analysis of changing value preferences by focusing on formative years and intergenerational differences.

Inglehart has expanded his theory on the change of values since the 1970s by using it for empirical purposes. Inglehart (1978) operationalized the shift in value preferences to explain the changing roots of life satisfaction and political dissatisfaction in the West. Inglehart then started to scrutinize the shift in values in non-western countries by comparing value change in Japan and the West (Inglehart, 1981; Inglehart and Flanagan,

1987; Trommsdorff, 2017). Inglehart started to conduct surveys to understand values and changing patterns in the 1970s. The data collected from surveys inspired him to establish a database, namely the World Values Survey (WVS), in the 1980s. While the first surveys were carried out only in the U.S. and Europe, later Inglehart started to make surveys related to the rest of the world and published them (Lundgren, 2015). They allowed many scholars to study the changes in values occurring in many parts of the world (Aleman and Woods, 2015). Inglehart has also started to adopt the transition from materialist to post-materialist values in many different case studies, i.e., economic development, democracy, and gender equality (Inglehart, 1995; Granato, Inglehart and Leblang, 1996; Inglehart, Norris and Welzel, 2002; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). Then, Inglehart named his efforts to understand the reasons behind the shift in value preferences as the evolutionary modernization theory. Through this theory, Inglehart explained the effects of the change in values on the rise of authoritarian populism, xenophobia, artificial intelligence, and so on (Inglehart, 2019; Inglehart and Norris, 2019).

It is essential that understanding and explaining cultural transformation is one of the core challenges of the social sciences (Harrison and Huntington, 2000; Horning-Kossler, 1994). While there is some agreement over the idea that cultural values transform over time under specific conditions (Moua, 2010), there is no consensus over what triggers the transformation, why and how (Sorokin, 1957; Kroeber, 1962; Inglehart, 1977; Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Elliott et al., 2008; Varnum and Grossmann, 2017). Inglehart's evolutionary modernization theory comes to the forefront as one of the most popular theories that explain the reasons behind the cultural transformation and its impact on people's values and attitudes. According to Inglehart (2019), unprecedented economic

growth and existential security are the main drivers of cultural transformation and shapes people's values and attitudes. He pinpoints to this process as the transition from materialist to post-materialist values. While aiming to understand the cultural landscape of societies, Inglehart underlines that there are two dimensions of cultural transformation. The first dimension constitutes the transition from traditional values (the centrality of religion and belief in God in people's lives; emphasis on obedience to parents in a child's development, rejection of abortion, divorce, euthanasia, and suicide;; strong sense of national pride, and respect for authority) to secular-rational values (low/no significance of religious beliefs in people's everyday lives; emphasis on autonomy in child's development; pro-life, pro-divorce, tolerant toward suicide and euthanasia; low/no sense of national belonging and low/no respect for authority). The second dimension is the transition from survival values (emphasis on economic and physical security; self-assessment of happiness level as low) to self-expression values (emphasis on well-being; self-assessment of happiness levels as high). The theory also anticipates that increased secular-rational and self-expression values will increase generalized trust and tolerance towards foreigners and/or refugees (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005; Inglehart, 2019; Cloete, 2014; Klein, 2011).

Ronald F. Inglehart's evolutionary modernization theory, which claims that economic and physical insecurity are conducive to xenophobia and solid in-group solidarity. In contrast, secure conditions cause greater tolerance of outgroups and more egalitarian social norms by fostering transition from materialist values to post-materialist values (Inglehart, 2019). According to this theory, communities that have started to adopt secular-rational values rather than traditional values and self-expression values rather than survival values live more comfortably with diversity when compared to communities with

traditional and survival values. In these societies, social relations display bridging patterns among different groups, resulting in social capital and higher levels of social cohesion (Cloete, 2014; Klein, 2011). The main reason underlying this expectation is that secular-rational and self-expression values facilitate trust-building in societies. Societies with higher levels of generalized trust will likely foster inclusive and collaborative norms prioritizing individual choice rather than collective identities and extractive norms that strengthen in-group solidarity within the society (Inglehart, 2019). and cooperative norms prioritize individual choice rather than collective identities and extractive norms that strengthen in-group solidarity within society (Inglehart, 2019). The following two provided direct quotations summarize Inglehart's arguments related to the required conditions and their impact on value preferences:

“People's values and behavior are shaped by the degree to which survival is secure. For most of the time since humans first appeared, survival has been precarious. This dominated people's life strategies. Population rose to meet the food supply, and most people lived just above the starvation level. When survival is insecure, people tend to close ranks behind a strong leader, forming a united front against outsiders – a strategy that can be called the Authoritarian Reflex” (Inglehart, 2019:1).

“A society's culture is shaped by the extent to which its people grow up feeling that survival is secure or insecure. This book presents a revised version of modernization theory – Evolutionary Modernization theory –which argues that economic and physical insecurity are conducive to xenophobia, strong in- group solidarity, authoritarian politics and rigid adherence to their group's traditional cultural norms – and conversely that secure conditions lead to greater tolerance of

outgroups, openness to new ideas and more egalitarian social norms. It then analyzes survey data from countries containing most of the world's population, showing how, in recent decades, changing levels of economic and physical security have been reshaping human values and motivations, and thereby transforming societies.” (Inglehart, 2019: 9).

However, Inglehart's theory regarding the transition from materialist to post-materialist values has been criticized by many scholars for many years. According to Haller (2002), for example, Inglehart's methodology to measure traditional vs. secular-rational and survival vs. self-expression values and treatment of units and level of measurement has many problems and makes his country's classification based on the cultural zones inconsistent. Flanagan (1982) proposes an alternative focal point to explain the value shift by focusing on instrumental values, which mean beliefs about desirable modes of conduct, rather than Inglehart's terminal values, which consist of beliefs about desirable end-states of existence. Braithwaite et al. (1996), furthermore, indicate that Inglehart's measurement is related to the value level rather than the attitude level of analysis by pointing out that being able to focus more on attitudes and practice than values may produce more significant findings. Jasny (2013) introduced methodological criticisms toward Inglehart by applying methods from cultural anthropology to show how Inglehart's two-factor model has unverified assumptions regarding the relationship between values. According to Jasny (2013), Inglehart's methodology and structure are empirically inaccurate. In addition to the methodological criticisms toward Inglehart's evolutionary modernization theory, Marsh (1975;1977) questions the findings and challenges the theory by arguing that although Britain experienced slow economic growth and high inflation during the 1970s, there was a

transition to post-materialist values within the country. Tufis (2000) also points out that Inglehart should have determined the level of education as the independent variable for the transition from materialist values to post-materialist values, not economic development. Brechin and Kempton (1997) tested Inglehart's post-materialism thesis in the case of environmentalism. They found that environmentalism is not a product of post-materialist values by arguing that it occurred in poor and rich countries. Brechin (1999), therefore, named the post-materialist explanation for environmentalism insufficient.

In addition, Manea and Rabusic (2020) makes an empirical criticism toward Inglehart's evolutionary modernization theory by presenting their obtained findings for CEE (Central and Eastern European) countries. According to their findings, Inglehart's evolutionary modernization theory does not work because socio-economic modernization did not produce stronger support for individual-choice norms in CEE countries and for Western European countries. They point out that transition from materialist to post-materialist values are related to the generational differences. Whereas the older generations tend to adopt traditional values more, younger ones tend to internalize secular-rational values. Moreover, Norris and Inglehart was also criticized due to their thesis about the impact of increasing existential security on secularization in the world and they respond to these criticisms by proposing empirical data to figure out that socio-economic development, economic equality and interaction between societies are key factor to reduce religious conflict and tensions (Norris and Inglehart, 2015). Criticisms toward Inglehart's evolutionary modernization theory and its different findings presented in different studies brought a different dimension to the literature regarding examining shifts in value preferences.

The formulation and testing of the first hypothesis in this study — H1: Post-materialist, cooperative, inclusive and egalitarian norms within the population may serve as an effective strategy for fostering a more welcoming attitude towards refugees and mitigating xenophobic sentiments — are primarily informed and inspired by debates on value change and its effects on political orientations and attitudes towards refugees. This hypothesis is influenced by theoretical discussions on how shifts from materialist to post-materialist values might impact social attitudes, specifically regarding tolerance and acceptance of out-groups. Ronald F. Inglehart's work, particularly his arguments about how such value transitions can reduce xenophobic attitudes and promote solidarity beyond in-group affiliations, provides a significant theoretical backdrop. However, it is crucial to note that this study does not exclusively depend on Inglehart's theories; instead, it employs these concepts as a framework to explore how value changes associated with improved economic and security conditions might affect refugee-welcoming attitudes.

3.2. Theories on Trust - Inspiration for the 2nd hypothesis of this study

This study reveals the importance of institutional trust in changing people's attitudes towards refugees in a positive way. By considering the role of trust in this context and this study's contribution to the literature on the concept of trust and its types, it is, therefore, essential to address the theoretical framework for building trust under this research. In this section, theories about trust are analyzed as a funnel. First, what the concept of trust is, then its types, and finally theories related to the concept of institutional trust, which is the main concept of this study, were analyzed and given.

There has yet to be a consensus on the definition of the concept of trust in the literature. Castelfranchi and Franco (2010) identified seventy-two definitions of trust in the

literature. According to Castelfranchi and Franco (2010), subject, action, will, expect, belief, outcome, rely, trust, confidence, and willingness are the ten most frequently used terms to define trust in the social sciences. Based on the frequently used terms to explain the concept of trust, Gambetta (1988) says that trust is a subjective term and expectation of an individual about others' actions. In the social sciences, whereas some scholars consider trust a psychological term, others handle the concept of trust as only a sociological term. In ancient Greece, the concept of trust was described as a means of dealing with the dangerous uncertainties of life (Earle and Cvetkovich, 1995). Earle and Cvetkovich (1995) point out that societal differentiation began to be based on functional sub-systems, and this increased people's need for trust in the modern world because trust has started to play a vital role in the emergence of characteristics of social relations among people in advanced industrialized societies. Therefore, trust has become one of the most necessary concepts to survive, maintain their daily routines, and improve life standards. With the world's industrialization in the past, people lived in small and closed communities for the rest of their lives, and they did not need to establish relations or cooperation with strangers to survive or improve their living standards (Uslaner, 2002). However, the rapid industrialization of the world forced people to migrate to more complex industrialized areas and larger cities. Thus, people had to contact others from different ethnic origins, religious beliefs, worldviews, culture and socioeconomic status. They needed to cooperate with them to maintain their daily routines, improve their living conditions, or act in solidarity to pursue their common interests. Therefore, the importance of the concept of trust has increased day by day in advanced industrial societies because of the complexity and uncertainties of the modern and industrial world. Modern industrial societies are organized

as more complex structures (Lewis and Weiger, 1985). Luhmann (2017) conceives trust as the concept that reduces the complexity of modern industrial society's systems because trust allows people to establish social relations in simple and more confident ways. Therefore, trust is seen as an asset for people to control social relations in modern societies (Lewis and Veigert, 1985). Newton and Zmerli (2011) support that trust is crucial in large-scale, mobile, and heterogeneous societies. Hardin (2006) also points out that the level of trustworthiness enables people to cooperate more efficiently. Therefore, trust increases the volume of social networks because they allow people to establish strong relations with strangers and collaborate with them to pursue common or diverse interests. Trust, in addition, is a critical concept that ensures that social life continues unconsciously without disruption in complicated, modern, and industrialized societies.

In addition to the sociological and theoretical definition of the concept of trust (Sztompka, 1999; Cook, 2003; Gambetta, 1998; Govier, 1998; Markova and Gillespie, 2008; Misztal, 1996; Uslaner, 2002), it has started to be popular among scholars in empirical studies. For example, Fukuyama (1995) argues that trust matters in countries and companies' economic performance and productivity. Putnam (2000) figures out that increasing trust in a society substantially impacts civic engagement, economic development, and the decline of criminal rates. Braithwaite (1998) points out that institutions and societies with high levels of trust are more likely to establish and maintain good governance. In addition, Sztompka (1999) conceives trust as a bet about others' future actions, and other scholars consider trust as an optimistic worldview and/or behavior of people about the future actions of others (Gambetta, 1988; Bauer, 2015; Uslaner, 2002). He supports the idea that trust brings us several benefits, including higher economic growth

rates, good governance, and high living standards (Uslaner, 2002). Misztal (1996) considers trust as essential for the most routine of daily lives, and Luhmann (2017) explains the importance of the concept of trust in people's daily lives through supporting the idea that the absence of trust would constrain people from even getting up in the morning. For example, we have to trust drivers to take the bus to go to work, and/or we have to trust the baker that hygienic standards make bread to purchase and eat bread. These simple examples show that the loss of trust can even cause us to be unable to perform our daily activities. In short, if the level of trust decreases in a society, it would negatively affect people's daily routines in the modern and industrialized world.

Trust is categorized into two groups such as moralistic and strategic trust. First, moralistic trust is defined as faith in others without having any information about others' backgrounds because moralistic trust is an individual's belief that others have the same moral values (Uslaner, 2002). Therefore, moralistic trust is a product of automatic thinking because individuals frequently decide to trust without knowing about others or making a cost-benefit analysis before deciding to trust another person. However, strategic trust is different from moral trust because deciding to trust other people through getting knowledge about how they will act in the future is a procedure of controlled thinking. People frequently develop strategic trust by getting more information about others (Uslaner, 2002). Misztal (1996), therefore, points out that strategic trust mostly assumes risks. The recruitment process can be given as the most basic example of strategic trust because employers frequently ask various questions to mitigate risk by getting more information about applicants to ensure they are trustworthy.

Generalized and particularized trust is another categorization of the concept of trust. Generalized trust is defined as a general belief that most people can be trusted. Namely, generalized trusters are more optimistic about strangers' future societal actions. On the other hand, particularized trust is more restricted and can only be developed when people have information about others. In sum, people with particularized trust rather than generalized trust do not easily trust foreigners/refugees. In this sense, the level of generalized and particularized trust also plays a very significant role in the structure of social organizations. The high generalized trust enables people to establish more open and inclusive social organizations and make larger scale cooperations. For that reason, the difference between particularized and generalized trust is like Putnam's categorization of social capital as bonding and bridging social capital, according to Uslaner (2002). Accordingly, whereas particularized trust contributes to bonding social capital through strengthening closed and extractive social organizations and institutions, the high level of generalized trust promotes bridging social capital by enabling people to establish more inclusive and open social organizations and institutions. This is because particularized trusters generally think that people, unlike themselves, cannot be trustworthy. Thus, they cannot be a part of their moral community. Still, generalized trusters have positive views toward both their own in-group and out-group members, enabling them to increase the volume of their social networks for pursuing their individual and/or common interests (Uslaner, 2002).

The concept of trust has also been used for empirical research purposes. Glanville and Story (2018) found that people with a high level of generalized trust are likelier to participate in voluntary associations to improve life for disadvantaged and marginalized

groups. Gould and Hijzen (2016) argue that trusting societies have more effective governments and performance in income redistribution. Knack and Keefer (1997) supplied statistical evidence to prove that despite some exceptions, the possibility of attracting investments and having a high level of GDP is higher in countries with high levels of trust than in countries with lower levels of trust. After a while, Schmidt (2003) performed a similar study and found that generalized trust causes general cooperative behavior and leads to positive economic outcomes because she found that when other influences on growth are held constant, countries with high levels of generalized trust have higher GDP than countries with low level of generalized trust. In addition, Putnam (1993) explained the difference between North and South Italy regarding civic engagement and economic development with the difference in social trust between these two regions. Besides, Paxton (2002) supports the idea that a high level of trust contributes to the maintenance of democracy because a high level of trust in society encourages people to participate in politics more and political participation should be accepted as an essential factor that enables democracies and democratic institutions to work better. Inglehart figures out that countries with a higher level of interpersonal trust score more than countries with a lower level of interpersonal trust in civil liberties and political rights. Dees (1998) also argues that a high level of trust increases tolerance in communities, enabling democratic regimes and institutions to perform better. Furthermore, Nunn, Qian, and Wen (2017) point out that trust impedes political turnover and lower political turnover in high-trust states fosters political stability. The empirical evidence demonstrates that trust matters in institutional solid performance, quality of democracy, good governance, the rule of law, tolerance, and social cohesion. Two reasons have a vital role in increasing the popularity of

the concept of trust in literature. First, social interactions and relations have become more complex due to rapid industrialization and globalization of the world. Thus, people must contact strangers because they notice that surviving without cooperation and trust cannot be possible in these societies. Second, it is also seen that the decline of trust in advanced industrialized societies due to demographical, technological, and generational changes causes diverse severe social and economic problems in these countries, such as a decline in civic engagement, economic recession, violation of democratic rights and institutions, political instability, the rise of criminal activities and crime rates, and so on (Putnam, 2000; Uslaner, 2002; Hardin 2006).

Another essential categorization of trust in literature is institutional trust, which means trust in political institutions. In a broad sense, it includes trust in the political community, regime principles, performance of public and political institutions, and public officials and political actors (Yang and Tang, 2010). Institutional trust has been ensured while citizens consider public institutions as promise-keeping, accountable, efficient, competent, predictable, transparent, fair and honest (Hooghe et al., 2015). According to Berg and Hjerm (2010) institutional trust is also linked with interpersonal and social trust because Berg and Hjerm (2010) considers that institutional trust is an extended version of the social trust in any country or society. Institutional trust is highly linked with performance theory, which claims that good performance of government institutions increases institutional trust, whereas their breakdown causes the decline of institutional trust (Boateng, 2018). By considering performance theory and institutional trust, it is essential that public institutions' performance and good governance matter in building institutional trust, and institutional trust matters in citizens' preferences and reactions to the

policies of the country they live in. Institutional trust is, therefore, important for this research scope. However, alternatively, Kaasa and Andriani (2022) stressed the cultural context of an individual's trust in public institution by figuring out that people tend to trust institutions less in regions with large power distance. Their findings underline the importance of political participation and participation in associations and civic responsibility in order to build institutional trust in any country or society. This means that people tend to trust more the decision-making mechanisms and institutions of which they can be a part.

Empirically, the concept of institutional trust has been used as an independent variable in many studies in order to its impact on various issues. For example, Hudson (2006) indicated that institutional trust and performance has a strong impact on people's subjective well-being by focusing on EU citizens in his research. Mishler and Rose (2005) and Letki and Evans (2005) found that strengthening institutional trust matters in fostering countries' democratization and also good governance because if people's level of trust is increased their political participation increases. Participatory governmental design and governance also allows those countries to ensure and implement good governance principles. Liebertz (2020) also studied on the relationship between institutional trust and crime and found that the high-level of institutional trust has an impact on diminishing institutional trust. Knack and Keefer (1997) and Knack and Zak (2003) examined the relationship between institutional trust and economic growth and found that institutional trust matters in increasing investment and then contributing to the countries' economic growth. Allum (et.al, 2010) also focused on the role of institutional trust on social and

political development and provided empirical evidence to indicate that institutional trust matters in social and political development of any country.

Institutional trust has also been studied in some empirical research studies which focuses on migration and refugees. As mentioned in previous sections, Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) claim that effective migration management and fair policies enhance public support for refugees. Similarly, Schneider and Ingram (1993) find that transparent and responsive governance helps reduce fears and prejudices, leading to more welcoming attitudes. In addition, Hall and Werner (2022) indicate that when high-level of trust is ensured refugees are more competent to establish their social networks and their contribution to the social, political and economic development of the host society is better. They also stressed that their institutional trust is a key factor in determining their tendency to embrace host country's norms, culture and other country-specific factors. If it is ensured refugees in host societies are more willing to participate in associations, social and economic activities to create a value in host countries. Zeller (2014), in addition, considers institutions as key actors in refugees' lives because refugees face with institutions from the beginning of their migration story and each milestone experienced in their lives in host states. Therefore, refugees' level of trust in institutions matter in their well-being, managing capacity to organize their lives and producing solutions for their daily problems. Röder and Mühlau (2012) indicated that difference in quality of governance between host and origin country has a strong positive impact in refugees' level of institutional trust in host countries thanks to the better institutional performance. Wu (2020) focused on effect of migrating from less level of trust societies to high level of trust societies and indicated that people learn to trust early in life thanks to socialization and migrating from a less level of trust

societies to high level of trust societies do not have any effect on building trust. This study's finding, however, is not compatible with Wu's finding and therefore contributes to the literature. According to Epsenshade and Hempstead (1996) lower institutional trust is linked with the lower socio-economic security in any country or society because problems experienced by people regarding social and economic issues make institutions responsible for this. If institutions do not show sufficient performance people are more inclined to blame institutions for challenges experienced in their daily lives. Husfeldt (2006), McLaren (2010) and Halapuu et.al (2014) found that the high-level of institutional trust diminish negative attitudes toward immigrants.

This research also reveals the impact of trust in public institutions and political officials on people's attitudes toward accepting more refugees. This study, therefore, contributes to the theoretical and empirical framework of institutional trust by operationalizing the concept in a migration context and linking it with change in value preferences.

3.3. Debates on Social Cohesion and Creating Refugee Welcoming Societies

This sub-chapter explains why theories on social cohesion and creating refugee-welcoming societies are necessary for this research and how this research will make both theoretical and empirical contributions to these theories below.

3.3.1. Social Cohesion

Social cohesion has become popular in academic studies due to society's increasing complexity and diversity. Recently experienced forced migration waves also enhanced social cohesion's popularity because scholars and policymakers attached significant emphasis on the sources of social cohesion and ways to ensure social cohesion among

societies that host high numbers of refugees. However, there is an ambiguity in the definition of the concept of social cohesion (Friedkin, 2004). This ambiguity makes social cohesion an ill-defined term (Jeannotte, 2000). Scholars frequently understand social integration or system integration when they encounter the concept of social cohesion. Due to the lack of consensus on what social cohesion is, some scholars consider it as nothing more than a quasi-concept or concept of convenience (Chan et al., 2006). Despite the criticisms, social cohesion is essential as a concept for academic studies and political purposes. Social cohesion means ensured solidarity among members of the society regardless of their differences (Berkman and Kawachi, 2000). Its dimensions are networks, norms, trust, cooperation, and enhancing the sense of community. Social cohesion aims to strengthen shared values and identities among individuals in society rather than differences that cause conflict or decline of social cohesion.

Social cohesion has been used for empirical research purposes for a long time. For example, Berkman (2000) and Lavis and Stoddard (1999) found a positive relationship between enhanced social cohesion and people's health and well-being. Hirschfield and Bowers (1997) carried out a study regarding the relationship between social cohesion and crime. They found that crime levels are significantly lower than expected in disadvantaged areas with high levels of social cohesion and vice versa. Camilleri and Camilleri (2015) also examine the relationship between education, social cohesion, and economic growth, and they found that there is a strong relationship between better education and social cohesion, and their quality fosters economic growth. Pervaiz and Chaudhary (2015) also point out that intergroup cohesion, in other words, bridging social capital, has a significant impact on economic growth, whereas bonding social capital has a negative effect on it.

Majeed (2017) focused on social cohesion in the Muslim world by analyzing its impact on economic growth. In this study, Majeed (2017) found that high social cohesion brings significant economic growth in the Muslim world. Brito (2015) compares the impact of social cohesion on economic growth based on the size of states by comparing small and large states. Brito (2015) shows that ensuring social cohesion in small states has a higher impact than in large states.

In addition to the theoretical and empirical studies on social cohesion, this concept has gained significant popularity due to the migration crisis experienced in post-2011 period and also governmental breakdown in some countries, i.e., Syria and Afghanistan. Scholars, policymakers, and other actors in society, i.e., CSOs or NGOs representatives consider social cohesion as a desirable feature of a social entity. Migration waves have also raised concerns in host societies that social cohesion will decline (Jenson, 1998; Schiefer and Noll, 2017; Cheong, 2007). As Özçürümez and Hoxha (2020) indicate, social cohesion has become a dominant paradigm in United Nations (UN) and European Union (EU) bodies and agencies to respond to the forced migration and manage and/or eliminate its conflict to be created potentially by aiming to enhance dialogue and cooperation between refugees and host populations and encourage peaceful intercommunal relations among refugees. By allocating funds to launch and implement projects, UNDP have been financing various projects in different regions of the world such as: ‘Social Cohesion Project to sustain peace and social cohesion in Malawi’; ‘Social Cohesion Between Syrian and Host Communities through Women’s Empowerment Project to strengthen social cohesion among Syrian and host communities in Türkiye through women’s empowerment’; and Business to Social Cohesion Project to support women businesses, entrepreneurs and

women's cooperatives to cope with the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic'. Strengthening social cohesion is also one of the EU's main objectives. Within the EU, it is aimed at reducing the disparities among regions through launching and implementing instruments such as European Structural and Investment Funds, Just Transition Fund, European Social Fund and European Social Fund Plus. The main purpose of these instruments is fostering social cohesion and integration through combating unemployment and poverty, enhancing human resources capacity. The EU, for example, provided financial support for a project by jointly managing with International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM) to build social cohesion and inclusion as migrants and refugees into Turkish society. The initiative was financed by EU Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (EU IcSP) to support Türkiye's National Strategy Document and Action Plan on Harmonization. As another example, the EU also financed PIKTES project to promote the access of children under temporary protection to education in Türkiye and to support their social cohesion. PIKTES also aimed at supporting the efforts of Ministry of National Education on education and social cohesion of children under temporary protection in Türkiye (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). Even though it is possible to increase the number of projects financed by the EU and UNDP and also increase the number of CSOs and international organizations that provide support for projects and programmes to enhance social cohesion, particularly in the field of migration management, these projects are sufficient to demonstrate how social cohesion is set in political agenda both at the national and international level thanks to the international organizations' efforts, particularly the EU and UNDP in a close cooperation with national governments, CSOs and NGOs.

As explained in this sub-section, social cohesion is a concept that has been increasing in popularity among scholars and policymakers. Due to its conceptual and definitional ambiguity, social cohesion is set by a main objective both by international organizations and national governments, particularly due to the increasing refugee flows. Even though this research does not only focus on social cohesion, but it is also essential to note that changing people's attitudes toward accepting more refugees in host communities can be considered an earlier stage of building a cohesive and inclusive society. Therefore, even though the social cohesion literature is larger than presented in this sub-section, it is essential to include the social cohesion literature in this study to demonstrate its contribution to the social cohesion literature. In addition to this, this study's findings will also provide significant insights and contributions into the social cohesion policy framework by underlining the substantial role in people's perception regarding the efficiency of migration governance and trust in the institutional and regulatory capacity of host states in adopting more positive attitudes toward accepting more refugees. This important finding may guide international organizations, CSOs and NGOs, and public institutions or executive branches of national governments to produce and implement to-do-point policies, programs, and projects.

3.3.2. Theories on Creating Refugee-Welcoming Societies

There is a rich and fast-growing literature on refugee studies due to the increasing cross-border mobility and forced migration in the world. The literature includes topics such as understanding and exploring the causes of displacement (Lischer, 2007; Adhikari, 2013), understanding and examining experiences of refugees and identifying their needs (Sunata and Abdulla, 2020), policies and migration governance of host countries (Özçürümez and

İçduygu, 2020; Icduygu and Nimer, 2019), international humanitarian responses to meet refugees' basic needs and their effectiveness (Pearce and Lee, 2018; Kraft and Smith, 2019) and also impact of mass migration on many issues such as economic, social and security in host countries (Barman, 2020; Rodríguez-Pose and Berlepsch, 2014; Karatrantos, 2021).

There are several popular theories in migration studies. The theory of push and pull factors examines reasons that pushed refugees out of their home countries, such as civil war, climate change, environmental causes, human rights abuses, unemployment, and other economic difficulties, and also factors that make host countries attractive for them such as employment opportunities, safety, and education opportunities (Parkins, 2010). Lischer (2007) considers violence conflict as the primary reason behind mass migration and displacement, named conflict-induced migration theory. In addition, environmental migration theory studies underline environmental factors' role in causing displacement (Piguet, 2021). The expected increased impact of climate change also increases the popularity of environmental migration theory (Kaczan and Orgill-Meyer, 2020). Network theory is also used for understanding and explaining how interpersonal ties are essential in refugees' lives to maintain their lives in the country of immigration (Arango, 2000). Scholars have used all these theories to understand and explain the complexity of forced migration.

Creating inclusive and cohesive communities within the context of migration is dominated by the concept of social inclusion. Social inclusion was first conceptualized in policy discourse in France in the 1970s. However, it was set as a critical concept in social policy by the European Union to deal with poverty and support disadvantaged groups (Rawal, 2008). Social inclusion aims to help socially excluded individuals and groups cope

with inequalities, promote quality of opportunities, and eliminate discrimination. Although there is a lack of consensus on the definition of the concept, social inclusion is defined by the World Bank as a process to improve conditions for individuals and groups to be able to take part in society by feeling a sense of belonging to benefit from opportunities that exist equally regardless their ethnic and religious identity or economic situation. United Nations also defines social inclusion as a process to improve the terms of participation in society, particularly for disadvantaged people, by equipping them with opportunities, allowing them access to resources, and showing respect for rights. Enhancing the social inclusion of disadvantaged groups and refugees has been set as a policy objective by international and national governments (Martin and Cobigo, 2011). Several projects have been launched and implemented in solid collaboration, particularly to strengthen host countries' capacity to propose more opportunities for disadvantaged groups and refugees to enhance their sense of belongingness to society by benefitting from employment and education opportunities and also social and legal services and raise people's awareness regarding the need for social inclusion of disadvantaged groups and refugees through cultural and sports activities (McIntosh and Cocburn-Wooten, 2018). The migration crisis, particularly experienced in the post-2011 period, has pushed international institutions and national governments to operationalize the concept of social cohesion in responding to the migration crisis. UNHCR, for example, listed vital issues to be handled in host communities, such as xenophobia and fear, tensions in accessing local resources, finding employment and economic resilience, and easy access to healthcare services and education opportunities. In addition to this, UNHCR also underlines the role of learning the language and cultural characteristics of host communities in promoting the social inclusion of refugees in the host

communities (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). Therefore, Social inclusion is preferred more in the political sphere than academic studies due to the increasing complexity of societies, cross-border mobility, and forced migration waves. In sum, social inclusion theory considers improving access to social services, increasing employment and education opportunities by dealing with language and cultural barriers, and organizing awareness-raising activities and other activities on culture and sports as the primary methods to create inclusive communities.

There are also many other theories to create an inclusive and cohesive society. However, they can also be considered as a sub-dimension of the concept of social inclusion. This is because social inclusion includes each of them. For example, there are several studies on multiculturalism which emphasize the importance of cultural diversity within a society to create an inclusive and cohesive societies. Multiculturalism has been operationalized in many empirical studies in order to understand and explain how multiculturalism impact in promoting social inclusion of refugees, particularly in the fields of education, employment and daily practices (Clyne and Jupp, 2011) In addition, there are some theories on the role of internalization of human-rights approach and content of media to shape public opinion against refugees to ensure their inclusion to the society. For example, adopting human-rights approach while approaching the migration crisis is a key to promote social inclusion of refugees in terms of establishing collaboration among international organizations, CSOs, NGOs, national governments and also people in host states to meet their immediate needs to maintain their lives and also change attitudes toward them in a positive way (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). According to this approach, the content of social and traditional media should be identified in line with this

approach to avoid provoking xenophobia and anti-refugee sentiments and campaigns in host communities (Gattinara, 2018). There is also rich literature consisting of studies on examining the role of education and youth engagement (Taylor and Sidhu, 2012) and legal and policy frameworks in creating inclusive and cohesive societies (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). It is important to note that all findings under these studies is also related to the social inclusion as a broader concept which aims to explain and foster efforts to creating inclusive and cohesive societies even within the migration context. However, creating inclusive and cohesive societies requires multiply application of many theories and collaboration of institutions at different levels.

As this study focuses on attitudes toward refugees, examining popular theories regarding this is essential under this sub-section to link it with this study's findings. The first theoretical explanation regarding the determinants of attitudes toward refugees is societal integration explanation. It focuses on social trust by claiming that high-level social or interpersonal trust matters in not only building trust for people with similar cultural and ethnic background but also from different cultural and ethnic identities. Another theory is contact theory which claims if contact between host societies and refugees increases interpersonal trust among people from these two groups increases because regular contact and communication among people from these two groups prevent host societies to see refugees as a threat and allow them to consider them as a part of their society. The cultural marginality explanation also claims that common experience of discrimination makes members from host societies to be more tolerant toward refugees. The labour market competition explanation focuses on the competition among people for an employment by claiming that people with low level human capital and economic security are more inclined

to have negative attitudes toward refugees than people with high level human capital and economic security. The human capital explanation also argues that higher educated people are more tolerant towards refugees in comparison to undereducated ones (Halapuu et.al., 2014)

Considering that this study's sampling group is people with migration experience and with high-level of education this study's finding is related to the cultural marginality and human capital explanation. This study's findings provided empirical evidence for strengthening these two explanations. However, this study's findings did not produce any empirical evidence to verify or falsify other above-mentioned explanations. By focusing on institutional trust rather than social trust, this study also contributes to the literature by revealing the role of institutional trust on shaping people's attitudes toward the acceptance of further refugees in country, region or districts where they live.

3.4. Debates on Impact of Value Change on Politics, Identity Politics, the Rise of Populism, and the Extreme Right

The transition from materialist to post-materialist values, particularly in Europe, has also significant impact on the establishment of new political parties and their support/approval rates and strength in political negotiations. It was named as 'silent revolution' and 'new politics' by Ronald F. Inglehart and also estimated that transition from materialist to post-materialist values will lead the development of new parties in the form of new politics parties, left libertarian parties or green parties (Brooks and Manza, 1994). The success of the Greens in Germany in the early 1980s was the most significant base for this argument. However, the first significant result regarding the issue was experienced in the 1997 parliamentary elections in France. In these elections, The Greens, Les Verts in

French, gained seven seats in the National Assembly. Until the elections held in 1997, The Greens could not gain any seat in the National Assembly. The results of the 1997 parliamentary elections in France therefore embarked debates related to the transition from materialist to post-materialist values and its impact on politics because as Inglehart categorized, concern for environmental protection instead of any other material benefits, i.e., finding an employment or supporting for establishment of new factories even though they are harmful for environment is one of the most significant aspects of post-materialist values. These election results and the increasing support of other environmentalist parties in Europe have taken the discussions one step further, to the point that the right-left political spectrum can be replaced by the materialist - post-materialist spectrum (Kaelberer, 1998). However, Kaelberer (1998) argues that the rise of green parties is not a result of the value change because green parties in other countries were associated with low post-materialist values are stronger than high post-materialist values.

Despite the Kaelberer's criticisms toward the relationship between the rise of post-materialist values and its impact on support for green parties, debates regarding the issue are still popular in social sciences. The rise of environmental activism as a response to the adverse impact of climate change, increasing number of green political parties and environmentalist associations, and also willingness of governmental executives in some European countries to meet with Greta Thunberg have also been handled as an impact of adopting more post-materialist values on political headlines in Europe (Henn et.al, 2022). In addition, since the early 1990s, the establishment of thematic parties and candidacies for political offices focusing on specific issues such as women's rights, LGBTI, environmental protection and so on has been increased. This has also been considered as an impact of

strengthened post-materialist values, particularly in Europe (Eigenmann, 2021; Magni and Reynolds, 2021; Siegel and Wang, 2018). Gatto and Power (2016)'s key findings obtained from Brazilian case to understand the impact of Inglehart's post-materialism theory are important to understand changing debates regarding the issue, particularly in the late 2010s. According to Gatto and Power (2016), Brazilian political elites is more committed to post-materialist values than members of the mass public. In addition, legislators who were elected from provinces with high human development scores are more committed to post-materialist values than their counterparts who were elected from less-developed provinces. These key findings are essential to understand the debates that started and flared up especially after 2010 regarding the rise of extreme-right and populism in the world.

Rising support for populist parties, particularly after Brexit, Donald Trump's election victory and the rise of populist party leaders and politicians such as Marine Le Pen, Norbert Hoffer, Nigel Farage, and Geert Wilders, has embarked debates to identify the roots behind the rise of populist parties. Two theories came to the forefront to explain the rising support for populist parties. The first one is the economic insecurity perspective due to the transformed workforce and society and the rise of insecure and permanent employment opportunities due to the rise of precarious jobs. According to the economic insecurity perspective, socioeconomic inequalities in knowledge societies have started to play a significant role in creating a discontent and reactivity among the masses of society who were at the losing end of this inequality which consists of socially isolated, economically insecure, uneducated, unsophisticated masses with authoritarian tendencies in their daily lives. Even though it is criticized as being an extremely reductive and as only focusing on cultural values to explain the rise of populism (Moran and Littler, 2020), the

second most prestigious, reputable, and accepted theory is the cultural backlash thesis that explains the rise of populism particularly in western societies as a reaction of mass public against the radical change of values. According to this theory produced and driven by Norris and Inglehart, progressive value change which foster the replacement of post-materialist values, i.e., secular-rational and self-expression values rather than traditional and survival values created a reaction among masses, particularly among older generations against this silent revolution. Therefore, this also demonstrates the impact of value change on the rise of populism because value change theory was produced by Inglehart and Inglehart also explains the rising support for populist parties and politicians as a cultural backlash to this silent revolution which foresees the replacement of materialist values with post-materialist ones (Inglehart and Norris, 2019).

This brief theoretical framework to explain how debates related to the impact of value change on the rise of populist parties and extreme right is provided to answer the possible criticism toward the study's findings such as 'if post-materialist values have become so strong, why have populism and radical right parties and discourses become stronger at the same time?'. This sub-chapter provides an explanation for this question by figuring out that this is the result of the economic insecurity and cultural backlash against the radical change in value orientations, particularly in the west. In other words, as post-materialist values increased, the criticisms against them also increased. This is an expected trend in terms of value changes and the social and political effects it will create. Societies are complex structures, and such changes do not proceed linearly. They also create a reaction or backlash to themselves and mature with those reactions and discussions.

3.5. Theoretical Contribution and Concluding Remarks

This study found that institutional trust matters in changing people's attitudes toward accepting more refugees in their communities. Findings obtained from interviews demonstrated that if local communities perceive the host state's migration governance as efficient, they are highly likely to lean toward supporting the arrival of more refugees. The study concludes that local communities view public authorities as the key actors in managing the consequences of mass migration, and establishing and sustaining good mass migration governance at the receiving state level is likely to facilitate positive attitudes toward accepting more refugees. This study, therefore, strongly argues that institutional trust is a vital issue for changing people's attitudes toward positively accepting more refugees.

This study also contributes to research on the literature studying the causes of how different societies respond to the presence of refugees by providing empirical findings that underline the importance of institutional trust in changing attitudes towards refugees and, by doing so, influencing forthcoming studies and other initiatives for refugees. This study contributes to literature aiming to understand and explain the sources of public perceptions and attitudes toward refugees in three ways. First, based on analysis of data from a group of people who have observed the consequences of mass migration in two receiving states, the study proposes that perceptions about the receiving state's capacity to cope with the challenges of mass migration intensely impact public attitudes toward refugees, and not merely anxiety over the anticipation of displaced people approaching the state they reside in. The literature also emphasizes social and cultural proximity between local and arriving communities as critical for understanding and explaining public attitudes. This study

highlights that the public considers state and public authorities as the key actors in implementing social inclusion strategies and using resources effectively to ensure the well-being of both refugees and local populations. Accordingly, public perceptions of state capacity remain significant in shaping public attitudes toward refugees. Second, the findings indicate that there is a need to view refugee reception and integration as a comprehensive endeavor, including policies implemented in access to employment, education, housing, health, and livelihood. The more the public perceives that the receiving state uses public resources efficiently for managing the arrival and integration of refugees, the less anxious they are about the appearance of more refugees over time. Third, by analyzing original data on the sources of perceptions of people with migration experience, the findings expand evidence and highlight the need for more research on comparing how people form their attitudes concerning the anticipation of the arrival of more refugees both in their country of origin and the country they reside in. If receiving states are perceived as prepared to cope with mass migration and social inclusion challenges, receiving local communities are highly likely to feel prepared to accept more refugees. Accordingly, designing and implementing policies that adequately meet refugee and local community expectations are highly expected to sway public opinion positively.

Chapter IV - Comparing Migration Governance of Türkiye and Germany

This study's another purpose is examining the reasons behind the strengthening refugee-welcoming attitudes towards acceptance of refugees in host communities. Received answers from respondents participated in semi-structured interviews demonstrated that countries' migration governance matter in people's attitudes towards the acceptance of further refugees. Therefore, in this Chapter, migration governance of Türkiye and Germany were examined and presented to build a base for conducting comparative analysis well and understanding and interpreting respondents' answers provided to the semi-structured interview questions well. As a research-focused, descriptive, and analytical chapter, the outline of the Chapter IV is designed as below:

4.1. Explanation of the emergence of migration crisis in the post-2011 period by tracing process and examining factors that cause the civil war in Syria and migration crisis.

4.2. Providing information for Türkiye's response to the migration crisis and migration governance by carrying out periodical analyses by also covering in sub-areas, i.e., employment, education, and housing through also underlining changing approaches and policies towards Syrians who came to Türkiye due to the devastating civil war in Syria.

4.3. Providing a detailed analysis of Germany's response to the mass migration by covering the same sub-areas with the adoption of the same approach and path.

By doing so, Chapter IV offers a better comparative understanding of what the findings obtained under this study are based on.

4.1. The Emergence of Migration Crisis in the post-2011 Period – A Short Background Analysis

On the 17th of December 2010, a Tunisian man, Mohamed Bouazizi, committed suicide by setting himself on fire. The self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia was a response to the police corruption, harassment, and economic difficulties experienced by the people living in Tunisia and other Middle Eastern countries. Therefore, Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation and dissatisfaction with the country's current situation spread across the country and region quickly. With the spread of public discontent with authoritarian regimes in the region and the request for further political freedom, these protests were conceptualized as the Arab Spring by encouraging a belief in the transition from authoritarian dictatorships to liberal democracies in the Arab world. As Salam (2015) and Talmaz (2020) summarizes, the consequence of Arab Spring as follows: rulers in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen were demolished. Civil rebellions have erupted in Syria and Bahrain. Protests were broken out in Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco and Sudan.

In this study, civil war in Syria is a key development in terms of its devastating impact on forced migrants fleeing to neighboring countries, particularly Türkiye and European countries, particularly Germany. Civil war in Syria was encouraged by the achievements obtained by the protest movements in Tunisia and Egypt. On 18 March 2011,

protests had started in Syria against abuses among the security forces, corruption, and also authoritarian rule under the Assad Regime. Protests were firstly broken out in the southern Syrian city of Dar'a and also in other cities and villages in the north of Syria, including Hama and Banyas (Zisser, 2017). However, protests were responded harshly by the Government, and it caused the escalation of violence and mass migration, emergence of need for humanitarian assistance and then involvement of other countries and international and supra-national organizations in resolving the crisis (Ford, 2019). The Syrian civil war lasted longer than expected. For this reason, the toll of this civil war was quite devastating for the people, for Syria, for its neighbors, for Europe, and for international institutions. As Loft (2023) summarized the consequences of civil war in Syria as follows: The first leaving from Syria was started in 2012. In 2012, around 730.000 Syrian people left the country. Even though the population of Syria was 21 million before the war, more than half of the pre-war population is now displaced from their homes. In total, more than 6.8 million people were displaced in Syria. In June 2023, UNHCR (2023) announced that 5.3 million Syrian refugees and asylum seekers registered at the global level.

The long-lasting civil war in Syria and the large refugee influx have caused neighboring countries such as Jordan, Lebanon, and Türkiye and European countries to face a significant problem. While Türkiye has become the country hosting the most refugees in the world, Germany has become the country hosting the most refugees in Europe. These countries, therefore, needed to develop mass migration governance models differently from each other by adopting different approaches and designing and implementing various policies to manage the crisis. This study has analyzed the governance of Türkiye, the world's country that accepts the most Syrians who came with forced

migration, and Germany, which is the country that accepts the most Syrians who came with forced migration in Europe, in the following sections, focusing on the issue of integration.

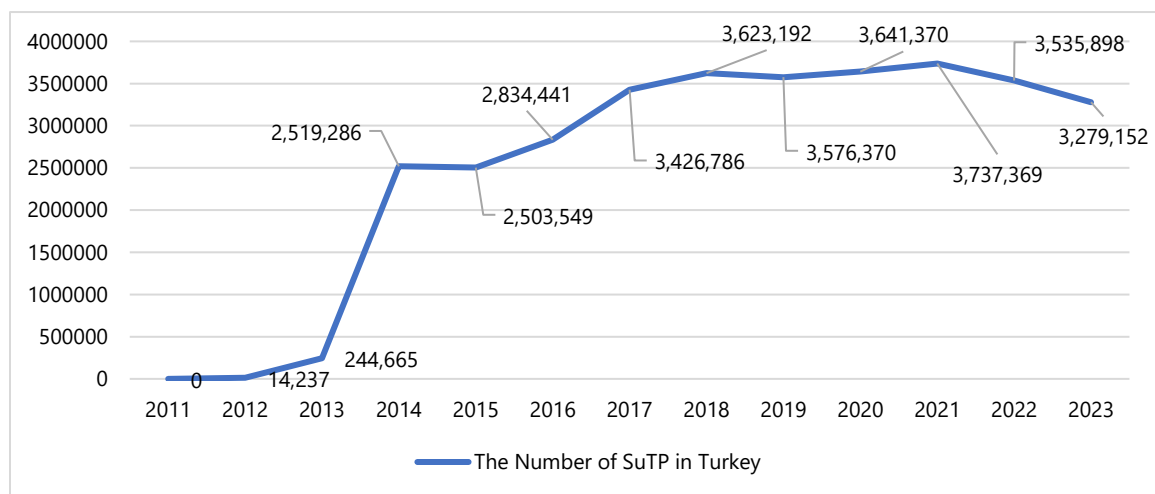
4.2. Türkiye's Experience with Arrival of Forced Migrants

As being the country that hosts the most Syrian refugees in the world and one of the cases to be examined in this study, this section analyses Türkiye's experience with refugee influx and its response through a current situation and policy analyses in the field of employment, education, and housing.

4.2.1. Overview of the situation and policy evolution

Türkiye is the country that hosts the most Syrian refugees in the world. As of October 2023, Türkiye hosts 3.279.152 Syrians under Temporary Protection (will be referred as to 'SuTP' from now on). Between 2011 and 2021, the number of SuTP in Türkiye had a steadily increasing trend, however, the number of SuTP has started to slightly decrease between 2021 and 2023 as illustrated below:

Figure 12. The Number of SuTP in Türkiye



Source: Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Interior, Presidency of Migration Management

(Date retrieved from <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>; Accessed Date: 7th of October 2023).

As seen in the graph above, while the number of refugees increased dramatically between 2012 and 2016, it took on a relatively more stable structure after 2017. The main reason behind this is Türkiye's open-door policy to accept all Syrians who want to escape from the civil war in Syria. The open-door policy was implemented for the first time in April 2011. The first transition from Syria to Türkiye was experienced with the 252 Syrians crossed from Syria to Türkiye through Hatay's Yayladağı district (Can, 2020). Türkiye's first response to the first wave of migration from Syria was shaped under the temporality approach. Turkish policymakers assumed the Syrian civil war would end and the refugees would return to their countries quickly; therefore, the temporality approach was the dominant approach between 2011 and 2014. The temporality approach led to the implementation of only life support-oriented and open-door policies that aim to accept all refugees arriving at the border and provide humanitarian aid for them by collaborating with civil society organizations (CSOs) and international organizations (IOs) to minimize Syrian refugees' survival concerns and meet their shelter, food, and clothing needs to maintain their lives. Political discourse in Türkiye was also shaped within the context of the temporality approach and humanitarian response based on the emphases placed on fraternity, human rights, common historical past dating back to the Ottoman period, and strong religious ties (Natil, 2016). For example, Ahmet Davutoğlu, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2012, stated at the meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation that there has been an increasing human tragedy in Syria in recent months and underlined that Türkiye wants to fulfill its duty of humanity, brotherhood and friendship towards Syrians, regardless of their ethnic and religious origins. In 2012, Ahmet Davutoğlu explained Türkiye's open-door policy and first approach towards incoming forced migrants

from Syria to Türkiye by saying that Türkiye's doors are open. Türkiye has followed an open-door policy that the whole world follows with appreciation. The open door policy means this: Just as you cannot close your door when an oppressed person running away from an oppressor comes to your door, just as you cannot close your door when a person who is starving comes to your door, and if you are an honorable person, if you are influenced by the Islamic culture, if you are influenced by the deep culture of our beloved nation, you cannot close your door (Al Jazeera, 2012; MFA, 2012).

As a first response to the mass migration from Syria to Türkiye, Türkiye has cooperated with IOs for humanitarian aid for displaced people to create a suitable environment for them to maintain their lives and also by meeting their immediate needs, i.e., food, shelter, and health. In addition, the Government of Türkiye also provided vital support to establish a humanitarian aid ecosystem, which was run by civil society and non-governmental organizations at the national, regional, and local levels. At the international level, for example, UNDP, UNHCR, EU, ILO, ICMPD, etc. provided and organized the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Syrian refugees in that period. At the national level, municipalities, governorships, district governorships, provincial directorates, and CSOs were also highly active in providing need-oriented humanitarian assistance at the local level. However, it is essential that, until 2016, humanitarian aid and activities performed by CSOs and NGOs at the local, national, and international levels were carried out in a very static and dispersed manner, and this caused humanitarian assistance not to be to-do-point and overlap. Despite this, Türkiye's life-oriented approach to meeting Syrian refugees' basic and immediate needs created a significant impact on their lives during that period. (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020; Zihnioğlu and Dalkıran, 2022).

Examining Türkiye's changing policies, laws, regulations, and strategies related to the migration governance is also essential to understand Türkiye's approach towards the refugee influx and evolution of policy, legal and strategic framework. Türkiye has ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol with a geographical restriction (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). According to this, in Türkiye, only people who come from Europe can be claimed with a refugee status. This prevents Syrians who want to settle in the country to apply for asylum unless the geographical restriction is lifted. In this sense, Syrians in Türkiye like other non-European refugees are claimed with a temporary protection status and they were named as 'Syrians under Temporary Protection (SuTP) in Türkiye. In 2013, 'Law of Foreigners and International Protection Act (LFIP) was passed and detailed further by a Directive of a Regulation on Temporary Protection in 2014 (Rygiel et. al, 2016). LFIP brought a legal and institutional infrastructure for Türkiye's migration governance. For example, with the LFIP, General Directorate of Migration Management (DGMM) was established under the Ministry of Interior in order to coordinate all administrative and monitoring issues related to migration, particularly SuTP (Rygiel et. al, 2016; Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020; İçduygu and Nimer, 2020). As İçduygu and Şimşek (2016) underlined that the LFIP, however, did not focus on integration of SuTP into the society because it uses the term of harmonization, and this demonstrates how the Government of Türkiye had adopted very cautious approach to integration process. However, LFIP was a milestone in Türkiye's legislative and institutional framework to establish a well-functioning migration governance.

By 2014, signs began to appear that the civil war in Syria would not end anytime soon. This pushed the Turkish policymakers to mix the temporality approach with the

integration approach. They aim to integrate the policies that aim to promote social cohesion into humanitarian aid policies. These policies include, for example, the opening of Temporary Education Centers (TECs) for Syrian refugees in Temporary Accommodation Centers (TACs), creating a suitable environment for them to continue their education. Therefore, the period between 2014 and 2016 was a hybrid period for describing Türkiye's migration management governance. Since 2016, the dramatic increase in the number of refugees arriving, the strengthening of the belief that the civil war in Syria will not end, and the understanding that the process of establishing an environment of peace and tranquility in Syria will take more time has led to the fact that social cohesion policies have become more dominant. In the post-2016 period, Türkiye has started to close the TACs gradually. This led to the dispersal of Syrian refugees to various provinces of the country and the creation of an environment where they tried to maintain their own lives by their own means. In 2016, a regulation namely 'Regulation on Work Permits for Foreigners Under Temporary Protection' and a law namely the 'International Labor Law' were adopted to regulate the access of SuTP in Türkiye to the labour force by establishing a legislative framework for employability of SuTP. The main reason behind this was change in Türkiye's policy and approach towards SuTP and estimations regarding the estimations on how long civil war in Syria will take. After the decision to close TACs gradually, a significant need occurred to regulate employability of SuTP to meet their needs even in the outside of the TACs and foster their social inclusion (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020; Koca, 2016; Donelli, 2018).

In addition, on the 18 of March 2016, Türkiye and the EU signed a deal, namely the EU-Türkiye statement, to reduce irregular sea border crossing in the Aegean Sea. The

statement also included financial support for Türkiye with 3 billion € for the care of refugees within the country. The statement led to the implementation of many projects to support Syrian refugees in Türkiye in many areas, such as well-being, housing, employment, education, and health. It also decreased the number of irregular refugees reaching the EU through the Aegean Sea (Tantardini and Tolay, 2019). However, considering the political tension between the EU and Türkiye regarding the refugee crisis, doubts as to whether this statement is more beneficial to the EU or Türkiye, and the implementation of the statement, the EU-Türkiye statement has become part of the political debate rather than creating a better migration governance for managing the crisis well both for the EU and Türkiye (Lehner, 2019).

In the post-2016 period, Türkiye has started to attach more importance on integration and social cohesion of SuTP into the society. For example, Project on Promoting Integration of Syrian Kids into the Turkish Education System (PIKTES) was launched to promote the access of children under temporary protection to education in Türkiye and to support their social cohesion. PIKTES includes several activities such as language courses in Turkish and Arabic, awareness raising activities, and social cohesion activities. PIKTES has been implemented in two phases. The first phase was carried out between 2016 – 2018 and the second phase was carried out between 2018 – 2022. PIKTES' main objective was inclusion of SuTP into the mainstream education in Türkiye by dealing with obstacles through adaptation classes (Singh et.al, 2023). In addition to this, considering employment to promote social cohesion, several incentive programs were launched in Türkiye to enhance the employability of SuTP in labor market in Türkiye. This was achieved by providing incentives for SMEs to encourage them to hire SuTP and also

organizing vocational training courses to equip SuTP with required and needed skills by labor market (İçduygu and Diker, 2017).

However, in the post-pandemic period, debates about SuTP in Türkiye were shaped by dramatically rise inflation and occurrence of some other economic problems. In addition, the arrival of other refugees from Afghanistan and Pakistan has started to play an important role in the reaction against refugees, including SuTP and the reflection of this reaction in political discourses such as the establishment of an anti-immigrant political party, namely *Zafer Partisi* and its impact on shaping other mainstreaming political parties' discourse. For this reason, mass migration has become the most important agenda of the 2023 elections after the economy and has become the main theme of the opposition candidate's campaign before the second-round elections held on May 28, 2023 (Özkaya, 2023; Beriş, 2023). As a response to this, mass migration has been used by Justice and Development Party as a leverage tool in international relations by using it in many cases as a trump card against the West (Ayhan, 2020; Çevik and Sevin, 2017). In addition, mass migration has also been considered as a beneficial for Turkish economy by providing a cheaper labor supply (Yalçın, 2016); Yalçın and Yalçın, 2019).

Overall, examined policies and developments demonstrate Türkiye's changing approach towards SuTP from temporality and life-support-oriented policies to social cohesion policies. They are also examined in more detailed under three main areas, i.e., employment, education, and housing to understand Türkiye's experience with refugee influx and its changing responses towards problems and challenges occurred by focusing on integration efforts made in Türkiye.

4.2.2. Employment

Employment is one of the most important policy areas to integrate any group into society and promote their social inclusion and social cohesion because an employed person can meet her/his needs without needing any assistance from others. This also strengthens societal resilience and people's sense of belonging to the society where they live.

Governments at each level, therefore, attach the highest importance to employment policies to establish cohesive, inclusive, and resilient societies. Employment policies also matter in refugees' integration into their communities. However, governments in host communities have many difficulties while producing and implementing employment policies for refugees because there is a competition for limited employment opportunities in those countries, and people in host communities may be dissatisfied with the integration of refugees into the labor market due to the intense competition for limited resources, fear of losing their job, the spread of unregistered employment, and wage reduction.

In Türkiye, SuTP work in agriculture, manufacturing, construction and industry sectors and they work informally in general (Sak et.al, 2017; Dedeoğlu, 2018). SuTP works mostly informally, therefore, it is too difficult to collect reliable data regarding their participation in labor force. According to ILO (2020), more than 1 million of SuTP in Türkiye are in labour market, however, most of them work in informal sectors in low-skilled and low-paid jobs. 31.1% of them work in textile industry, 17.7% of them work in trade and hospitality, 17.1% of them work in other manufacturing, 13.2% of them work in construction, 13.1% of them work in other sectors and 7.8% work in agriculture. Akar and Erdoğan (2019) also figure out that those who stay in Türkiye are generally poorly qualified and uneducated and up to 1 million of them work in informal sector in Türkiye.

The refugees in Türkiye were living in TACs in the first period while the Government of Türkiye was considering the issue from the ‘temporality’ perspective. Employment policies and regulation are therefore particularly needed after the closure of TACs, and as Syrian refugees started living in cities. For example, in 2016, the Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners under Temporary Protection was enacted and applied to SuTP. With this regulation, SuTP can only apply to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security for work permits after their registration for the status of temporary protection. This regulation prohibited Syrian refugees from working below minimum wage (İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016). The regulation also indicates that the number of employees under temporary protection in the workplace should not exceed 10% of Turkish citizens working the same workplace and SuTP working in seasonal agriculture and animal husbandry do not have to have the work permit (Özdemir, 2016). The International Labour Force Law (ILFL) was passed in 2016 and it indicates that foreigners can receive a work permit valid for one year, which will be extended with each renewed application (İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016). The Temporary Protection Regulation regulates the application of work permits by Syrians who came with forced migration in the provinces where they reside. However, although these people are generally registered in other provinces, they immigrated to metropolitan cities such as Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir to find employment. Since, in accordance with the Regulation, these people have the right to apply for a work permit in the provinces where they reside, to participate in working life as a registered person, these people must first change their residence addresses to the cities where they want to participate in working life. (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020).

The labor market integration of SuTP has been a controversial issue in Türkiye for a long time. The main reason for this is the local people's complaints that hiring Syrian refugees are more preferred by employers because they accept to work for lower wages and without insurance/registered employment. This situation negatively affects not only the labor market integration of Syrian refugees but also their integration into society (Okay, 2017). The status of SuTP needed to be clarified regarding their labor market integration and employability. With the adoption of the Regulation on the Work Permits of Foreigners under Temporary Protection in January 2016, their situation was clarified. As mentioned above, in 2016, the Turkish government started implementing integration and social cohesion-oriented policies by closing TACs and TECs. This policy required the clarification of SuTP's status to enter the labor market to earn their lives (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). In line with the changing approach, vocational education courses were also designed for SuTP in Türkiye with the contribution of CSOs and IOs, i.e., the European Union, United Nations, and World Bank, to enhance the skills of SuTP according to the Turkish labor market needs. However, efforts to design practical vocational education courses could not achieve desired success due to their uncoordinated and limited structure and scope. Other programs, i.e., cash-for-work programs, needed to be increased to exceed a few hundred refugees (Kadkoy, 2017). Several programs were carried out to enhance the employability of SuTP in Türkiye with the support of national and local governments, IOs, and CSOs. However, the inability to carry out these programs in a coordinated manner, reach the desired quality, establish healthy cooperation with the private sector, and build an effective monitoring mechanism prevented these programs from sustainably achieving the desired results. On the other hand, SuTP has been working in various sectors in Türkiye for

a long time. However, uninsured, and unregistered work is still widespread among SuTP workers in Türkiye (Badalic, 2023; Akar and Erdoğan, 2018). There are also many Syrian entrepreneurs in Türkiye. Many SuTP have opened their own business by participating in trading activities to earn their lives. However, they also encountered with many difficulties both while opening and operating their business such as bureaucratic obstacles, reaction of local people and tradesmen, bringing their financial and social capital from their countries, and the lack of knowledge regarding the commercial sphere in Türkiye (Sak et al., 2017).

Employment policies for SuTP in Türkiye has started to be important in the post-2016 period after TACs is closed. They are important for promoting social inclusion, cohesion and integration of SuTP and also pushing people to have a sense of belonging to society and earn their lives without needing assistance from anyone else. However, increased employability and integration of SuTP into the labor market, has brought many challenges in Turkish labor market such as increased unregistered and uninsured employment, reduction of wages, tension between local people and SuTP due to the increased competition for limited employment opportunities, raising inflation and cost of living in Türkiye and its impact on local people's attitudes toward competition for limited employment opportunities, occupational health and safety problems, and the backlash caused by Syrians setting up their own businesses only doing business with themselves, and its negative impact on social inclusion and social cohesion. It is also important to emphasize that the Turkish economy offers limited opportunities even for Turkish citizens in terms of employment and the recent economic problems caused an adverse impact on SuTP's social inclusion and social cohesion process through increasing their employability while the opposite is expected based on the theoretical framework that argues that

employment policies and employability of refugees in host communities foster their social inclusion and social cohesion. In addition, employment sphere of SuTP also has a character that pushes SuTP to establish relations only with its own communities by trading with each other in the neighborhoods where they live (Koca, 2016; Okay, 2017).

Another problem experienced by the SuTP in Türkiye was increased hyper-precarity among the SuTP in Türkiye, particularly in the Covid-19 pandemic and post-Covid-19 pandemic period. This affected the social inclusion process of SuTP in Türkiye negatively. The concept of precarity puts an emphasis on instabilities and insecurities in employment and workplaces for vulnerable groups that can be compelled into highly exploitative work (As Stud (2021) underlines that hyper-precarity in the pandemic and post-pandemic period caused a great exclusion of SuTP both from the labour market and society. In addition to the Covid-19 pandemic, Türkiye's economic structure, its position in the global economy and also problems experienced in recent years, i.e., high inflation, refugees in Türkiye are considered as a growing army of precarious labour by providing cheap and flexible labour to be utilized in various sectors, particularly in seasonal agriculture (Eder and Ozkul, 2016; Dedeoglu, 2021). Precarity in the field of employment also spark a discussion regarding the status of refugees in any country under the concept of precarious migration status which claim that it is a status between a full citizenship and non-citizenship (Baban et.al, 2016). In this sense, precarity may also be used by host states consciously to maintain the exploitation of labour migrants, however, it is the main obstacle for their social inclusion and integration into the host society because without a sustainable income, sustainable living conditions, and secured legal status, there is no more opportunities for refugees to invest in their full integration to the host society. Therefore, host countries' policies towards

refugees and their selected asylum regimes matter in fostering refugees' social inclusion and integration (Ertoer, 2021). The problems regarding the ambiguity of incoming refugees in Türkiye and also lack of capacity to manage the irregular migration waves can also be considered as structural problems behind their lack of social inclusion and integration into the society.

In addition, debates regarding the increased hyper-precarity among refugees and its impact on their value orientation, social inclusion, and social cohesion processes contribute to Inglehart's most used concept, namely economic security, which includes permanent and secured employment. This is because the changing types of employment due to the increasing complexity of the labor market and economics also required a need to reconsider the used concepts and theories as an independent variable, particularly in studies and theories like Inglehart's. The emphasis on employment types within the scope of this study has, therefore, made an essential contribution to how the concept of economic security in Inglehart's theory should be used today, and the changing world conditions should be taken into account when using this concept. So, there is a significant difference between someone having a job in the 1960s or 1970s and someone in the 2010s and 2020s. Treating people in both situations as having a job can lead us to obtain false findings, interpretations, and conclusions. We can make a much stronger assumption about the economic security of someone who held a job in the 1960s and 1970s. However, we cannot claim the same level for a person who had jobs in the 2010s and 2020s due to the increasing precariat. Therefore, when using these concepts, it is essential to consider what they correspond to at the time they were produced and what they correspond to after time.

In sum, employment policies and regulations were produced in Türkiye and also many courses, incentives, projects and programs were launched in a collaboration among public institutions, international organizations, civil society and non-governmental organizations. Through these activities, a progress was achieved in Türkiye in terms of the employability of SuTP, however, due to the existing and structural problems in Turkish economy and labor market and uncoordinated initiatives and policies that are not fully structured also cause several problems that may harm further inclusion and integration of SuTP into the society and promotion of social cohesion.

4.2.3. Education

Turkish legislation allows all children to receive a formal primary education. Türkiye also accepted the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 20th of November 1989 and entered into force on 2nd of September 1990. Türkiye has become one of the party states to the convention on 2nd of October 1995. Articles 28 and 29 of the Convention, state parties recognize the right of all children to education, regardless of religion, language, race and sect, and based on the principle of equality of opportunity. Additionally, under Article 30, children have the right to practice their own culture, use their own language, and believe and practice their own religion (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). This shows that Türkiye does not have much of a problem in terms of regulation in creating and providing educational opportunities for all children live in Türkiye. However, in practice, there are several challenges regarding the education provided for all children, particularly SuTP in Türkiye.

At the time when the first refugee influxes to Türkiye began, Türkiye perceived this crisis as a temporary crisis and determined its policies and approaches accordingly. In the

field of education, actions have been taken to ensure that Syrian refugees coming to Türkiye follow the Arabic curriculum instead of the Turkish curriculum. The main reason for this is the prediction that these refugees will return to their countries in a short time, and therefore the developing idea that it is more important for them not to fall behind the Arabic curriculum implemented in their own countries. Between 2011 and 2013, most of the Syrians come to Türkiye with forced migration live in Temporary Accommodation Centers (TACs) and their education services are provided by Temporary Education Centers (TECs) which are centers that provide Arabic education at primary and secondary education levels, based on the Syrian curriculum, both inside and outside TACs. However, TECs have some problems for SuTP such as traveling to these centers, poor quality of provided education, and also not approval of education given in TECs by the Turkish government (Akar and Erdoğan, 2018; Sunata and Abdulla, 2020). Gümüş et.al (2020) identified infrastructure problems of TECs as (i) poor social activities, (ii) a need for high-quality educational materials, (iii) low inclusiveness of disadvantaged students, (iv) heating issues, (v) the lack of allocated time for education, and (vi) crowded and small classrooms. In addition, student-related problems are also identified as financial issues, adaptation problems, transportation problems, and bullying and bias against Syrian students. All these problems at each level decreased the quality and impact of education provided in TECs (Gümüş et.al 2020).

With the rising number of SuTP in Türkiye, they have also started to live outside of TACs and therefore there was a need to prepare circulars for the educational needs of Syrians living both in TACs and outside TACs. For example, Ministry of National Education enacted a circular titled "Measures for Syrian Guests Residing out of the

Camps", that was aimed to determine the places where educational services could be provided to Syrian children outside the TACs (McCarthy, 2018). "Education and Training Service for Syrian Citizens Under Temporary Protection in Our Country" was also published on September 26, 2013, emphasized the importance and necessity of joint action and establishing a certain standard in activities for the education of children and adolescents who came to Türkiye. By 2016, the number of Syrians in Türkiye increased very rapidly, it turned out that the projections that the civil war in Syria would end in a short time and these people could return to their country were wrong, and with the closure of TACs, additional needs occurred to take new actions to meet educational needs of SuTP in Türkiye. In 2016, the Department of Migration and Emergency Situation under the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning was established by the Ministry of National Education. The duties of the Department of Migration and Emergency include developing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating policies for education in migration and emergency situations, as well as coordinating the activities carried out in formal and non-formal education institutions affiliated with the ministry, determining and providing the necessary teaching programs and materials, national and international education. to ensure coordination of programs and to ensure training coordination between the Ministry, the central and provincial organizations. The Ministry of National Education has produced a policy to include all Syrians who came to Türkiye as a result of forced migration at the first-grade level in August 2016, to public schools (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020).

As a turning point of Türkiye's educational policies for SuTP, in 2016, the launch of the 'Project for Supporting the Integration of Syrian Children into the Turkish Education System' (PIKTES), which is funded by the European Union within the scope of FRIT in

cooperation with the Ministry of National Education and includes activities such as Turkish language education, Arabic language education and compensatory education program. In 2019, the Ministry of National Education also issued a Circular on Foreign Students Integration Classes. PIKTES and the Circular on Foreign Students Integration Classes demonstrate how Türkiye's attitudes toward Syrian refugees are changed and evolved from temporality to the social cohesion. Education is also essential to equip Syrian children with required skills in line with Türkiye's labor market needs to find an employment. Therefore, several vocational education centers were established in provinces and districts where SuTP mostly live. These centers were also supported by national and international civil society organizations and supra-national organizations, particularly financially. As Unutulmaz (2018) classifies, Türkiye's education policies for SuTP have three important stages. The first stage is named as a laissez-faire attitude influenced by the approach of temporality. The second stage is a mixed education model under strict government control with extensive involvement from local, national and international NGOs. The third stage is fully integrating Syrian children into the Turkish formal education system. SuTP in Türkiye has also been seeking for pursuing their higher education. In Türkiye, Foreign Student Exam (YÖS) is necessary for all international students to be admitted to the universities. However, SuTP were exempted from this exam, and they were allowed to apply to universities directly without taking any exam. However, several challenges experienced by SuTP to access higher education, i.e., language barriers and financial problems. To deal with these problems, CSOs, NGOs and international organizations have been providing assistance for SuTP in Türkiye to be able to maintain their higher education (Yavcan and El-Ghali, 2017; Kamyab, 2017; Sunata and Bircan, 2015).

However, due to unclear regulations and language barriers, Syrian children needed help being integrated into mainstream education in Türkiye. The Turkish government provided strong support for Syrian children in education to avoid any loss. For example, the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) released a Circular on Education Services for Foreign Nationals to guide and better frame the application process for all migrant children to access education services. Nevertheless, TECs were the most preferred option for SuTP in Türkiye. They were available in rural areas, and camps followed the Syrian curriculum and taught courses in Arabic. However, its low teaching quality prevented the MoNE from accrediting TECs (İcduygu and Şimşek, 2016; Gümüş et al., 2018). With the closure of TECs, the Turkish government took action to integrate Syrian students into the Turkish mainstream education system. The EU-funded project, namely Promoting Integration of Syrian Kids into the Turkish Education System (PIKTES), has been implemented to allow Syrian and Turkish students to receive education together (Özçürümez and İcduygu, 2020). However, within this project's scope, many problems were experienced due to the schools' outdated infrastructure, class sizes, the language barrier, the inability to accurately determine the Syrian students' level, and the cultural differences among the students. Aydın and Kaya (2017) also proposed poor school conditions, limited capacity of teachers and lack of training for them to instruct refugees, inadequate resources and inappropriate curriculum are main problems related to the education of SuTP in Türkiye.

4.2.4. Housing

With the first wave of migration from Syria to Türkiye, Temporary Accommodation Centers (TACs) were established to meet their housing needs and therefore SuTP first started to live in TACs in Türkiye. When it became clear that the civil war in Syria would

not end in a short time, it was noticed that Syrians who came to Türkiye would stay in Türkiye for a longer time. For this reason, TACs began to be gradually closed down, and thus Syrians in Türkiye began to live together with local people in urban centers (Altıok and Tosun, 2018). Then, SuTP had to meet their housing needs by their own means. In this sense, several challenges affect SuTP negatively to meet their housing needs both individually and structurally. At the individual level, SuTP's financial problems, difficulties in finding employment to earn sufficient money to meet their housing needs, language barriers, and lack of knowledge of cultural dynamics in districts where they live. At the structural level, main challenges are the domination of housing market in Türkiye by private sector, lack of coherent, to-do-point and effective policy design to regulate housing market and limited availability of low-cost housing (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020; Tumen, 2016; Kurfalı and Özçürümez, 2023). It is, however, essential that house rents, particularly in cities where SuTP live more densely, increased dramatically as Syrians began to live in urban areas, and as the local people began to be negatively affected by this situation, a negative change occurred in their approaches and attitudes towards Syrian refugees (Balkan et.al, 2018; Wyckaert et al.,2020). In sum, the domination of housing by the private sector, lack of coherent and systematic policy design in closing TACs and pushing SuTP to live in urban areas, and the impact of SuTP living in urban areas on rents and housing prices are the main challenges in meeting SuTP's housing needs in Türkiye and these challenges have also negative impact on social inclusion and cohesion of SuTP and also in changing local people's approach and attitude towards SuTP adversely.

4.3. Germany's Experience with Refugee Influx and Its Response

As being the country that hosts the most Syrian refugees in Europe and one of the cases to be examined under this research, this section analyses Germany's experience with refugee influx and its response through a current situation and policy analysis in the field of employment, education, and housing.

4.3.1. Overview of the situation

In Germany, the year 2005 can be considered a turning point from the conservative political stance that aimed to prevent Germany from being a country of immigration because the first paradigm shift was experienced through making integration a central theme for migration policy in Germany because first National Integration Plan came into force in 2005. The bureaucratic structure related to migration governance was revised, new laws were enacted, and one of the most important institutions, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), was established as a new branch of the Government to evaluate first asylum applications and launch and implement integration courses in collaboration with other institutions, CSOs and NGOs (Etzet,2022; Etzel, 2023). The shift in Germany's approach toward mass migration also influenced its legislative and institutional framework and its policies in responding to the migration crisis that occurred in the post-2010 period, due to the Arab Spring and the civil war in Syria.

The influx of refugees that emerged due to the civil war in Syria began to affect Europe after a while. As the number of refugees increased, the capacity of the neighboring countries exceeded, and the refugees could not find the conditions they wanted in those countries; they started to target the European countries as their destination. European countries were reluctant to accept more Syrian refugees. However, even though it was the

most significant wave of migration movements in the aftermath of World War II for Germany (Brücker et al., 2023), it differs considerably from other European countries in the number of Syrian refugees it accepts. As Ostrand (2015) underlines that Germany hosts more than 900.000 Syrians. The closest European country to Germany is Austria, with approximately 113.000. The Netherlands follows Austria in hosting around 53.000 Syrian refugees. Germany is by far the country that hosts the highest number of Syrian refugees in Europe and hosts around six times more Syrian refugees than its closest follower and around 13 times more than the other closest follower (Statista, 2023). The number of total refugees granted asylum in Germany also nearly doubled in the last five years (Macro Trends, 2023). Germany currently hosts more than 2.2 million refugees and in addition to the civil war in Syria and arrival of Syrian refugees, the war on the Ukraine also encouraged more than 900.000 Ukrainian people to receive temporary protection in Germany. As of July 2023, around 1.1 million Ukrainians live in Germany (Whole Comm, 2024). Applications and granting of protection status in Germany for 2022 are also given as follows:

Table 5. Applications and granting of protection status in Germany for 2022

	Applicants in 2022	Pending at end of 2022	Refugee status	Subsidiary protection	Rejection	Humanitarian protection (Removal ban)
Total	244,132	136,448	40,911	57,532	49,330	30,020
Syria	72,646	36,036	15,327	52,151	41	243

Source: AIDA – Asylum Information Database (Accessed Date: 10th of December 2023)

Since this study focuses on Syrian refugees, statistics on the number of Syrian applicants are given in the table above. It is, therefore, essential that Syrian nationals are not only the largest refugee group in Germany. They are the third largest group of foreigners living in the country (Kassam and Becker, 2023). As Pries and Savcı (2023) underline, migration from Syria to Germany did not start with the civil war in Syria occurring in the last decade. Highly qualified Syrian elites began immigrating from Syria to Germany in the 1980s, and the population of Syrian refugees living in Germany mainly consisted of students. In terms of forced migration context, in the early 1980s, a refugee influx from Syria to Germany was experienced because of the riots in Hama. Therefore, mass migration from Syria to Germany in the 2010s is considered the second wave of forced migration in the literature focusing on forced migration from Syria to Germany (Worbs et al., 2020; Ragab et al., 2017). In the early days of the civil war in the 2010s, Kurdish ethnicity was higher than Arab ethnicity among Syrians living in Germany. After it became clear that the civil war lasted longer than expected and would not end soon, Arabs became more dominant among Syrians living in Germany. The main reason for this is that the Arabs there have now decided to emigrate, and also that the Syrians, who could not find what they expected in their first destinations, see Europe, and especially Germany, as a hopeful destination due to the refugee-welcoming policies it implements (Terrell, 2020). It is also essential that, as the Federal Office of Statistics announced in 2017, around 65% of Syrians living in Germany are men, whereas approximately 35% of them are women. In addition, young people are the leading dominant group among the Syrian refugee population in Germany. As Pries and Savcı (2023) underlined, Syrians in Germany are much younger than the population of foreigners in Germany. Considering the need for

young and cheap labor, this situation could be interpreted as filling a significant gap in Germany's labor market and economy (Angenendt et al., 2023). Merkel's open-door policy is interpreted as a German exception in Europe and also conceptualized as *Willkommenskultur*; however, Helbling et al. (2017) consider this as a way of economic pragmatism to meet Germany's need for young skilled workers as a response to the country's aging problem.

At the institutional level, Germany established a systemic and well-functioning asylum procedure for applicants. Asylum seekers in Germany must attend initial reception centers where they are registered in the local system. They have a right to reside in these centers for up to six months, and they can also be transferred to another center with better facilities to meet asylum seekers' needs. Germany uses a computerized system which is named "First Distribution of Asylum Seekers, EASY) to manage the process well. In these centers, asylum seekers' documents are reviewed carefully, and they are also interviewed to collect data regarding the profile of asylum seekers (Hannafi and Mourani, 2022). If an asylum seeker is granted, s/he has equal rights with German citizens to access the labor market through finding a job. However, asylum seekers waiting for approval must receive permission to work from the authorized institutions, i.e., the Foreigners Office and the Federal Labour Office. However, they must also live in Germany for at least three months and not in initial reception centers. It is also important that Germany started integrating asylum seekers into the German culture and society at each step of the procedure. Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), for example, provides mandatory integration courses for refugee and asylum applicants to deal with language and cultural barriers to be a part of German society and also maintain their daily activities better through acquiring

sufficient knowledge of German political, legal, institutional systems (Hannafi and Mourani, 2022; Hänsel, 2019). If any asylum seeker does not participate in mandatory integration courses, s/he cannot get a settlement permit. In addition, in Germany, there are several other integration programs, particularly for enabling Syrian refugees to find decent work to meet their own needs and contribute to Germany's economy. According to Hannafi and Mourani (2022), programs such as "Perspectives for Refugees" and "ESF-BAMF" strengthened Syrian refugees' capacity to find employment and access higher education. However, it is essential that, like Türkiye, Germany also had to take temporary actions and prepare emergency plans to deal with dramatically increased applications because mass migration from Syria to Germany challenged the capacity of national authorities, municipalities, and NGOs in Germany (Beinhorn et al., 2019).

Figure 13. Asylum Procedure in Germany



Source: CEASEVAL Research on the Common European Asylum System

Germany's distinctive position in accepting more Syrian refugees in Europe required well-functioning migration governance and policies. Germany's first response to the crisis was committing to admit additional Syrian refugees with Sweden and the UK. In line with its commitment, Germany launched a program that provides two-year temporary residence permits for Syrian refugees from Lebanon to Germany (Orchard et al., 2014). Under this program, Germany accepted 20.000 Syrian refugees, and fifteen states in Germany launched a supportive sponsorship program to accept an additional 10.000 Syrian refugees (Ostrand, 2015). Like Türkiye, Germany's first response to the refugee crisis can be named the 'open door' policy with the dominance of Merkel's positive approach towards accepting refugees. However, the rise of far-right parties, particularly Alternative for Germany (AfD) and anti-refugee campaigns in European politics, including German politics, and also the fanning of the flames of xenophobia, nativism, and nationalism due to the increasing efforts to train refugees and allocation of more resources for integration processes pushed German policy-makers to reconsider their migration governance and to pass legislation that facilitates and expedites the detention and deportation of denied asylum applicants (Ilgit and Klotz, 2018; Chemin and Nagel, 2020; Pearlman 2017).

Overall, Germany has been making great efforts to restructure its institutional and legislative framework to achieve integration of Syrian refugees. Systemic procedures designed and applied in Germany aim to examine each application in detail to make correct decisions. Despite Germany's experience obtained from previous migration waves and efforts to establish a well-functioning migration governance, many challenges have been experienced by the Government. To take a closer look at the integration process of Syrian refugees into Germany society, Germany's policies and challenges under three areas, i.e.,

employment, education, and housing, are examined below by focusing on integration efforts made in Germany.

4.3.2. Employment

Rinne and Schneider (2017) consider the German labor market as one of the healthy labor markets in the world in terms of its resistance against such crises and stable performance in creating employment opportunities. According to the General Federal Statistical Office, 45.8 million people are employed, and 34.9 million are subjected to social insurance contributions. Migrants have a significant share in the German labor market because almost half of the jobs created in the last ten or twenty years were driven by foreign workers. Refugees in Germany, however, may still face several challenges in finding employment, particularly decent ones. In Kunzendorf's (2019) study, the unemployment rate among refugees in Germany is given as 41.5%. Among Syrians in Germany, it is presented as more than 62.7%. However, refugees are essential for Germany's labor market and economy because, as a response to the aging population, it is also crucial to fulfill some positions that Germany's labor market has some difficulties and shortages (Kunzendorf, 2019). Germany quickly integrated Syrian refugees into the labor market based on the country's needs. The German government decided to reduce the curfew period for asylum-seekers to allow them to enter the labor market from 9 to 3 months after completing their application. It also attached high importance to providing language and vocational courses for refugees to eliminate the language barrier and enhance their skills in line with the labor market needs to increase their employability (Okay, 2017). The Integration Act, enacted in 2016, has also played a crucial role in the participation of refugees in the labor market in Germany. The Act defines details of courses

to be taken by refugees and their access to vocational training to gain skills that match labor market needs and enter into the labor market and residence (Brenzel, 2018). The Act aims to enhance the participation of refugees in the labor market to around 80-85% because the German government accepts labor market participation as a prerequisite for promoting refugees' integration into the host community, their social inclusion, and cohesion.

Germany's federal structure may also be considered an advantage for allocating and providing the required financial resources to support its integration into the labor market (Okyay, 2017).

Germany's capacity stems from the country's historical past in managing labor migration, which is also an advantage that makes the German government more experienced in integrating Syrian refugees into the labor market. In 2022, the annual average unemployment among Germans in Germany has decreased by 12%. Among the foreigners, the unemployment rate has risen by 3% to 817.000 persons due to the new refugee influx from Ukraine due to the war between Russia and Ukraine. Foreigners, particularly Syrian refugees in Germany, have many challenges related to their employability and access to the labor market, such as (i) difficulty in early assessment of skills, qualifications, and ambitions, (ii) identifying formal recognition of previously acquired qualifications, (iii) language barriers, (iv) legal barriers to acquiring a work permit, (v) finding work without the help of social networks, and (vi) finding decent work instead of informal and low-paid work (Etzold, 2017). German authorities, however, have been playing a vital role in assisting refugees in dealing with their challenges by providing education and training programs to enhance their skills in line with the German labor market needs. For example, integration courses have started to be provided by the federal

government. In addition, BA and BAMF provided vocational and language courses to enhance the employability of refugees (Okyay, 2017). However, with the Skilled Workers' Immigration Act, which came into force in 2020, further restrictions were applied on access to the labor market for asylum seekers to make the regulatory framework more restrictive and complicated for asylum seekers. As Knuth (2019) indicates, the German labor market is not easy for migrants to find decent employment because the German labor market consists of qualified and high-skilled employees and implements significant procedures to acknowledge only certified qualifications. As Giesing et al. (2018) underlines, integrating refugees into the German labor market is difficult due to refugees' lack of recognized and certified skills and the mismatch between refugees' skills and labor market needs. Even though there are several initiatives and programs, i.e., providing early access to language and integration measures, assessing professional skills, qualifications, and work experience early, providing support for unaccompanied minors, cooperating with civil society to facilitate labor market integration, and improving coordination between public institutions and different stakeholders, developing targeted integration measures, and developing dispersal policies (Degler et al., 2017). Through effective design and implementation of employment policies and programs that aim to ensure the integration of refugees into the German labor market and society, Germany is still considered a target destination for many refugees from many countries to be able to work and live in better conditions (Tucker, 2018). Even though in comparison to Türkiye, Germany has a stronger capacity to manage labour migration thanks to its vast experience obtained from the post WW-II period and a structured and regulated labour market. Refugee rights activists were not satisfied with the opportunities provided for refugees to enter the labour market. By making institutional and

legal reforms to enhance the access of refugees into the labour market more and also make labour market more flexible and liberal for their access. However, this caused the rise of precarious employment opportunities for refugees by pushing them to work in flexible hours, temporary jobs and instable wages. Like Türkiye, pushing refugees to work in precarious jobs is a controversial issue in terms of discrimination, preventing their social inclusion and integration process in Germany (Refugee Review, 2017).

4.3.3. Education

Even though there is no restriction on foreigners with residence status, asylum seekers with permission to stay also have the same rights to access university. In Germany, refugees have some difficulties accessing education, particularly in initial reception centers, due to the lack of sufficient internet access and digital infrastructure and difficulty accessing educational materials. Refugees also have practical difficulties in accessing the higher education. Practical challenges that may give refugees access to higher education are having a recognized qualification, need for knowledge of the German language, and health insurance coverage. Even though it is difficult for refugees to access higher education, there are problems accessing each level of education as well (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik & Stiller, 2023; Edele et al., 2021; Koehler & Schneider, 2018). There is also a significant gender gap among refugees to access education, notably higher education. Although there is a slightly inclusive education system in Germany to ensure access to refugees, women refugees need help accessing education. Women refugees are underrepresented in the university sector because, according to the DAAD, only 17% of university applicants in 2017 were women (Unangst, 2019)

Integration courses, however, are crucial in integrating Syrian refugees into the German culture by enhancing their knowledge of social dynamics in Germany to adapt quickly. Integration courses include German language instruction and modules on the country's history, laws, and cultural norms. According to Kuchler and Stroebe (2023), integration courses are successful because they measured that Syrians in locations with more completed integration courses are, on average, better integrated. Integration courses have mainly been coordinated and financed by the BAMF; however, only asylum seekers with an excellent prospect to remain based on their nationality and its recognition rate and also asylum seekers who have arrived in Germany before the 1st of August 2019 and who are employed, follow vocational training, are registered as unemployed, participate in preparatory training to take up employment, or are taking care of children under the age of three must be only obliged to participate in integration courses with a free of charge. Integration courses mainly consist of 600 language lesson units and 100 orientation courses to enhance the knowledge level of participants regarding the legislative and historical framework in Germany as well as cultural dynamics and values important within the country (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik & Stiller, 2023).

Despite some criticism, i.e., lack of adequate assessment of the educational competencies and needs of refugees, Germany is a country that provides good opportunities for refugees to integrate into the country's regular school system by meeting the German language requirement. To integrate refugees into the regular school system well, some schools established in filling the gap by creating an informal educational space for refugees to allow them to continue their education to enhance their skill and knowledge level (Chemin and Nagel, 2020; Laubenthal, 2019).

Educational policies in Germany are not limited to social integration, vocational education, and language courses. The German government also committed to integrating Syrian refugees into the German higher education system. It, therefore, launched an education initiative in 2017 to integrate around 2.400 refugees into German universities yearly. Additionally, it allocated a four-year budget of \$110 million to support refugees to access higher education in Germany between 2015 and 2019. German research institutions also support the initiatives by offering internship positions, research assistant positions, and other training opportunities (Al-Mabuk and Alrebh, 2018).

4.3.4. Housing

Housing matters for integrating refugees because it substantially impacts access to education, employment, and physical and psychological health (Al Masri et al., 2021). According to the Asylum Procedure Act, asylum seekers are required to be transferred to the nearest reception center. Then, they should be distributed across federal states by implementing a quota system. According to the Integration Law enacted in 2016, another restriction on refugees' ability was applied by indicating that asylum seekers can only move from the county they were assigned if they find a job that meets some of their expenses. After the refugee influx in 2015, federal states and municipalities took significant action to provide new temporary living facilities for refugees (Etzetel, 2022; Etzetel, 2023) even though housing in Germany is challenging for local people by lacking more than 700.000 apartments in order to meet housing needs of people live in the country (AIDA, 2022). In line with this, Germany's first approach to housing was establishing a decentralized accommodation center to control asylum applicants. However, it was noticed that isolating refugees in a decentralized accommodation center is an obstacle to their integration into the

host community. Therefore, the housing policy in separate apartments started to be implemented with the support of municipalities and CSOs. This policy was also supported through the execution of projects, i.e., Refugio and Airbnb's start-up Refugees Welcome (Council of Europe, 2015). Despite this, relocating refugees from accommodation centers into the housing market was challenging for refugees, municipalities, and the housing market (Adam et al., 2019). Refugees still need help finding affordable housing opportunities to access education and health services due to needing help earning the necessary income to meet their accommodation costs. Syrian refugees point out that finding stable housing is overwhelming and time-intensive (Feinstein et al., 2022). Nevertheless, the change in the accommodation approach in Germany is essential to understand how housing policy for refugees matters for integration and which factors pushed German officials to change their approach well (Adam et al., 2019; Chemin & Nagel, 2020; Kürschner & Kvasnicka, 2018). However, the housing sector in Germany is challenging for all people living in Germany, particularly in larger cities like Berlin, and the housing problem in Germany also affects refugees' chances of living in better conditions by accessing housing opportunities adversely (Soederberg, 2019).

4.4. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has presented a comprehensive analysis of the responses of Türkiye and Germany to the refugee influx, with a particular focus on the period following 2011. By examining the approaches, policies, and migration governance frameworks of these two countries, the chapter explains the contrasting ways in which each state has navigated the challenges posed by large-scale migration.

Türkiye, as a key transit and destination country, has adopted a reactive yet pragmatic approach to managing the refugee crisis. Its policies have been largely influenced by geopolitical considerations, economic constraints, and social dynamics. The Turkish government's response has been characterized by the establishment of temporary protection statuses, significant humanitarian efforts, and the development of legal frameworks aimed at integrating refugees into the labor market. However, the lack of comprehensive and coordinated long-term integration policies and the heavy reliance on temporary solutions reflect the challenges inherent in Türkiye's migration governance.

In contrast, Germany's response has been more structured and institutionalized, rooted in its long-standing experience of hosting migrants and commitment to international refugee protection. Germany has implemented a well-coordinated approach, integrating refugees through a combination of legal frameworks, social services, and labor market access initiatives. The German model emphasizes long-term integration, social cohesion, and the protection of human rights, supported by a robust institutional framework that facilitates collaboration between federal, state, and local authorities. This approach has been further bolstered by Germany's economic capacity and its political willingness to absorb and integrate large numbers of refugees.

The differences in the migration governance of Türkiye and Germany are crucial for understanding the findings that will be presented in subsequent chapters. These findings, derived from an online survey and semi-structured interviews, will reveal how the contrasting policies and approaches of these two countries have shaped the experiences and perceptions of migrants. The comparative analysis provided in this chapter sets the stage for a deeper exploration of how migration governance influences not only the lives of

refugees but also the broader societal attitudes towards migration in Türkiye and Germany. Understanding differences in migration governance established and implemented by Türkiye and Germany is essential for interpreting the empirical data collected in this study and for drawing meaningful conclusions about the effectiveness and sustainability of refugee integration strategies in diverse contexts. The insights gained from this comparative analysis will contribute to the ongoing discourse on migration governance and provide valuable lessons for policymakers and practitioners alike.

Chapter V – Focusing on the 1st Hypothesis – Value Change and Its Impact on Refugee-Welcoming Attitudes

Chapter V investigates whether immigration from Türkiye to Germany has influenced individuals' value orientations, specifically the shift between materialist and post-materialist values based on their preferred statements to be proposed under an online survey. The outcomes detailed in this chapter will serve as a foundation for comprehending how evolving value orientations relate to attitudes regarding the acceptance of additional refugees in order to test the 1st hypothesis of the study as given below:

- H1: Post-materialist, cooperative, inclusive and egalitarian norms within the population may serve as an effective strategy for fostering a more welcoming attitude towards refugees and mitigating xenophobic sentiments.

Accordingly, Chapter V is structured as follows:

5.1. Providing a historical synopsis related to the historical migration from Türkiye to Germany to give background information to explain why Turkish citizens who live in Germany are selected as a sample group and how the findings obtained under this study should be interpreted better.

5.2. Presenting and discussing obtained findings

5.3. The link between Chapter IV and Chapter V is established by explaining why the findings proposed under this Chapter required further data collection activities.

5.1. Historical Synopsis of Migration from Türkiye to Germany

With the aid provided within the framework of the Marshall Plan, Germany entered a period of rapid development after the WW II. This rapid development process has been called "Wirtschaftswunder - Economic Miracle." Since there was not sufficient labor force in the country for the production carried out at that time, labor recruitment agreements were made with various countries in order to supply labor force that would be needed in the future with the continued growth. The delegation, including German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Federal Minister of Economy Ludwig Erhard, and Federal Minister for Special Assignments Franz Josef Strauß, signed the first labor recruitment agreement with Italy in 1955 in order to meet the country's demand for labour supply (Wilutzki, 2023). The devastating effects of World War II were, therefore, the main reason for the beginning of a long-lasting immigration relationship between the Republic of Türkiye (will be referred to as Türkiye from now on) and the Federal Republic of Germany (will be referred to as West Germany or Germany from now on). Aiming to get over the devastating effects of WW II as soon as possible, West Germany also requested workers from Türkiye to meet its workforce, particularly its young workforce needs. In response to the request, on the 30th of October 1961, the Labor Recruitment Agreement between the Republic of Türkiye and West Germany was signed (İçduygu, Toktaş and Soner, 2008). The agreement facilitated labor migration from Türkiye to Germany, and therefore, it has become a milestone of a common German-Turkish migration history. The agreement only permitted Turkish workers to temporarily enter West Germany (one- or two-year work contracts). However, in 1964, the restriction on the duration of Turkish citizens' stay was abolished. This was the first step for Türkiye to export labor; then, Türkiye became one of the largest labor

suppliers in the world by exporting many workers. Migration from Türkiye to Germany is accepted as the second largest international migration after the migration from Mexico to the United States in the contemporary developed world (King and Kılınc, 2014). Large immigrant community, then, has started to be conceptualized and known as Euro-Turks instead of guest workers regardless of their differences in terms of ethnic background, language, gender, age, educational background, or town (İçduygu, 2012; Sirkeci, 2003; Aydın, 2016; Toktaş, 2012; Fassmann and İçduygu, 2013). Migration flows from Türkiye to Germany have also caused Germany to gain important experience and lessons learned in terms of migration and immigration policies.

Toktaş (2012) categorizes her analysis towards the migration from Türkiye and Germany based on optimistic and pessimistic perspectives. From optimistic perspective, Toktaş (2012) considers the history of migration from Türkiye to Germany as unique and successful in terms of the remittances transferred to Türkiye to deal with economic deficiencies and trade imbalances in Türkiye, particularly the currency crises and import substitution economic model experienced in 1970s. Germany also benefitted from the migration from Türkiye to Germany in terms of reconstructing Germany in the post WW-II period by meeting its workforce need particularly in automotive, construction and technical industry sectors. By signing this agreement, West Germany had found an opportunity to meet their workforce need and enhance the country's capacity to produce more goods, foster recovery process after the devastating effects of the WW II and reinvigorate the economy and Türkiye also considered this as an ingredient of its economic development by considering prospective flows of remittances and its impact on decreasing unemployment.

From an optimistic perspective, the agreement was considered by both parties as a win-win agreement.

From the pessimistic perspective, Toktaş (2012) underlines the slowly progressing integration process of Turkish citizens living in Germany, sustainable poverty among Turkish community in Germany in comparison with Germans, low level of education and high crime rates in Turkish community as the main challenges that have been experienced since the migration from Türkiye to Germany. In socio-economic terms, the main difficulties experienced by Turks living in Germany can be listed as follows: Turks living in Germany earn an average of 20% less than native workers. The unemployment rate among Turks who live in Germany is more than 3 times that of German natives. Around 30% of Turks cannot get an internship after receiving a degree. Only 13% of children of Turkish origin are enrolled in a Gymnasium, while this rate is around 45% among German children (Lodigiani, 2018). However, according to Çağlar (1995), the primary deficiency among Turkish migrants is social and symbolic capital because Turks who live in Germany, particularly the first and second generation, have strong relations with themselves and limited contact relations with Germans. For example, based on the survey conducted by the Foreigners' Office in Berlin, 30% of the Turk participants between 16 and 25 years old indicated that they come into contact with German youth only very rarely. 34% also claimed they have no contact with German youth. This was the main obstacle behind the further integration of Turks living in Germany into the host society because expanding social capital, particularly bridging social capital, is essential for the integration of any migrant groups by strengthening the sense of belonging to the society.

In many academic studies and reports, the number of Turkish citizens living in Germany is estimated between 3-4 million which represents 2-3% of total population in Germany and also around 25% of all migrants live in Germany. It is also important that the half of Turks in Europe live in Germany (Chapin, 1996; Sirkeci and Cohen, 2016; Wilutzki, 2023; Lodigiani, 2018). To understand Turkish citizens living in Germany well, the generational variable should be taken into consideration as being a highly significant variable that affects people's lifestyle, values, attitudes, and preferences. In the literature, Turkish citizens live in Germany has already been classified on a generational basis. The generation is used by correlating the concept with the time that Turkish citizens have arrived in Germany (Hall and Sevim, 2015). The generational classification of Turkish citizens live in Germany is as: 1st Generation (Gastarbeiter Generation) which includes Turkish citizens migrated from Türkiye to work in Germany and those who are named as guest workers after the Labor Recruitment Agreement which was signed in 30th of October 1961. 2nd Generation refers to the children of the first-generation immigrants. 3rd Generation also refers to the grandchildren of the first-generation immigrants. As the most recent category which is named as 'Recent Immigrants' refers to the Turkish citizens immigrated from Türkiye to Germany for pursuing employment and education opportunities or seeking asylum due to several reasons, particularly political reasons. Each generation has different characteristics in terms of integration and/or adaptation into the host society and culture, differences in language and vocational skills and educational background. For example, 1st Generation migrants faced with dramatic barriers and challenges in terms of language, culture and discrimination and 1st Generation migrants from Türkiye to Germany had significant problems in integrating into the host society.

Although 2nd Generation Turkish migrants encountered similar challenges, they experienced less language and cultural barriers than the previous generation as expected. 3rd Generation Turkish migrants have much more integration to the German society, and they are also fluent in German language and also embedded in cultural sphere in Germany. Recent immigrants who migrated from Türkiye to Germany for better economic and educational opportunities are more qualified than previous generations through bringing value-added technical and intellectual contribution to the German economy and they are also proficient in German language and better embedded in a multiculturalism (Leyendecker et al, 2006; Citlak et al, 2008; Tezcan, 2019; 2021).

The historical synopsis on the migration from Türkiye to Germany is provided under this sub-section to provide a historical basis to explain why Turkish citizens living in Germany are selected as a case for this study well. This group is selected as a sampling group for this study because there is a deep-rooted migration history and its population is very high, so this group is very suitable for reaching out participants to participate in online surveys and interviews within the scope of this study to facilitate data collection process well.

5.2. Online Survey, Its Methodological Implications and Findings

As the first stage of the study, an online survey was conducted for understanding the extent of the transition from materialist to post-materialist values with the participation of 157 Turkish citizens living in Germany for at least a year, who received the survey through social media tools, i.e., Instagram, Twitter and Facebook. For reaching out participants, administrators of the social media accounts created or followed by Turkish citizens living in Germany on social media tools were contacted, and the survey link was shared with the

participants who stated that they are interested in participating in the survey through the advertisements posted on their pages for many times, and they were asked to fill out the survey. The online survey was conducted between November 2021 and April 2022. Some participants left some survey questions unanswered, however, the majority of the respondents completely filled the survey. The online survey was conducted in Turkish.

The profile of the participants is as follows: 69.9 percent of the participants were women and 30.1 percent of the participants were men; 15.4 percent of participants were from Generation X; 73.1 percent of participants from Generation Y and 10.3 percent of participants from Generation Z. 85.2 percent of participants migrated from Türkiye to Germany between 2000 and 2015. 46.8 percent of participants hold a Bachelor's Degree; 25.9 percent of participants hold a master's degree/Ph.D.; and others hold high school, secondary and primary school diplomas. 63 percent of the participants were at middle income level. However, the share of participants who stated that they were at a high-income level after immigrating to Germany from Türkiye increased dramatically from 17.2 percent to 26.9 percent. This is important to demonstrate that people who migrated from one setting to another experience an economic increase in terms of their income level and that this survey was conducted with a correct sampling. It is also essential that most of the participants are from the third generation and recent immigrants come to Germany from Türkiye.

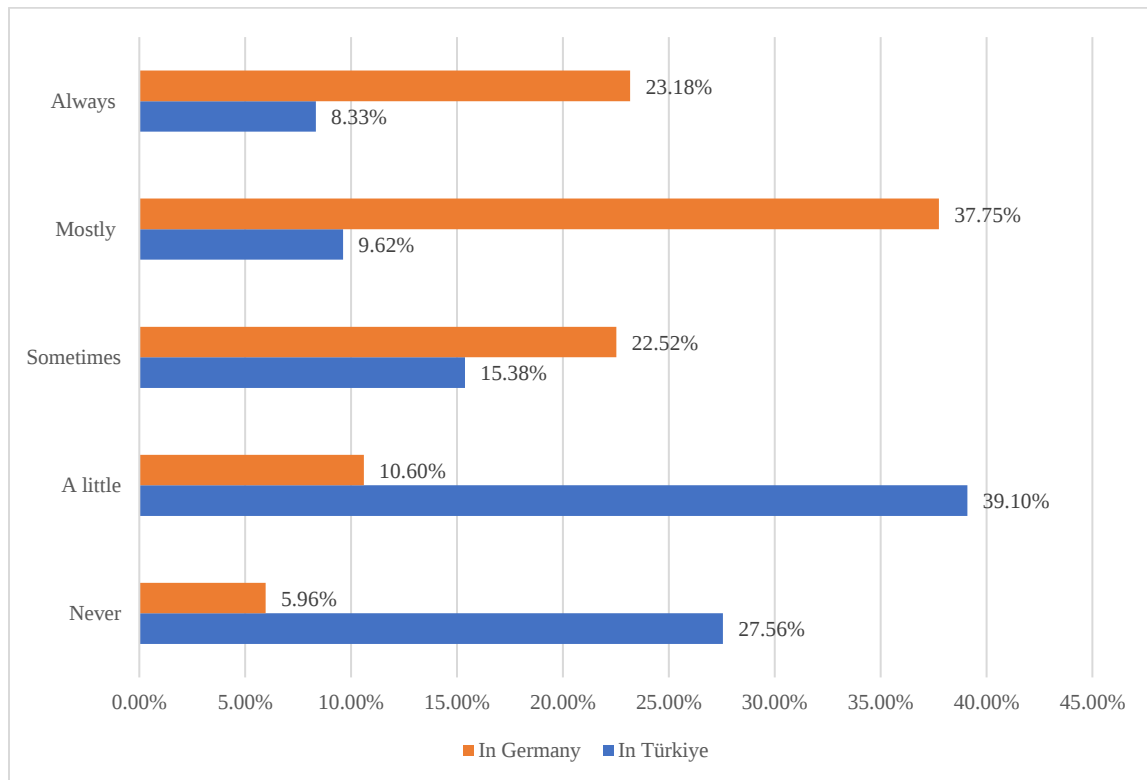
5.2.1. Findings

The data from the online survey results revealed that people who mainly moved to Germany for improving their economic security and standard of living report at a significant rate that their levels of income and feelings of security about their future have

increased (Figure 14 and Figure 15). They also mostly preferred post-materialist statements asked under the conducting survey (Figure 16). This stage of data collection and analysis also aimed to understand whether these people's changes in values were compatible with the 1st hypothesis of the project regarding the impact on adopting post-materialist values on refugee-welcoming attitudes or diminishing xenophobic attitudes. Analysis of data of the online survey revealed that respondents who migrated from Türkiye to Germany were more inclined to adopt post-materialist values than materialist values and they also indicated that their economic and existential security conditions were improved after immigrating from Germany to Türkiye. However, the online survey did not provide significant result to say something regarding the impact of adopting post-materialist values on inclusive norms among the people who moved to Germany from Türkiye (Figure 17). Migration from Türkiye to Germany exemplifies the kind of migration from an existentially and economically insecure setting to a secure one. For example, the answers of the participants to the questions related to existential and economic security are as follows:⁴

⁴ Within the scope of the conducted online survey, 16 questions in different types were asked to the participants as provided in the Chapter 1 – Introduction. Only answers given to the most significant questions are presented under this Chapter.

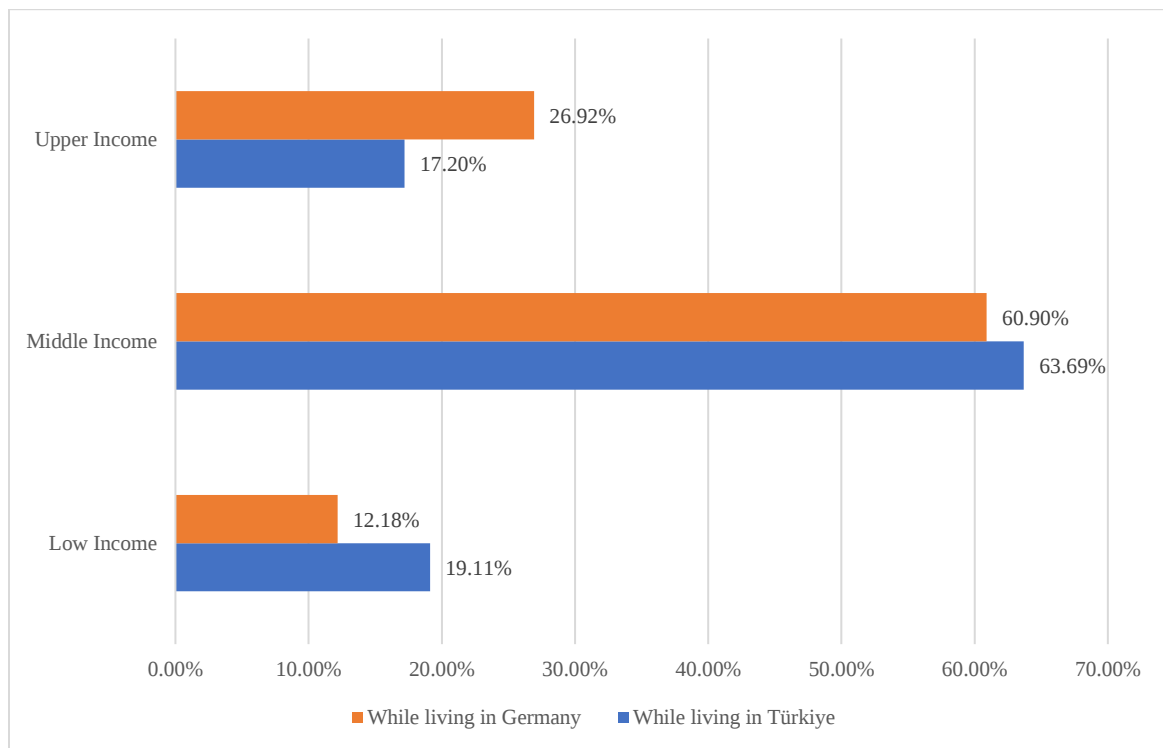
Figure 14. How safe do you feel in Türkiye and Germany? (answer comparatively by taking into account the security of life and property, concern for civil war and terrorist attack, and satisfaction with other security services)



Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the collected data from survey conducted through Qualtrics

As illustrated in Figure 14, a substantial majority of online survey participants reported feeling significantly safer in Germany compared to Türkiye. This finding aligns with theoretical propositions in the literature that emphasize the role of value change in facilitating transformation at both community and individual levels.

Figure 15. How would you describe your income level before and after immigrating to Germany from Türkiye? ⁵



Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the collected data from survey conducted through Qualtrics

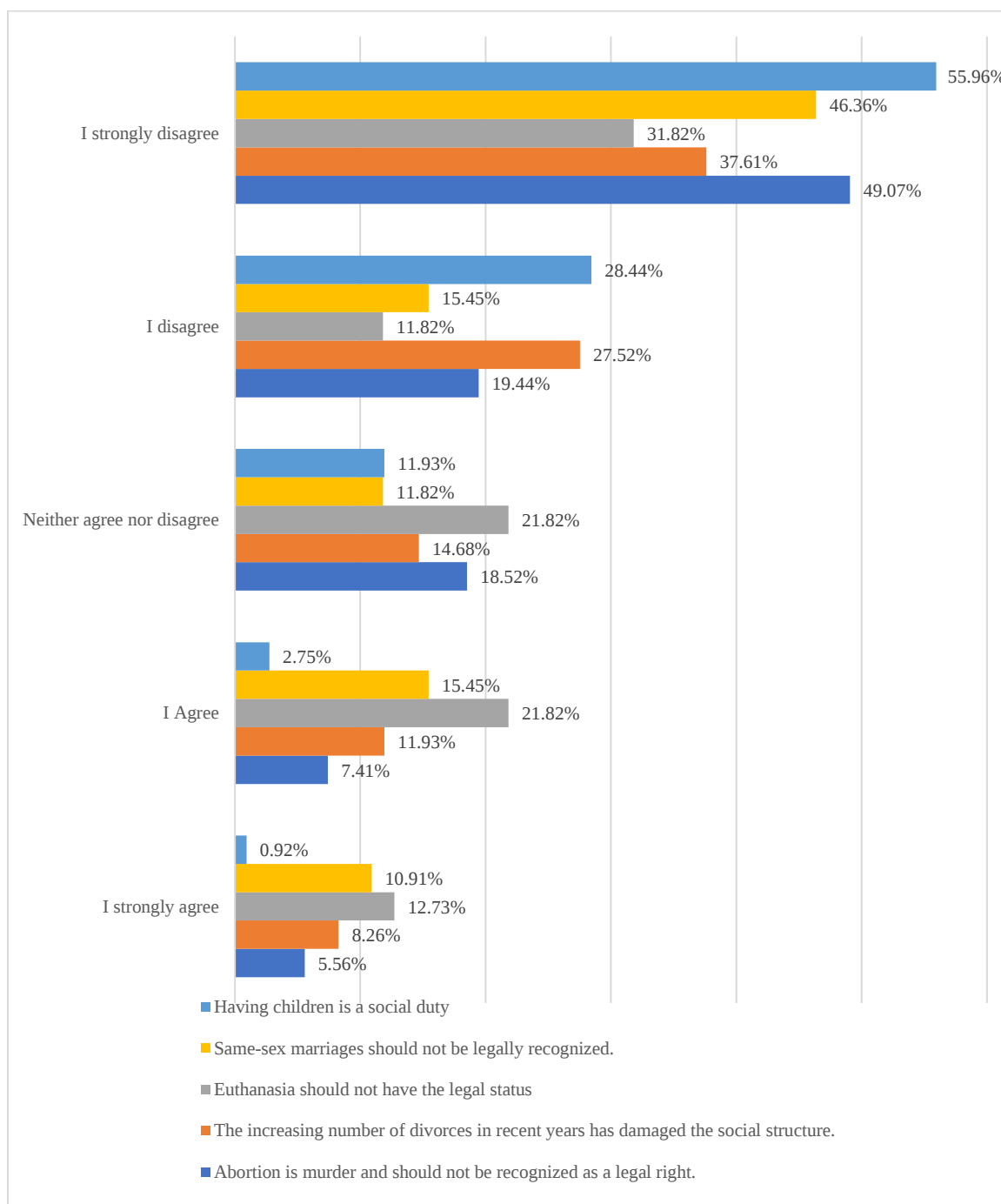
Figure 15 also demonstrates that participants in the online survey indicated a notable increase in their income levels after immigrating to Germany from Türkiye. This economic improvement is a significant aspect of their migration experience. Additionally, Figure 14 provides compelling evidence that respondents feel considerably safer in Germany compared to Türkiye, highlighting the enhanced existential security that

⁵ The question of how you would describe your income level before and after emigrating to Germany from Türkiye was answered by 157 participants in total. However, participants do not answer each question under this survey. The number of participants answering the questions may vary.

accompanies their economic gains. Following this, participants were asked about their attitudes towards various social issues, including having children, same-sex marriage, euthanasia, divorce, and abortion. These questions aimed to discern the values the respondents were more inclined to adopt after reporting improvements in their economic and existential security due to their migration. The findings from these responses were revealing. Participants who reported that they agree more with post-materialist statements, as indicated in Figure 16.



Figure 16. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?⁶

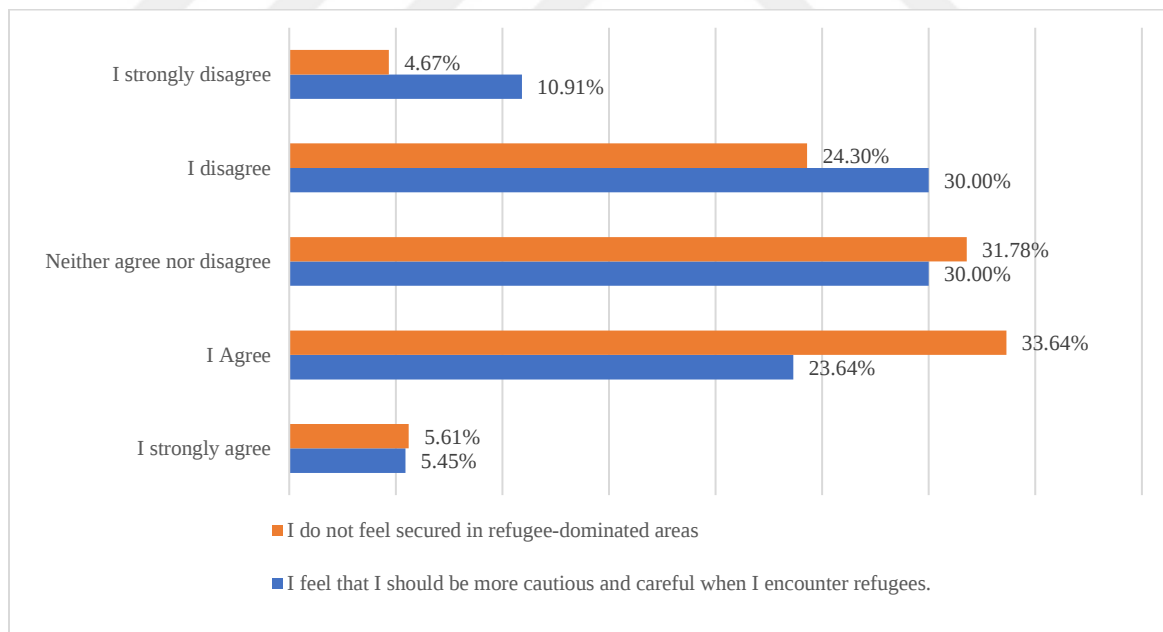


Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the collected data from survey conducted through Qualtrics

⁶ This question was answered by 110 participants in total.

However, the analysis of the online survey results presented another data regarding the relationship between the adoption of post-materialist values and attitudes towards refugees. The survey did not provide conclusive evidence to support or refute the proposition that this shift increases the likelihood of positive attitudes towards refugees and the development of refugee-welcoming attitudes. The lack of significant results in this area suggests several possibilities. It may indicate that post-materialist values are not sufficient on their own to transform attitudes towards refugees. Additionally, the complexity of value change and attitude formation processes may require more longitudinal and in-depth studies to capture the dynamic interactions between security, value orientations, and social attitudes.

Figure 17. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? ⁷



Source: The graph was drawn by the author based on the collected data from survey conducted through Qualtrics

⁷ This question was answered by 110 participants in total.

Based on the data from our sample, the adoption of post-materialist values does not appear to directly influence people's attitudes and trust towards refugees in a positive manner. This conclusion is drawn from respondents' reports on their feelings of safety in areas with high concentrations of refugees and their perceived need for caution while spending time in those regions. The responses to these questions were nearly evenly distributed, indicating no clear trend towards more positive attitudes or increased trust towards refugees among those who adopted post-materialist values (Figure 17).

This distribution suggests that while individuals may shift towards post-materialist values, this shift does not necessarily translate into more welcoming or trusting attitudes towards refugees. The complexity of attitudes towards refugees likely involves additional factors beyond the value preferences. Cultural, social, and individual experiences with refugees may also significantly impact these attitudes. The online survey does not support the hypothesis that this value change directly fosters positive attitudes or trust towards refugees. Further research is, therefore, needed to explore the multifaceted influences on attitudes towards refugees and to identify the conditions under which post-materialist values might contribute to more inclusive and supportive perspectives.

5.3. Concluding Remarks

Contrary to initial expectations, however, the survey did not yield significant findings regarding participants' attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Germany, despite their evolving value preferences. This discrepancy suggests that the adoption of post-materialist values alone may not be sufficient to influence attitudes towards refugees. The survey's findings indicate that while individuals may develop post-materialist values in a secure environment, this does not automatically translate into more positive or inclusive attitudes

toward refugees, pointing to the need for further efforts to explore and understand the factors at play.

Given these outcomes, a deeper investigation into the factors beyond value shifts was deemed necessary to understand participants' attitudes towards accepting additional refugees. To this end, semi-structured interviews were undertaken with 37 respondents from the survey cohort. These interviews aimed to understand why the observed shift in value orientations did not translate into the anticipated impact on attitudes toward refugee acceptance. By creating a setting for more detailed personal reflections, the interviews were designed to explore the underlying reasons and contextual factors that might influence respondents' attitudes toward refugees, offering a richer, more comprehensive view of their perspectives.

During these interviews, participants emphasized that the mere adoption of post-materialist values does not automatically foster a welcoming environment for refugees or contribute to inclusive societal attitudes. They highlighted the crucial role of trust in the institutional and regulatory capacities of the host state in mediating the transition from personal values to public attitudes on refugee reception. Participants frequently mentioned that without established trust in the government's ability to manage refugee integration effectively, even those who hold post-materialist values may not support increased refugee acceptance. This insight demonstrates the importance of a well-functioning governance system and effective migration policies in shaping public attitudes towards refugees, suggesting that institutional trust is a key mediator in this process.

The findings from these interviews are analyzed in the subsequent chapter within the framework of the theoretical underpinnings of the study. This analysis seeks to integrate

the qualitative insights from the interviews with the quantitative data from the survey, providing a comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing attitudes toward refugees. By doing so, the study aims to contribute to the broader discourse on migration, value change, and social attitudes, highlighting the multifaceted nature of these phenomena and the need for holistic approaches in addressing refugee-related challenges. This integrative approach aims to offer policy recommendations and practical insights for fostering more inclusive and supportive attitudes towards refugees, emphasizing the critical interplay between individual values, institutional trust, and social context.

Chapter VI - Reconsidering the State's Role in Creating Refugee

Welcoming Attitudes

The initial study phase found no significant link between value preferences and attitudes toward accepting refugees as presented in the previous chapter. The next phase involved semi-structured interviews with 37 Turkish citizens living in Germany for at least a year, who had previously participated in an online survey favoring post-materialist values. When asked about Türkiye's and Germany's announcements on increased refugee acceptance, respondents were pessimistic about Türkiye but optimistic about Germany. Chapter VI explores the differing attitudes of Turkish residents in Germany toward further refugee acceptance, aiming to identify factors beyond value orientation by testing the hypothesis:

- H2: Well-functioning migration governance based on the high-level of institutional and regulatory capacity of host countries and the ability to foster institutional trust within the resident communities are anticipated to play a crucial role in shaping a positive attitude towards refugees.

Chapter VI is organized as follows:

- 6.1. A review of literature on how state capacity affects attitudes towards refugees in Türkiye and Germany, and how this study adds to existing research.

- 6.2. An explanation of the research design and methods used.
- 6.3. Presentation of the findings from the interviews.
- 6.4. Presentation of the findings on the different perceptions toward different groups
- 6.5. Discussion and analysis of these findings, concluding with insights.

6.1. Literature review on the link between state's capacity and strengthening refugee-welcoming attitudes in the cases of Türkiye and Germany

As global forced displacement reaches unprecedented levels, scholarly and policy debates concerning the reception of refugees in host countries have intensified. A central inquiry revolves around the factors influencing public attitudes toward refugees, particularly the role of perceptions on the host state's capacity in managing mass migration governance. This study's second phase focuses on a specific aspect: under what conditions do communities with migration experience in refugee-receiving states become more open toward accepting more refugees, and why?. The research involves interviewing Turkish individuals residing in Germany for at least one year, possessing substantial knowledge of migration governance in both countries and capable of comparing integration policies post-2011.

The literature on public attitudes toward refugees incorporates findings from a comparative analysis exploring the sources of community perceptions towards refugee acceptance in both their host and home countries, drawing on the insights of individuals with migration experience. The study contributes to understanding these perceptions in three significant ways. Firstly, it argues that perceptions of a host state's capacity to manage mass migration profoundly influence public attitudes towards refugees, surpassing mere anxieties about incoming displaced populations. Additionally, the study shows the

significance of social and cultural proximity between local and refugee communities in shaping these attitudes. It highlights the role of state and public authorities as pivotal actors in implementing inclusive policies effectively, thereby influencing public perceptions of state capacity. Secondly, the study emphasizes the comprehensive nature of refugee reception and integration policies, particularly in employment, education, housing, health, and livelihood domains. It suggests that institutional trust in the efficient use of resources by the host state in managing refugee integration diminishes long-term concerns about increased refugee inflows. Thirdly, by analyzing original data on the perceptions of individuals with migration experience, the study expands empirical evidence and underlines the need for comparative research on how attitudes towards anticipated refugee arrivals are formed in both host and origin countries. It posits that when host states are perceived as capable of managing mass migration challenges and fostering social inclusion effectively, local communities are more likely to endorse further refugee acceptance. Consequently, aligning policy frameworks with the expectations of both refugees and local communities holds promise for shaping public opinion positively.

Migration studies have long examined governance dilemmas across countries, analyzing interactions among diverse actors—public authorities, civil society organizations, and the private sector—at various levels (Triandafyllidou and Dimitriadi, 2014; Seeberg and Zardo, 2020; Paparusso et al., 2017; Campomori and Ambrosini, 2020; Hooghe and Marks, 2002; Panizzon and Riemsdijk, 2019; Triandafyllidou, 2021; Sahin-Mencütek et al., 2022). Research has explored xenophobic sentiments and anti-immigrant discourse (D’Ancona, 2016; Adjai and Lazaridis, 2014; Çalışkan Sarı and Yalçınkaya Alkar, 2022; Saraçoğlu and Belanger, 2021), as well as the rise of far-right parties and populism

(Mierina and Koroleva, 2015; Akkerman, 2012; Lazaridis and Skleparis, 2015). While insightful, these studies leave gaps in understanding the dynamics of effective mass migration governance and its impact on public attitudes towards refugees. Some explore economic impacts on labor markets (Tanrikulu, 2020; Völker, 2006), social cohesion (Witcomb, 2009; Peilin and Feng, 2012; Crowley and Hickman, 2008), gender mainstreaming (Korukcu et al., 2017; Freedman, 2016; Bürkner, 2012), and health and security (Adanau and Johnson, 2009; Ekmekci, 2017; Cheong et al., 2007), underlining the profound social and economic ramifications of mass migration in host states. These studies prompt deeper inquiry into how states can manage migration while garnering public support for their policies.

Extensive literature examines responses to mass migration in Türkiye and Germany, analyzing impacts on state resources, economic development, labor markets, politics, education, and social cohesion (Tumen, 2016; Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020; Şahin-Mencütek et al., 2023; Tezel McCarthy, 2017; Balkan and Tumen, 2016; Tsourapas, 2019; Koser Akcapar and Simsek, 2018; Altıok and Tosun, 2019; Akar and Erdogan, 2018; İçduygu and Simsek, 2016; Juran and Broer, 2017; Deole and Huang, 2021; De Wit and Altbach, 2016; Streitweiser et al., 2017; Kaya and Orchard, 2019; Gürer, 2019; Funk, 2016; Adam et al., 2019; Abujarour and Krasnova, 2017; Etzel, 2022; Easton-Calabria and Wood, 2020). These studies present the varying capacities and challenges faced by each country in managing mass migration, amidst ongoing refugee inflows. While Germany is often perceived as better equipped for effective migration management, negative attitudes towards refugees and immigrants persist in both Türkiye and Germany. Comparative analyses of Turkish and German policies on refugee integration highlight the critical role of

robust regulatory environments and institutional capacities in promoting labor market participation and social cohesion (Okuy, 2017; Kadkoy, 2017; Crul et al., 2019). These studies present the imperative to enhance institutional frameworks within education systems to better accommodate diversity exposed by refugee inflows.

This study contends that while bolstering state capacity is crucial for effective migration governance, addressing public perceptions of state capacity in managing policy challenges arising from refugee inflows is equally imperative. Research exploring social contact and proximity between refugee and local communities suggests that fostering social-emotional bonds can positively influence social cohesion processes (Fajth et al., 2019; Glorius et al., 2020; Karakayalı, 2017). This research's findings are in line with arguments of Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) and Schneider and Ingram (1993) regarding the impact of effective, transparent, fair and responsive migration governance on people's attitudes toward refugees. This research explains that local communities consider state and public authorities as central to refugee reception and integration in the context of mass migration, explaining the role of policy contexts and perceptions of state capacity in shaping social cohesion prospects.

6.2. Applied Methodology for Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews

As presented in prior chapters, Türkiye and Germany serve as prototypical case studies for assessing state regulatory and institutional capacities in managing the mass migration dynamics that emerged post-2011. Türkiye has become the largest recipient of Syrian refugees globally since 2018, while Germany stands as Europe's primary host nation for Syrian refugees. Both countries have grappled with substantial refugee influxes since 2011, necessitating the implementation of policies amidst prevailing negative public

sentiment. This study utilizes data derived from semi-structured interviews conducted through snowball sampling, involving 37 participants. Criteria for participant selection included individuals who had resided in Türkiye and subsequently in Germany for at least one year within the past decade, thereby possessing firsthand experience with the migration crisis and insights into both countries' responses. Participants were also required to hold at least a bachelor's degree and fall within the age range of 20 to 44, a demographic often concerned with educational continuation, employment prospects for sustainable livelihoods, and housing stability. Sampling concluded upon saturation of recurring patterns in participant responses. The cohort of Turkish citizens living in Germany emerged as particularly suitable due to their dual exposure to the migration governance frameworks of both nations, verified through initial evaluations solicited from participants regarding migration policies and encountered challenges in Türkiye and Germany.

This research endeavors to explain the impact of perceptions regarding a state's regulatory and institutional capacity on the attitudes of host communities towards increased refugee acceptance. Participants were prompted to articulate their immediate reactions to hypothetical announcements by the Turkish and German governments expressing intent to accept more refugees. Additionally, interview questions gauged participants' familiarity with migration governance in their countries of origin and residence at the time of the study, inviting assessments of Türkiye's and Germany's migration policies supplemented by personal experiences and observations.⁸

⁸ During the semi-structured interviews, many questions were asked (as given in Table 4). However, under this Chapter, the most related questions and answers were analyzed.

Table 6. Demographic Profile of Interviewees

Age Group	Gender	Frequency
18-29	Female	14
18-29	Male	7
30-44	Female	10
30-44	Male	6

Table 7. Years Spent in Germany

Years in Germany	Frequency
Between 1-5 years	22
Between 5-10 years	10
More than 10 years	5

All interviews were conducted with individuals who had previously participated in an online survey and were selected specifically for their alignment with post-materialist values over materialist ones. These interviews took place between September 2022 and December 2022, with each session lasting approximately thirty minutes. After each interview, the conversations were transcribed verbatim to ensure accuracy in capturing participants' responses. For anonymity, participants were identified in the study as I1, I2, I3, and so forth.

To analyze the interview data, an inductive selective manual coding approach was employed. This method involves extracting themes from the text by closely analyzing the words and sentence structures in participants' responses. The aim was to identify and

formulate thematic categories based on the content of the interviews. Thematic analysis was then conducted to understand and present the underlying rationale behind the findings. Thematic analysis coding is a qualitative technique used to categorize data excerpts and uncover recurring themes and patterns, which helps in identifying central themes related to specific concepts or phenomena within the social sciences.

The decision to use manual coding was both intentional and strategic. Manual coding allows for a deeper engagement with the data, helping researchers to recognize details and subtleties that automated coding might overlook. This hands-on approach facilitated a thorough understanding of the data, enabling more accurate and meaningful categorization. As a result, four central themes emerged from the manual coding process: (i) acceptance of highly educated refugees, (ii) enhancement of registration procedures, (iii) systematic integration measures such as language and social integration courses, and (iv) implementation of robust monitoring and law enforcement mechanisms.

In addition to manual coding, automated coding was also applied to compare and validate the themes generated by the study. This approach aimed to determine which theme-related expressions appeared most frequently in participants' responses. The main code for this analysis was formulated as 'Migration Governance,' with sub-codes reflecting the themes identified: (i) acceptance of highly educated refugees, (ii) enhancement of registration procedures, (iii) systematic integration measures such as language and social integration courses, and (iv) implementation of robust monitoring and law enforcement mechanisms. The data were processed using MAXQDA, a software program/tool designed for computer-assisted qualitative data analysis. Frequency analysis was then conducted to identify the most recurring themes among those generated. By choosing frequency analysis,

qualitative data obtained from the semi-structured interviews are successfully quantified by providing a bridge between qualitative and quantitative analysis. It also provided another benefit by highlighting the most frequently mentioned concepts/statements for conducting deeper analysis and explanation for obtained data.

The analyzed data from both inductive selective manual coding and automated coding are presented to address the research question. The manual coding results provide detailed insights into the thematic content of the interviews, while the automated coding analysis helps to identify the most frequent statements to be able to match them with identified main themes. This dual approach allows for a more comprehensive data analysis, differentiating between themes to highlight the most significant findings of the study.

6.3. Presentation of the Findings

The results indicate that Turkish citizens residing in Germany exhibit a favorable disposition towards increased Syrian refugee intake within Germany. Conversely, they express strong opposition to a similar influx in Türkiye, despite their residence in Germany, where they may potentially face greater real-life impacts, i.e., competition for employment opportunities, fostering inflation and paying higher prices for goods and services, particularly housing and healthcare services from additional migration waves. Within the scope of this study, in addition to the real-life impact that a greater influx of refugees will cause, it is also considered that the participants are immigrants and therefore they may adopt a pro-immigrant attitude in the country they live in, or they may adopt a more protective and possessive attitude towards the country to which they are bound by citizenship. Following the presented following 4 themes, findings on these 2 topics were shared. Subsequently, findings pertaining to these dual perspectives were expounded

following the delineation of four thematic categories. The findings are categorized into thematic domains, elaborated upon as follows:

a) Theme 1: Acceptance of educated refugees

Many interviewees indicated that they would not oppose accepting more Syrian refugees in Germany, but they would be against such a policy in Türkiye. They justified their position by explaining that Germany has a systematic process for admitting Syrian refugees with higher education and socio-economic status, whereas Türkiye accepts all Syrian refugees regardless of their education or socio-economic background.

Interviewee 7 (henceforth referred to as 'I') noted that primarily individuals from Syria's "educated stratum" have relocated to Germany by indicating that the majority of individuals coming to Germany are well-educated and amenable to my support. Those capable of relocating tend to represent the educated stratum of Syrian society. As a result, social interactions and communication with Syrians in Germany are easier than in Türkiye. Other interviewees described the Syrian refugees in Germany as "highly educated" (I23), "generally more educated than those in Türkiye" (I27), and thus believed that Germany could continue accepting more Syrian refugees. I24 also claimed that Syrian refugees came to Germany is more educated than those who came to Türkiye, therefore, I24 has a very pessimistic attitude towards Türkiye's decision to accept more refugees. I36 also shared specific examples from their experiences to highlight the differences in the profiles of Syrian refugees arriving in Germany and Türkiye, saying that:

“When I went for the language course to obtain a German B1 certificate, we were with many Syrian refugees. There are many Syrian refugees in the company I work for. I live in Duisburg, one of the places with the highest number of Syrian refugees.

While I was in Türkiye, I worked in the market of a gas station. I witnessed the Syrian war. There are one million Syrian citizens living in Europe. Few of them are uneducated. Integration is much easier in Germany because Syrian refugees are educated.” I36

I36 indicated that educated Syrian refugees in Germany quickly secure employment and housing, resulting in no significant housing crisis. Conversely, I12 mentioned that finding an apartment has become more challenging since the refugees' arrival. However, I12 emphasized that this issue is less severe than in Türkiye and expressed no concern about the economic or security implications of admitting more refugees.

I3 mentioned working at an international company within a multinational environment in Germany. I3 noted that Syrian refugees in Germany tend to be more educated and "open-minded" compared to those in Türkiye. Similarly, I15 highlighted the differences in the education levels of Syrian refugees arriving in Germany and Türkiye, stating:

“The most significant difference is that the German government forces them to integrate; if they do not make a required effort to be integrated, their social assistance is cut off, and they have to learn the language and culture. The Syrians who came to Germany and those who came to Türkiye are not the same. There is a strict selection procedure in Germany to accept more educated ones (refugees).” I15

The interview findings reveal that Germany's acceptance of more educated refugees significantly influences the public's positive attitude towards receiving additional refugees. The primary difference in attitudes towards the same policy in Türkiye and Germany arises from the observation that Germany's systematic selection processes result in the admission

of more educated refugees. Literature supports these perceptions regarding the educational disparities between refugees in Türkiye and Germany. For instance, Okay (2017) noted that, despite the lack of comprehensive data, partial evidence shows a balanced distribution of various education and skill levels among refugees in Germany, whereas Türkiye's refugee population largely comprises individuals with lower education and skills. Similarly, Welker (2021) found that Syrian refugees in Germany are positively selected based on their education level, as demonstrated by empirical analyses from projects like ReGES – Refugees in the German Educational System and the IAB-BAMF-SOEP Survey of Refugees. These studies corroborate the participants' claim that Germany admits more educated refugees compared to Türkiye.

b) Theme 2: Proper refugee registration procedures

Many interviewees discussed their views on the differences in refugee registration procedures between Türkiye and Germany, noting that these variations influence their attitudes toward accepting more Syrian refugees in both countries. For instance, I8 highlighted how improved registration procedures affect integration and have altered her/his perspective on welcoming more refugees:

“The main difference is related to the countries’ approach to refugees. Refugees here are forced to be integrated by the state in Germany. Syrian refugees are aware of the fact that breaking the country’s laws will have sanctions. The main problem in Türkiye is there are large number of unregistered refugees. People are worried about this. In Germany, registration procedure works well.” I8

I19 expressed similar concerns, stating that the acceptance of more Syrian refugees by Germany would be acceptable to her/him. However, if Türkiye made a similar

announcement, s/he would react negatively due to the high number of unregistered Syrians in Türkiye and the country's need to enhance its institutional and economic capacity to manage registration. I32 also noted that Türkiye struggles with refugee registration, unlike Germany, which successfully registers its refugees. This leads to thousands of unregistered refugees remaining in Türkiye. Therefore, s/he would not support such a decision by the Turkish government. S/he also believed that Germany would manage the influx of more refugees far better than Türkiye, hence s/he would not oppose Germany's decision. I33 further explained the differences in her/his attitudes towards the same policy in the two countries by stating that:

“The refugee problem in Türkiye stems from unregistered refugees. I am not an anti-refugee. I wish Türkiye had managed this (mass migration) properly. The German state does not have room for unregistered refugees. Therefore, I do not think security concerns will increase in Germany as much as in Türkiye (if more refugees arrive).” Interviewee 33

I35 compared Berlin and Frankfurt to illustrate how Germany's registration capacity influences her/his attitudes toward accepting more refugees. S/he expressed concern about unregistered and scattered refugees in Berlin but felt reassured knowing that refugees in Frankfurt were properly registered. Consequently, s/he would oppose a policy of accepting more refugees in Berlin but would not have a negative attitude if the same policy were implemented in cities like Frankfurt or Munich.

The interviewee's responses highlight that effective registration procedures are crucial for fostering positive attitudes towards accepting more refugees. They noted that Germany excels at registering refugees, which enhances institutional trust. This confidence extends

to the German government's ability to manage the economic and security implications of additional refugees. As a result, they would not oppose Germany accepting more Syrian refugees. Conversely, they expressed concern over Türkiye accepting more refugees, citing the Turkish government's limited performance in refugee registration. Consequently, they would react negatively to such a decision by Türkiye.

c) Theme 3: *Systematic Integration Processes*

Examining interview data indicates that the implementation of systematic integration measures, such as compulsory language and social integration courses for Syrian refugees, significantly influences individuals' attitudes towards accepting more refugees in their respective countries. For instance, I1 explains the disparities between Türkiye and Germany in implementing such systematic integration measures:

“The main problem in Türkiye is the procedures applied by the state. Refugees in the camps were directly sent to live in cities. No integration courses are required, and housing policy is designed. In Germany, they offered me an integration course to get permanent residency. The main reason is to learn the German language and culture. In Germany, no noise is allowed inside the apartment after 10 pm. I learned this from the social integration course. Those who come are subject to these courses. There is no such practice in Türkiye” (I1)

I25 also underlines the importance of Germany's procedures to integrate Syrian refugees into the education and courses while explaining the differences between her/his reaction to the accepting more Syrian refugees in Türkiye and Germany by indicating that:

“In Germany, there is a sharp distinction between refugees and immigrants.

Refugees stay in the camp and follow the procedure (checking whether they qualify

for asylum). At the end of this period, they are entitled to immigration (usually child, mother, or educated people) or sent back (youth who can fight, those who cannot prove their reason for asylum). All of them are in training, course, or work.”

– Interviewee 25

Additionally, I6 highlighted the effective integration process, starting from camps to the labor force, established in Germany, which influences her/his attitudes towards the decisions of both countries. Furthermore, I9 provided a comprehensive comparison to explain the reasons behind her/his differing attitudes towards policies announced by the two countries, stating that:

“I would be happy if Germany announced such a decision because I find the experience of refugees in Türkiye and the reaction of host communities too dramatic. Even in places like Germany, whose culture and religion are not similar, they are more embraced than in Türkiye. It is not about only providing humanitarian aid. They are intended to be integrated into society through social integration and vocational training courses. All of them started to contribute to the system in some way. They should continue to come to Germany instead of being wasted.

But if Türkiye had announced such a thing, I could not have looked at it from the same perspective. Currently, refugees are not integrated into Türkiye. And host communities see refugees, not the state, as responsible for this. Accepting more refugees would not be a good move for Türkiye.” - Interviewee 9

I16 also compared Germany and Türkiye in applying a systemic integration procedure by saying that:

“The policy followed by the German government is that refugees are placed in a language school; After language school, they must take social integration courses to be informed about Germany's politics and culture. Then, financial aid is given. They provide additional assistance if they have a child. In Türkiye, these refugees are only taken in but not subjected to any integration program. But in Germany, essential steps are being taken towards their integration to the society.” -

Interviewee 16

I10 remarked that the German government has implemented an efficient system, leading to a notable reduction in her/his economic worries after relocating there. S/he highlighted the abundant employment opportunities and high employment rates, expressing indifference towards the arrival of more refugees. S/he voiced no concerns about it and stated s/he would be accepting of additional Syrians. Conversely, if residing in Türkiye and faced with a similar decision by the Turkish government, s/he would not be receptive. This is due to Türkiye lacking a systemic process for integrating Syrian refugees into society.

I18 and I31 both explain why they hold negative attitudes towards the possibility of Türkiye announcing the acceptance of more Syrian refugees, citing the absence of formal integration procedures for Syrian refugees in Türkiye. Consequently, they express distress and security concerns. Similarly, I34 adopts a specific stance regarding the acceptance of more refugees in both Germany and Türkiye, praising Germany's adeptness at integrating Syrian refugees into German society. However, s/he expresses strong dismay and anger towards the Turkish case due to the lack of integration mechanisms. According to them, Türkiye has failed to establish a system capable of providing adequate language education to support the integration of Syrian refugees into host communities. While another

interviewee maintains optimism regarding Türkiye's acceptance of more refugees, s/he still presents conditions and reservations concerning integration as follows:

“I can accept more refugees for Türkiye; I see no problem. But suppose the government acts in the same way again. In that case, without supervision, ensuring the integration of refugees, and making progress systematically, it will be worse. Because the last time I went to Türkiye, I've seen many people start to have more negative attitudes toward refugees. Therefore, the number of refugees is not something that causes concern, but what the government does or does not do, worries me.” Interviewee 20

The responses from the interviewees illustrate how the implementation of systematic social integration measures influences individuals' attitudes towards refugees and their respective countries' policies to accept more refugees favorably. These results suggest that a lack of trust in a state's integration procedures adversely impacts people's perceptions of refugees across all countries. The findings align with public sentiment in Türkiye regarding the integration of Syrians, with reports indicating widespread pessimism within Turkish society about integration prospects (Erdogan, 2021; 2022). This study's findings corroborate data indicating skepticism surrounding the implementation of systematic integration measures in Türkiye, suggesting that this negative perception may stem from such criticisms.

d) Theme 4: Effective monitoring and law enforcement mechanisms

Introducing a responsible and efficient monitoring and law enforcement system also has a beneficial effect on shaping people's attitudes towards accepting more refugees. For

instance, I29 elaborates on the distinctions in her/his views regarding the acceptance of additional Syrian refugees in Germany and Türkiye as follows:

“Berlin, for example, is a city where 72 nations live, as the Turks call it. There are people from all over the world. It offers you a secure good life—no worries about the future. Free thought, humane life, healthcare services, and education opportunities, whatever you can think of, there are all kinds of possibilities. Either you adapt to this life and live such a life, or they send you back to where you came from. For example, to put it simply, the man is drunk; if he fights, he knows what will happen to him if he hurts someone. He avoids harming you even if he is drunk. Syrian refugees here have already learned the German language. They entered business life, most of them integrated and naturalized. Their children speak German very well.” (I29)

In addition, I8 points out that the Turkish government's primary issue is accountability and the provision of reliable information and data regarding the number and current status of accepted refugees. Similarly, I16 highlighted the incomparability of Türkiye and Germany in terms of their legal frameworks and enforcement capacities, emphasizing Germany's advanced position and Türkiye's need for significant steps in this domain. Moreover, I6 stressed the significance of stringent regulations in Germany, expressing confidence that even if Germany were to announce the acceptance of more Syrian refugees, s/he wouldn't be concerned about job security due to the regulations enacted by the German government to make dismissals more challenging. Conversely, I35 contrasts Germany and Türkiye by articulating the disparity in the level of institutional trust s/he holds towards the two countries:

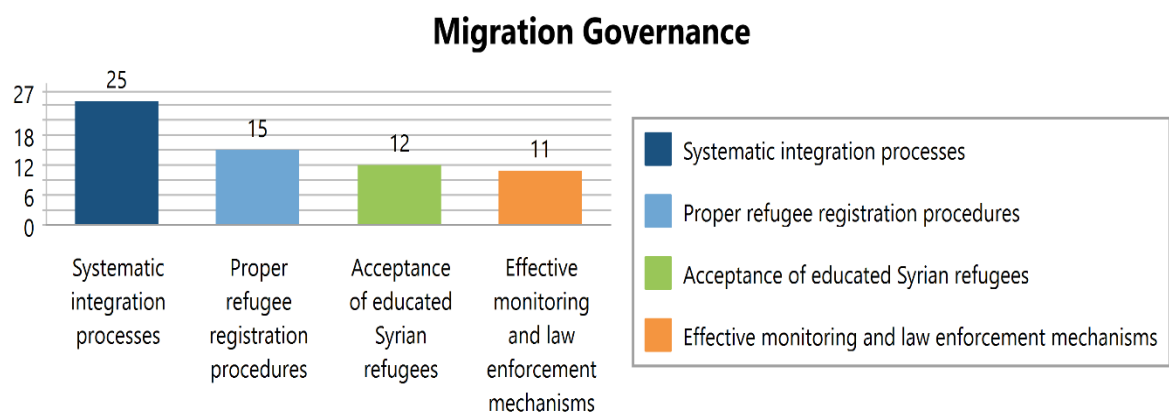
“If Germany announced accepting more refugees, it would manage it somehow because they monitor the integration of refugees very effectively. If they are taking such a decision, they have also established the mechanisms for it. However, I can adopt a different approach if a similar decision is taken in Türkiye. Because a well-functioning integration and monitoring mechanism has not been established in Türkiye.” (I35)

I14, I21, and I13 emphasized that the German government closely monitors the integration process of Syrian refugees from start to finish. Consequently, they believe that accepting more refugees would not pose a problem for Germany. Similarly, I22 pointed out Germany's proficiency in monitoring Syrian refugees and deporting those who do not assimilate into society, contrasting Türkiye's lack of such a mechanism. As a result, s/he holds a positive view of Germany's policy to accept more Syrian refugees but a negative stance towards a similar decision by Turkish authorities. Likewise, I24 highlighted Germany's effectiveness in ensuring security compared to Türkiye's shortcomings, leading to an unfavorable outlook on Türkiye's decision to accept more Syrian refugees. Similarly, I15 attributed his/her negative attitude towards the potential acceptance of more Syrian refugees in Türkiye to concerns about the inadequacy of migration governance in providing a sense of security. Additionally, I23 remarked that law enforcement officials and mechanisms in Germany exhibit zero tolerance for violations, thereby enhancing institutional trust and reducing security apprehensions, even in the scenario of increased refugee acceptance.

Additionally, understanding which of the four themes identified in this study is most prominent is crucial for determining the relative significance of the criteria and factors

described by participants in their evaluations of a host country's migration governance. To achieve this, the themes were designed as sub-codes under the main code namely migration governance using MAXQDA software. The participants' responses were then systematically coded according to these themes. Subsequently, a frequency analysis was conducted to ascertain the prominence of each theme. The following figure demonstrates that systematic integration process most frequently proposed by participants while justifying their attitudes toward further refugee acceptance of Germany and Türkiye.

Figure 18. Frequency Analysis of Participants’ Responses During Interviews by Using MAXQDA



Source: The data generated through MAXQDA

6.4. The Reasons Behind Perceptions of Differential Treatment: Impact of Perceived Unfairness in Germany's Treatment of Ukrainian Refugees on Turkish Migrants

6.4.1. Theoretical Explanations

Before presenting the findings related to the issue, it is important to provide a brief theoretical framework explaining the potential reasons behind Germany's different treatment of refugees, especially the more welcoming approach towards Ukrainian refugees

compared to Syrian and other refugees. Several theories are listed below in order to understand the presented findings provided in the next sub-section.

One theory is critical race theory, which argues that European societies have historically created racial hierarchies that favor white people and marginalize non-white populations (El-Tayeb, 2011). Ukrainians are seen as ethnically and culturally closer to the majority white European populations, including Germans. This perception leads to more positive attitudes towards Ukrainian refugees in Germany, while other groups are viewed as culturally and racially incompatible with European values (De Genova, 2018).

Security concerns also play a role in this differential treatment. The crisis in Ukraine, triggered by Russia's invasion, is seen as a direct threat to European security due to Putin's expansionist policies. Many Europeans fear that if Putin succeeds in Ukraine, other European countries, i.e., Baltic states and Western Balkan countries, could be next, harming Europe's economy, security, and values, especially those of the European Union (Gleason, 2022). This has led to a more welcoming attitude towards Ukrainian refugees, as supporting them is viewed as part of a broader stance against Russian aggression. In contrast, conflicts in the Middle East and other regions are often seen as problems caused by failed states and terrorism (Fitzgerald and Arar, 2018). As a result, refugees from the Middle East are sometimes viewed as security threats themselves, while Ukrainian refugees are seen as victims of a greater threat. In addition, refugees from the Middle East or Southeast Asia may be seen as a security threat themselves, while refugees from Ukraine are seen as a factor that prevents the greater threat of Putin.

Another reason for the different treatment of refugees is how host countries view humanitarianism. Fassin (2012) suggests that humanitarianism often involves seeing

refugees as innocent victims deserving of help. Ukrainians are commonly portrayed as victims of an unprovoked war, fitting this image and receiving more compassion from the public and policymakers (Chouliaraki and Stolic, 2017). In contrast, Syrian refugees are sometimes viewed with suspicion and as potential threats, making them seem less deserving of protection and aid (Holmes and Castañeda, 2016). This shows that people's willingness to help is influenced by racial, cultural, and political factors.

The cultural proximity hypothesis also helps explain the situation. It suggests that societies are more likely to accept refugees who are culturally similar to them (Kymlicka, 1995). In Germany, the cultural and religious similarities with Ukrainians, such as shared Christian traditions and European cultural backgrounds, have influenced positive public attitudes and policies (Bansak, Hainmueller, and Hangartner, 2016). These similarities, along with the relatively high levels of education and skills among Ukrainian refugees, make it easier for them to integrate into German society and meet the country's labor market needs (Triandafyllidou, 2018). In contrast, Syrian refugees often face stereotypes about cultural differences and lower socio-economic status, which can make it harder for them to be accepted and integrated. These differences can lead to discrimination and exclusion, limiting their access to resources and opportunities.

Economic factors also play a significant role in refugee policies. Germany's aging population and shortage of workers have made the country more welcoming to certain groups of refugees, especially those who can quickly enter the workforce. Ukrainians often have skills and qualifications that are easily adaptable to the German job market, making them seem more economically beneficial and easier to integrate. On the other hand, many Syrian refugees face challenges like language barriers and difficulty having their

qualifications recognized, which can make it harder for them to find work and integrate (Brücker et al., 2019). This shows how economic needs and challenges can lead to policies that favor some refugee groups over others based on their perceived economic value (Boswell and Geddes, 2011).

The theories discussed in this section aim to explain the different approaches towards various refugee groups. However, the findings of this study indicate that political and cultural factors are more influential. In particular, security concerns stemming from Putin's expansionist policies, along with the cultural and religious similarities between Ukrainians and Europeans, appear to be the primary reasons for the more favorable attitude toward Ukrainian refugees. This perspective is more aligned with issues of security and cultural affinity than with other theoretical explanations by considering the presented findings obtained from semi-structured interview and presented below. The semi-structured interviews conducted for this study reveal that participants' immigrant status does not influence their attitudes toward refugees. Instead, their perceptions of the effectiveness and fairness of migration governance play a significant role in shaping their views on refugees.

6.4.2. Insights from the Semi-Structured Interviews

The recognition of Turkish citizens residing in Germany as immigrants themselves may predispose them to endorse Germany's pro-immigrant policies. To address potential biases stemming from this perspective, the study sought to mitigate such concerns by probing participants about their views on Ukrainian refugees, aiming to discern any distinctions in attitudes towards Ukrainian and Syrian immigrants. Analysis of the participants' responses to the influx of Ukrainian refugees following the Russian-Ukrainian conflict played the pivotal role of trust in state institutions and regulations, a main finding

and argument of this research. Participants highlighted differential treatment and perceived privileges granted to Ukrainian refugees as European migrants, indicating a discernible distance in their attitudes towards this refugee group due to these factors.

In the conducted semi-structured interviews, even though any specific question was not asked for participants regarding Ukrainian refugees, I1 claimed that Ukrainian refugees were treated more favorably due to their Christian identity. He underlined that this issue was mentioned openly on the media in the early periods, but later it attracted a reaction. I5 and I13, on the other hand, explained the disruptions experienced in the bureaucracy with the migration of Ukrainians to Germany and the difficulties that public institutions experienced in managing this process, and stated that this directly affected their lives. I6, on the other hand, said that Ukrainians in Germany have very serious individual support, so he prefers to buy from other refugee groups and support them. I17, on the other hand, stated with reproach that refugees from Ukraine were given a free dormitory and that they had the right to a 3-month residence permit without any conditions and without asking anything. I19 stated that Ukrainians who applied as workers were evaluated with higher priority and accepted for employment. I27 expressed her discomfort with the privileged approach towards Ukrainian refugees as follows:

“The treatment of refugees in Germany was characterized by a lack of honesty and transparency. This sentiment extended to the German government's handling of the issue, which was perceived as inconsistent and duplicitous. My personal experience during the Ukrainian war in Berlin starkly highlighted these discrepancies. I observed firsthand how Ukrainian refugees were warmly welcomed and received comprehensive support, including access to courses and accommodations in hotels.

This stark contrast in treatment led me to question the sincerity and humane approach of the authorities. It left me feeling deeply unsettled and disillusioned. In contrast, Syrians and Turks did not receive comparable treatment during their refugee experiences in Germany.” (I27).

The participants' comments regarding Ukrainian refugees highlight an important perspective: while they generally express satisfaction with Germany's management of migration and hold high levels of trust in the country's institutional and regulatory frameworks, perceived injustices or privileges extended to specific refugee groups can undermine this trust. Such occurrences have demonstrated the potential for negative impacts on attitudes toward various refugee populations. Participants acknowledge Germany's effective governance of migration, yet they perceive Ukrainian refugees as receiving preferential treatment for various reasons, including differential rights and priorities not extended to other refugee groups. These perceptions significantly influence their attitudes toward Ukrainian refugees. The participants' focus on institutional and regulatory capacity when discussing these shifts underlines the critical role of the host state's governance and the trust placed in it in fostering a welcoming environment for refugees. This observation reiterates the central thesis of this study: that the regulatory and institutional capabilities of the host state are pivotal in shaping attitudes towards refugees and facilitating changes in approach. This approach also responds to the assumption that Turkish citizens living in Germany are more optimistic than Türkiye about Germany accepting more immigrants because they demand Germany to follow a pro-immigrant policy because they are immigrants in Germany. It has been revealed that they have also

developed objections to any injustice they may notice in migration governance, and it has an impact on their attitudes toward accepted refugees.

6.5. Concluding Remarks

The interview data illustrates that a state's ability to implement responsible and effective monitoring and law enforcement mechanisms for incoming refugees encourages people to accept more Syrian refugees in their communities. This enhances both institutional and social trust within society, thereby alleviating concerns about security, integration, and socio-economic factors among residents of that country. This study found that citizens' perceptions of the host state's regulatory and institutional capacity in managing mass migration significantly influence their attitudes towards accepting more refugees. Turkish citizens residing in Germany view Germany's migration governance as effective, leading to more positive attitudes towards Germany's potential decision to accept more Syrian refugees. Conversely, they express some pessimism about Türkiye's acceptance of more refugees due to perceived inefficiencies in Türkiye's migration governance. The study underlines the state's role in fostering social inclusion and shaping public opinions on accepting more refugees by presenting new data analyzed across four key themes: (i) profiling incoming refugees and implementing a well-structured selection process, (ii) establishing a robust registration procedure, (iii) designing and implementing integration policies and programs, and (iv) instituting a strong and accountable monitoring and law enforcement mechanism. Interviewees primarily highlight differences in these four themes through concrete examples, explaining variations in their attitudes towards potential decisions by the Turkish and German governments to accept more refugees.

This study's primary policy implications revolve around understanding the factors influencing public opinion in states receiving refugees amid expectations of large-scale migration and exploring potential governmental actions in response. Traditional migration studies often assume that the public in receiving states view mass migration as a threat and thus desire policies aimed at deterring the arrival of more refugees. However, this study suggests that the public in destination countries assesses the receiving state's readiness to manage the risks associated with mass migration when forming their perceptions and attitudes towards it. If the public perceives the receiving state as capable of effectively mitigating these risks, they are more likely to feel confident about accepting more refugees. Therefore, by prioritizing improvements in refugee reception and integration policies, receiving states can significantly influence public opinion towards future mass migration in a more positive direction.

The findings from the second phase of the study underline the public's expectation that the receiving state effectively manages the reception and integration of newly arriving refugees. Furthermore, while governance of mass migration involves collaboration among various stakeholders including the public, civil society, and international organizations, the public in receiving states primarily evaluates the performance of public authorities in managing mass migration. Therefore, enhancing the regulatory and institutional capacities of states in integration processes will significantly influence people's attitudes towards accepting more refugees and foster social cohesion. This study also emphasizes the importance of conducting comparative research on the perceptions of individuals with migration experience regarding the anticipation of mass migration. Such research aims to deepen understanding of the factors influencing their opinions and how states can

collaborate effectively and learn from policies that positively influence public opinion, thus ensuring public support for future endeavors.

Considering the comparative analysis of generated themes under this study, participants most frequently emphasize the importance of the application of a systemic integration procedure for incoming refugees by equipping them with a sufficient cultural, social, legal and also linguistic knowledge to make their integration easier. As analyzed through using a qualitative research software tool, implementation of systemic integration procedure is more important than other identified factors and generated themes such as acceptance of highly educated Syrian refugees, enhancement of registration procedures, and implementation of robust monitoring and law enforcement mechanisms.

Participants' concern regarding the preferential treatment afforded to Ukrainian refugees who arrived in Germany following the Russian-Ukrainian war reflects a broader perception of unequal treatment among refugee groups. This sentiment persists despite the participants' overall trust in Germany's migration governance and its institutional and regulatory frameworks. Research indicates that such perceptions of inequity can significantly influence individuals' attitudes towards specific refugee cohorts, potentially fostering feelings of insecurity or dissatisfaction. Consequently, these findings demonstrate the pivotal role of host states in cultivating inclusive attitudes towards refugees.

Chapter VII – Conclusion

This study aims to provide empirical evidence in exploring the determinants of creating positive attitudes toward refugees and the reason behind this by responding the question: ‘Under what conditions do communities with migration experience in refugee-receiving states become more open toward accepting more refugees, and why?’. While answering this question, this study aims to test the following hypotheses:

- H1: Post-materialist, cooperative, inclusive and egalitarian norms within the population may serve as an effective strategy for fostering a more welcoming attitude towards refugees and mitigating xenophobic sentiments.
- H2: Well-functioning migration governance based on the high-level of institutional and regulatory capacity of host countries and the ability to foster institutional trust within the resident communities are anticipated to play a crucial role in shaping a positive attitude towards refugees.

Drawing inspiration from theories related to the value change and its impact on transformation both at the society and individual level, the 1st hypothesis was formulated by focusing on individuals from Türkiye who have been living in Germany for at least a year. An online survey conducted with 157 participants assessed the impact of their value

preferences on their attitudes toward refugees. Basically, the results obtained from the online survey did not provide any significant result related to the impact of value orientations on refugee-welcoming attitudes.

To explore the reasons behind this, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 37 survey participants by testing H2. The findings revealed that value preferences alone are insufficient to foster a welcoming attitude towards refugees. Instead, building trust in the host states' capacity to manage mass migration fairly and effectively emerged as a crucial factor. This study, therefore, concludes that while secure economic and physical conditions may lead to a shift towards post-materialist values, these shifts alone may not necessarily result in more welcoming attitudes towards refugees. Effective migration governance and strong institutional trust are essential components in shaping positive attitudes towards refugee acceptance. This highlights the importance of fair and effective migration policies and the role of institutional trust in fostering inclusive and cohesive societies.

In Chapter I, an introduction to the study was provided, outlining the reasons for conducting the research and its significance. Chapter II detailed the process of identifying and formulating the research question, determining the research design, selecting cases, and identifying the methodology. Chapter III presented the theoretical framework, including a review of the relevant literature for each theory discussed and the expected contribution of this study to the existing theoretical landscape. Additionally, the literature on the rise of far-right parties in Europe and its relationship with cultural backlash theory was explored. Chapter IV provided a comparative analysis of Türkiye's and Germany's experiences with mass migration, focusing on three areas: employment, education, and housing. This analysis established a clear connection between the differences in migration governance in

the two countries and the responses of interviewees to the question: "What would your reaction be if the governments of Germany and Türkiye announced today that they would accept as many Syrian refugees as they have so far, and if you thought that the region you live in would also be affected by the influx of refugees?" This chapter demonstrated the importance of understanding the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter III for appreciating the study's theoretical contributions, and the comparative analysis in Chapter IV was crucial for discussing and interpreting the study's findings.

In Chapter V, the first stage of the study's findings was presented, including the results of the online survey and their discussion. Chapter VI covered the second stage, presenting and discussing the results of the semi-structured interviews. The findings from Chapter VI indicated that merely holding post-materialist values is not sufficient to foster pro-refugee attitudes among people in host countries. The state's regulatory and institutional capacity, as well as people's high level of trust in the state's migration governance, are crucial factors in positively influencing attitudes towards refugees and reducing concerns about accepting additional refugees in their communities.

Chapter VII, as the concluding chapter of the study, is structured as follows:

- 7.1. Summary of the theoretical contributions of this study
- 7.2. Summary of the empirical contributions of this study
- 7.3. Making policy implications and recommendations
- 7.4. Limitation of the current research and recommendations for future research

7.1. Theoretical Contributions

This study's first hypothesis was developed based on literature discussions about value change and its impact on both societal and individual levels. It was anticipated that

economic and physical insecurity would lead to increased xenophobia and strong in-group solidarity. Conversely, secure conditions were expected to foster greater tolerance for out-groups and more egalitarian social norms by encouraging a shift from materialist to post-materialist values (Inglehart, 2019). The study focused on individuals who migrate from economically and existentially insecure countries to more secure ones. However, the results did not show a link between changes in value preferences and attitudes toward refugees.

The study's findings indicate that the first hypothesis did not hold:

- H1: Post-materialist, cooperative, inclusive and egalitarian norms within the population may serve as an effective strategy for fostering a more welcoming attitude towards refugees and mitigating xenophobic sentiments.

The primary theoretical contribution of this study is:

- Migration experiences can influence changes in people's economic and existential security conditions and also value preferences, but these changes alone may not be insufficient to impact attitudes toward refugees positively.

This study advances the theoretical discussion by examining how states' regulatory and institutional capacities, along with institutional trust, play a role in shaping positive attitudes toward refugees. The second hypothesis tested in this study is:

- H2: Well-functioning migration governance based on the high-level of institutional and regulatory capacity of host countries and the ability to foster institutional trust within the resident communities are anticipated to play a crucial role in shaping a positive attitude towards refugees.

Supporting this, Hall and Werner (2022) found that high institutional trust aids refugees in building social networks and contributing to host societies. Zeller (2014) highlighted the

importance of institutions in managing refugees' well-being and daily lives. Röder and Mühlau (2012) showed that better governance improves refugees' trust in institutions. However, Wu (2020) argued that moving from low to high trust societies does not significantly impact trust-building, a finding this study challenges. Epsenshade and Hempstead (1996) linked lower institutional trust to socio-economic insecurity, as people often blame institutions for these issues. Research by Husfeldt (2006), McLaren (2010), and Halapuu et al. (2014) indicated that higher institutional trust reduces negative attitudes towards immigrants.

This research highlights how trust in public institutions and officials impacts attitudes toward accepting more refugees, contributing to the theoretical framework of institutional trust in migration contexts. Additionally, the study links its findings to various theories on attitudes toward refugees. Societal integration theory suggests that high social trust fosters cross-cultural trust. Contact theory posits that increased interaction between host societies and refugees builds interpersonal trust and reduces perceived threats. Cultural marginality theory argues that shared experiences of discrimination enhance tolerance toward refugees. Labor market competition theory claims that individuals with lower human capital and economic security often have negative attitudes toward refugees, while human capital theory associates higher education levels with greater tolerance (Halapuu et al., 2014).

Given the study's sample of highly educated individuals with migration experience, the findings support cultural marginality and human capital theories. However, the study did not support other explanatory theories. By focusing on institutional trust, this research

underlines its critical role in shaping positive attitudes toward refugee acceptance in host communities, providing a new perspective to the literature.

7.2. Empirical Contributions

This research empirically contributes to the literature on refugees by highlighting the importance of institutional trust in shaping attitudes toward refugee acceptance. The findings suggest that trust in public institutions and their ability to manage refugee integration effectively influences how people view refugees. This insight can guide future research and initiatives aimed at improving refugee reception and integration.

The study offers three key contributions to understanding public perceptions and attitudes toward refugees. First, it reveals that public attitudes are significantly affected by perceptions of the receiving state's ability to handle mass migration challenges. People's views are not just shaped by concerns about the number of incoming refugees but also by their trust in the state's capacity to manage these challenges effectively. Social and cultural proximity between local and arriving communities also plays a role, but the study emphasizes that the state and public authorities are seen as crucial in implementing social inclusion strategies and ensuring the well-being of both refugees and local populations. Second, the study underlines the need to view refugee reception and integration as a comprehensive process. This includes policies related to employment, education, housing, health, and overall livelihood. When the public believes that the state is efficiently using resources to manage and integrate refugees, they are less worried about the potential for more refugees arriving in the future. Third, by analyzing data from individuals with migration experience, the study highlights the need for further research on how people form attitudes towards the arrival of more refugees, both in their country of origin and their

current residence. When receiving states are seen as prepared to handle mass migration and social inclusion, local communities are more likely to feel ready to accept additional refugees. Therefore, effective policy design and implementation that meet both refugee and local community needs are crucial for positively influencing public opinion.

Overall, this study makes empirical contributions to the literature by providing empirical evidence on the effects of migration on value preferences and the role of institutional trust in refugee acceptance. It suggests that effective policy design and implementation, which address both refugee and local community needs, are crucial for positively shaping public opinion and improving refugee integration. By doing so, this study also important in terms of guiding policy-makers to take correct actions in creating refugee-welcoming attitudes.

7.3. Linking Findings with Recommendations for Policies and Future Research

The findings of this study highlight the divergent responses of the Turkish and German governments to the migration crisis that intensified after 2011. Türkiye initially perceived the Syrian civil war and the resulting migration as temporary, opting for an open-door policy with a humanitarian aid approach rather than establishing a systematic migration governance framework. This assumption proved inaccurate, and Türkiye eventually faced significant issues with both refugee integration and societal impacts. Consequently, Türkiye had to repeatedly revise its migration policies, focusing on social cohesion and integration in post-2016 period, aiming to integrate Syrians with Turkish citizens in education and daily life. However, due to the ad-hoc nature of its migration governance and unprepared infrastructure, numerous problems arose.

In contrast, Germany implemented a more prepared, systemic, and long-term approach to migration governance, benefiting from its historical experience with migration

and a robust institutional and political capacity. Germany's geographical distance from Syria allowed it more time to anticipate and prepare for incoming migration waves, unlike Türkiye, which faced immediate and severe impacts due to its border proximity. Germany's systematic registration, integration courses, effective monitoring, and enforcement of legal criteria for refugees contributed to a more effective management of the crisis. These practices, underlined by participant interviews, demonstrated Germany's better regulatory and institutional capacity in building institutional trust in its migration governance. This study demonstrates the importance of establishing systematic, permanent, and adaptable migration governance frameworks. Host countries must convince their citizens of the efficacy of their migration policies to foster positive attitudes toward refugees. An open-door policy without criteria or planning fails to yield positive outcomes for both refugees and host countries. Ensuring the welfare, health, and integration of refugees while mitigating the migration crisis's impact on host societies requires stringent regulatory measures and robust institutional capacity. A lack of trust in institutional and regulatory capacities exacerbates negative attitudes toward refugees and imposes significant economic and social burdens on society. Additionally, the differential treatment of Ukrainian refugees in Germany, compared to other refugee groups, and its impact in participants' attitudes toward Ukrainian refugees which was identified under this study further highlights the importance of fair and well-implemented migration governance in shaping public attitudes towards refugees.

For future research, more research is needed to understand why post-materialist values may become more prevalent in some contexts and why far-right ideologies might emerge more prominently than human rights and international protection obligations. This

exploration should focus on the factors that drive societies towards more inclusive or exclusionary attitudes, providing valuable insights into the complex responses to migration and refugees.

7.4. Research Limitations

There are two main limitations of this research as listed below:

The first limitation concerns the socio-economic and educational background of participants in the online surveys and semi-structured interviews, which were conducted primarily with individuals holding at least a bachelor's degree. There are two main reasons for this focus. Firstly, more educated individuals are generally more likely to adopt post-materialist values, making them more suitable for testing the hypothesis related to the impact of value changes on attitudes towards the acceptance of additional refugees. Secondly, due to political or security concerns, and given that Turkish citizens living in Germany are a socially and politically sensitive immigrant group, the study targeted an educated participant profile. Educated individuals were more likely to understand the purpose of the study and were thus more willing to participate to make contribution to the study.

The second limitation of the study is conducting data collection phase, i.e., survey and semi-structured interviews online. The data collection phase of the study was conducted in Covid-19 period. The Covid-19 restrictions made it impossible and/or very difficult to carry out this work face to face. To be in line with the proposed timeline, conducting surveys and semi-structured interviews online is preferred. Therefore, data collection phase was carried out with an online survey and online semi-structured interviews via Zoom. Although conducting this survey and interviews online was

practically cost-free and advantageous in reaching more people, it made it difficult for participants who could not use technological tools to participate in the research. For this reason, many of the participants consist of third generation immigrants and recent immigrants and this is another limitation of the study.



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