



## Araştırma Makalesi • Research Article

# What are the Determinants of Attitudes Towards Immigrants in Turkey? Evidence from the World Values Survey\*

*Türkiye'de Göçmenlere Yönelik Tutumların Belirleyicileri Nelerdir? Dünya Değerler Araştırmasından Kanıtlar*

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### ÖZ

Bu çalışmada, sosyal değerlerin ve demografik karakteristiklerin Türkiye'deki göçmenlere yönelik tutumlar üzerindeki etkisini bulmak amaçlanmıştır. Ampirik analiz için World Values Survey'in 7. dalga verileri kullanılmıştır. 2018 yılına ait birey düzeyindeki veriler, göçmenlere yönelik olumsuz tutumların artmasında din ve milliyetçiliğin kilit rol oynadığını göstermektedir. Bireylerin sosyal sınıfı iyileştikçe, göçmen karşıtı düşünceleri azalma eğilimindedir. Ancak, işgücü piyasasındaki kıt iş olanakları üzerinde potansiyel bir rekabet endişesi ortaya çıktığında, sosyal sınıf sıçramaları göçmenlere karşı ayrımcılıkla sonuçlanmaktadır. Siyasi görüş, eğitim, yaş ve medeni durum için logit regresyon katsayıları istatistiksel olarak sağlam değildir. Olumsuz tutumlara dair farklı bağımlı değişkenler kullanıldığında bu katsayıların istatistiksel anlamlılıkları değişmektedir. Dolayısıyla, demografik özellikler Türkiye'de göçe yönelik düşünceleri sistematik olarak etkilememektedir. Daha çok, değerler ve toplumdaki sosyoekonomik konum göçmenlere yönelik görüşler üzerinde etkilidir.

### ABSTRACT

In this study, I aim to find the impact of social values and demographic characteristics on attitudes toward immigrants in Turkey. For the empirical analysis, wave 7 data from the World Values Survey (WVS) is used. Individual-level data from 2018 shows that religion and nationalism play a key role in increasing negative attitudes toward immigrants. As individuals' social class improves, their anti-immigrant sentiments tend to decrease. However, when there is concern about potential competition for scarce jobs in the labor market, social class jumps result in discrimination against immigrants. The logit regression coefficients for political opinion, education, age and marital status do not show robust results in different models using different measures of negative attitudes. Thus, demographic characteristics do not systematically influence opinions toward immigration in Turkey. Rather, values and socioeconomic position in society have an impact on opinions toward immigrants.

## 1. Introduction

Migration is a concept as old as history itself. And naturally, so are the problems it brings with it between residents and immigrants. The example of Turkey is an interesting field of

research on migration and society's perspective on migration. Turkey has a unique place in the concept of migration not just because of its location but also because of its history, its demographic structure as a successor of an imperial state. Considering the uniqueness of Turkey's

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migration history, this study aims to find individual factors that are particularly influential on attitudes toward immigration that has gained momentum recently in Turkey.

International migration has gained momentum in the last two decades worldwide. The United Nations reports that the population living outside the origin country was 281 million in 2020. This number was around 84 million in the 1970s and has been on an upward trend ever since. The ratio of immigrants to the world population has increased from 2.3% in 1970 to 3.6% in 2020. The rate has tended to move upwards over the years. Considering the statistics of the last 55 years or so, migration has been and will continue to be one of the most important issues concerning humanity.

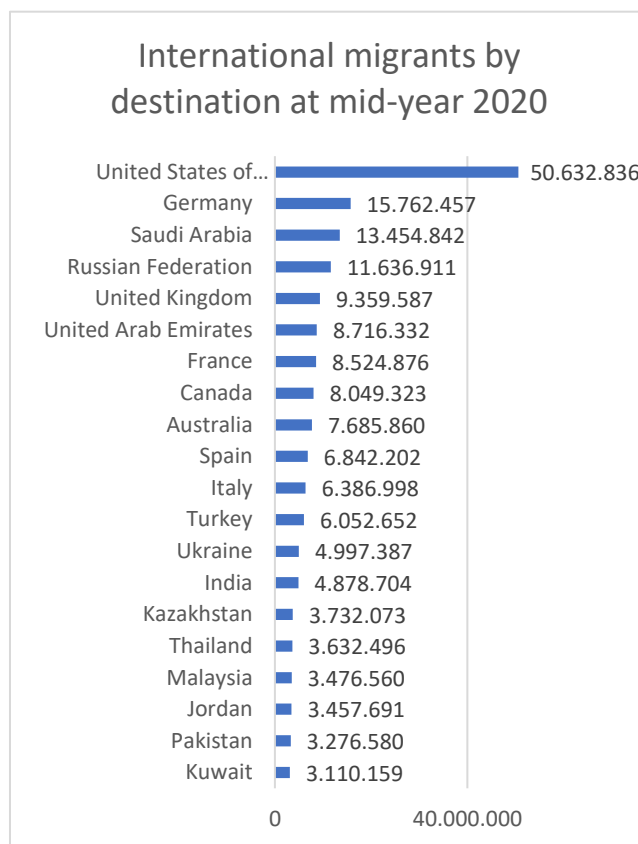
**Table 1.** Migration in the World

Year	World International migrant stock at mid-year	Migrants as % of world population
1970	84,460,125	2.3%
1975	90,368,010	2.2%
1980	101,983,149	2.3%
1985	113,206,691	2.3%
1990	152,986,157	2.9%
1995	161,289,976	2.8%
2000	173,230,585	2.8%
2005	191,446,828	2.9%
2010	220,983,187	3.2%
2015	247,958,644	3.4%
2020	280,598,105	3.6%

Source: (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2020a; McAuliffe and Triandafyllidou, 2021: 23)

There are many factors that influence the shape and context of migration. Economic, social, demographic, ethnic factors, kinship, religion, geographical accessibility are just a few of those many. So, immigration is not a homogeneous or an identical phenomenon everywhere in the world. Turkey, for instance, has been experiencing two different types of migration. Turkey is a party in two major migration corridors. It is an origin country in the migration corridor from Turkey to Germany. In the migration corridor from the Syrian Arab Republic to Turkey, it is the destination. In the first corridor, the main purpose of migration since 1961 has been to work, while in the second corridor, the Syrian Civil War and the resulting humanitarian concerns have been the main reason for migration. As of 2020, Turkey is the 12th most populous country in the world in terms of the number of international migrants.

**Figure 1.** International Migrants by Destination



Source: (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2020b)

The increase in migration to Turkey in recent years has no historical background. The ongoing Syrian Civil War (2011) was a turning point for the case of Turkey. Since then, the number of international migrants in Turkey has increased: From 1,373,749 in 2010 to 4,346,197 in 2015, and 6,052,652 in mid-year 2020. Until 2010, migrants accounted for only 2% of the total population in Turkey, rising to 5.5% in 2015 and 7.20% in 2020. Therefore, the sudden increase in migration to Turkey, especially in the last decade, is still in need of investigation as a source of social unrest against immigrants in Turkey.

**Table 2.** Migration in Turkey

Years	Number of international migrants	% of total population
1990	1,163,686	2.20%
1995	1,216,173	2.10%
2000	1,280,963	2.00%
2005	1,324,108	1.90%
2010	1,373,749	1.90%
2015	4,346,197	5.50%
2020	6,052,652	7.20%

Source: (United Nations International Organization for Migration, Global Migration Data Analysis Centre, 2021)

How the social values such as religion affects the attitudes toward immigrants in Turkey? What are the effects of socioeconomic situation of an individual or demographics on the thought about immigrants? How are the political views related with an individual's point of view about the immigrants in the country? What are the concerns of individuals who do not welcome immigrants in the origin country? What is the effect of economic concerns or security concerns? These are the questions I ask in this article about individuals' perspectives on immigrants in Turkey.

The rest of the study is designed as follows. The next part is for the discussion of literature. The third part describes data and the method. Empirical results are summarized in the fourth part while the fifth concludes the study.

## 2. Literature

The situation and problems of immigrants in Turkey constitute the subject of a wide literature (Karapınar Kocağ and Longhi, 2022; Erdoğan and Kaya, 2015; Balkan and Tumen, 2016; Tolay, 2015). Not only the situation of immigrants from other countries, but also migration within the country constitute the subject of the literature. However, in the case of Turkey, empirical evidence based on survey data is not widely available in the literature on this topic. And it is very important to evaluate the information obtained from host country citizens who are the primary addressee of the issue. Therefore, this study fills this empirical gap in the literature.

Most of the literature on natives' attitudes toward immigrants focuses on developed European countries or more generally on western countries, including the US. See for instance (Citrin and Sides, 2008). Thanks to the World Values Survey, it has become possible to conduct this research by utilizing individual level data for Turkey.

Economic factors such as competition for and within the labor market has been an issue shaping individuals' preferences for immigrants. High-skilled laborers may not see immigrants as threat to their jobs compared to low-skilled laborers. For O'Rourke and Sinnott (2006), high-skilled laborers have less anti-immigrant attitudes than the low-skilled ones. And the effect is stronger in rich countries or more equal countries. They base their conclusion by using individual level data of 24 countries for the year 1995 (O'Rourke and Sinnott, 2006). So as the skill of the laborer improves, they see themselves as irreplaceable even though the immigrant workers' wage may be more competitive. The study conducted by Haubert and Fussell (2006) shows that people who are highly educated, white-collar, and against ethnocentrism are more pro-immigrant (Haubert and Fussell, 2006). Their life experience such as living abroad is also effective on their views on the immigrants.

According to Rustenbach (2010), as people become more educated and gain more experience with immigrants, their anti-immigrant attitudes tend to be lower in Europe. However, high status individuals do not feel threatened by

immigrants because they are not exposed to competition with them. This is because immigrants are at the lower levels of the hierarchy in the target society (Rustenbach, 2010). In other words, education itself may not be the determining factor in why people become more pro-immigrant as their level of education increases. As people's level of education increases, their hierarchical position in society increases. Thus, there is no situation in which they must compete in the labor market with immigrants who are integrated into society from lower layers. In fact, there is zero probability that there is an environment where they need to confront immigrants and be aware of their existence.

Immigration is not only related to the labor market or an economic phenomenon, but also and more so a sociological, cultural, and psychological one. That is why any economic improvement in society is not sufficient to overcome negative attitudes toward immigrants. For Ceobanu and Escandell (2010), if identities and ideologies are the sources of anti-immigrant attitudes, then public information campaigns, and social programs for newcomers become more effective tools. In fact, while acknowledging that economic explanations have a large place in the literature, they also recognize that cultural-symbolic factors are the most important determinants of attitudes toward migration and immigrants. (Ceobanu and Escandell, 2010).

Based on the survey data of 53 countries for the years between 2010 and 2014 Cooray et al. (2006) try to find out the factors affecting discrimination against immigrants in the labor market. Their findings show that rather than economic determinants, socio-demographic characteristics, political views, and especially individual level attributes play a key role in the hiring decisions in the labor market. For instance, old people having low levels of education, coming from a low-income family have tendency to have anti-immigrant views in job market. But immigrants or women have a low probability to support this discrimination. If people believe their religion is the only right way and get religious, they are less likely to accept immigrants especially in times of job scarcity. In parallel with the religion case, those who position themselves further to the right on the ideological spectrum are more likely to discriminate against immigrants. Moreover, as town size gets larger, people get more tolerable to immigrants as laborers. The only economic factor that boost discrimination against immigrants in the labor market is the financial satisfaction of host country individuals. If individuals get less satisfied with the financial situation of the household, they are more likely to be in favor of discrimination against immigrants (Cooray, et al., 2018).

In the US, as education and income level increases, pro-immigration attitudes strengthen (Espenshade and Hempstead, 1996). Espenshade and Hempstead (1996) find noneconomic factors such as demographic characteristics or isolationist viewpoint more influential on the feelings about the levels of immigration in the US. Another study based on the social factors that impact the attitudes toward immigration reveals that college education and cultural

threats on English language are seen important, but the effect of political view, economic situation, age and gender are limited (Chandler and Tsai, 2001). Chandler and Tsai (2001) assert that race, income or fear of crime have no significant effect on the attitudes for the US case.

An individual's preferences may be shaped by the region they live in. People living in urban and rural areas may have different views on migration. Individuals living in rural areas, where individuals know their next-door neighbors closely, may be expected to look at outsiders with prejudice. Although hospitality is accepted as an important characteristic of Turkish people, citizens living in rural areas, which are relatively more closed to the outside world and smaller in size compared to urban areas, may have a negative view of the phenomenon of migration. In a study focusing on the impact of rural residence on attitudes toward immigration, Fennelly and Federico (2008) found that rural citizens tend to support more restrictive immigration policies in the US compared to suburban or urban residents. (Fennelly and Federico, 2008). This is because those living in rural areas see the cost of migration as high.

Rather than focusing on the impact of the individual or country specific characteristics on the attitudes toward immigrants, there are studies focusing on the effect of socioeconomic environment on the attitudes. For instance, Hoxhaj and Zuccotti (2021) assert that high concentration of immigration has a close relationship with positive attitudes for immigrants based on the data of 12 European countries for the years 2011 and 2014 (Hoxhaj and Zuccotti, 2021). But the positive attitudes turn neutral or even negative as the socioeconomic features get worse due to high competition and immigrants' poor integration to the destination society.

Attitudes toward immigrants are often related to the host society's values, their perception of the migration. They may think that immigrants cause the economic situation to deteriorate, reduce the available job opportunities, even increase crime rate. However, these attitudes are not necessarily based on the facts or the real-life data. Racist and discriminatory feelings, severe economic difficulties, the inability of the destination country to tolerate economic burden of the immigrants, or biased attraction to certain types of immigrants cause anti-immigrant attitudes (Constant, et al., 2009). This creates a vicious circle with an unpredictable starting point, and as long as this mechanism is not interrupted, it will feed and increase negative attitudes toward immigrants. Even immigrants themselves may be wary of new waves of migration from outside. Although immigrants have generally pro-immigrant attitudes, 15% of them are against the arrival of new immigrants considering that they may become competitors in the labor market, especially ethnic niches, of the host country (Zimmermann, et al., 2008: 41).

Hence, in addition to economic factors, especially fear of losing a job, there are social, and individual level factors shaping people's attitude toward immigrants. Demography

is much more important in some cases. However, the mechanism by which these factors work is not the same across societies. Even the environment in which an individual lives may have a significant impact according to literature. Hence, Turkey's experience with the immigrants may differ from developed country cases in the literature.

### 3. Data and Method

Empirical analysis is based on the World Values Survey data. The WVS has been conducted in more than 120 countries approximately every 5 years since 1981. Individual level data on social, religious, cultural, social, political and ethical values are evaluated. Samples between waves are independent of each other. That is the id's of the individuals are not same across the waves. The data utilized in this study is from the 7th wave of the WVS conducted in Turkey. 7th wave overall was conducted between 2017 and 2022. But data for Turkey is from 2018 (Inglehart, et al., 2022). The Turkish version of the seventh wave of the survey was conducted in March, April and May 2018 among 2,415 respondents. 290 questions were asked. Paper and pencil interviews in Turkish language were conducted in 26 different statistical regions. In 83% of the cases, there was no one around to follow the interview. While the 73.6% of the respondents are from urban areas, 26.4% of them are from rural areas (World Values Survey Association, 2018).

In this study, the interest is on how the values and other individual characteristics are effective on the attitudes of host country individuals on immigrants. For this aim, people's view on the immigrants is chosen as the dependent variable. And by utilizing 7 different questions, I analyze the attitudes toward immigrants. I used question 21 "On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors?" as the first dependent variable neighimmig. People are shown "Immigrants/foreign workers" as a choice. The answer to the question is coded as 1 if the respondents mentioned, or 2 if they did not mention. For the interpretation purposes not mentioned is coded as 0 and mentioned is coded as 1 in this study. The rest of the dependent variables, jobpriority, crime, terrorism, unemployment, socconf, limitwork, are used to shed light on the different aspects of negative attitudes toward immigrants.

Gender, education level, age, marital status, settlement type are used as demographic characteristics. In addition to demographic characteristics, individual level characteristics, such as importance of religion in life, nationalism, social class, self-positioning in the political scale are utilized as control variables in the model. Description of the variables and how they are coded are summarized in table 3.

**Table 3.** Data Description

Variable	Question	Answers & Coding
neighbimmig	On this list are various groups of people. Could you please mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors?	=1 if the respondents mention "Immigrants/foreign workers", = 0 if it is not mentioned.
religinlife	For each of the following, indicate how important it is in your life. Would you say it is	=1 if not at all important, =2 if not very important, =3 if rather important, =4 if very important
nationalism	How proud are you to be [country's nationality]?	=1 if not at all proud, =2 if not very proud, =3 if quite proud, =4 if very proud
socclass	People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the	=1 if lower class, =2 if working class, =3 if lower middle class, =4 if upper middle class, =5 if upper class
politicalscale	In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right." How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking?	Ranges from 1 to 10, 1 is left, 10 is right.
male	sex of the respondent	male=1, female=0
education	What is the highest educational level that you have attained?	=0 if Early childhood education (ISCED 0) / no education, =1 if Primary education (ISCED 1), =2 if Lower secondary education (ISCED 2), =3 if Upper secondary education (ISCED 3), =4 if Bachelor or equivalent (ISCED 6)
age	age of the respondent	range: 18-95
married	marital status	=1 if married, =0 if living together as married, divorced, seperated, widowed or single.
urban	Settlement type where interview was conducted	=1 if urban (city, town), =0 if rural (village)
jobPriority	How would you feel about the following statements? Do you agree or disagree with them? When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to people of this country over immigrants	=1 if "Agree strongly" and "agree" is the answer, =0 if answer is "neither agree nor disagree", "disagree", and "disagree strongly".
crime	From your point of view, what have been the effects of immigration on the development of [this country]? For each of the following statements about the effects of immigration, please, tell me whether you agree or disagree with it: Increases the crime rate.	=1 if the answer is "Agree", =0 if the answer is "Hard to say" or "Disagree".
terrorism	From your point of view, what have been the effects of immigration on the development of [this country]? For each of the following statements about the effects of immigration, please, tell me whether you agree or disagree with it: Increases the risks of terrorism.	=1 if the answer is "Agree", =0 if the answer is "Hard to say" or "Disagree".
unemployment	From your point of view, what have been the effects of immigration on the development of [this country]? For each of the following statements about the effects of immigration, please, tell me whether you agree or disagree with it: Increases unemployment.	=1 if the answer is "Agree", =0 if the answer is "Hard to say" or "Disagree".
socconf	From your point of view, what have been the effects of immigration on the development of [this country]? For each of the following statements about the effects of immigration, please, tell me whether you agree or disagree with it: Leads to social conflict.	=1 if the answer is "Agree", =0 if the answer is "Hard to say" or "Disagree".

limitwork	How about people from other countries coming here to work. Which one of the following do you think the government should do?	=1 if “Place strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come here” and “Prohibit people coming here from other countries”, =0 if “Let anyone come who wants to” and “Let people come as long as there are jobs available”
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Source: (Inglehart, et al., 2022).

Dependent variables are binary and 0-1 scale. Although OLS estimates of the linear probability model coefficients are unbiased, they are not best. Even in large samples, t or F tests, or confidence intervals cannot be valid (Aldrich and Nelson, 1984: 14). In a linear probability model, predicted values of the binomial dependent variable shows the predicted probability of y being equal to 1. And probability can take values only between 0 and 1. But in OLS estimation there is no limit for predictions of dependent variable. So, it is strongly possible that y-hat to have a value out of this 0-1 range. Linear Probability Model:

$$P(Y_i = 1) = P_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i1} + \dots + \beta_k x_{ik} = \beta_0 + \sum_{j=1}^k \beta_j x_{ij} \quad (1)$$

i subscript is used for ith observation where j denotes the jth exogenous/independent variable. To get rid of the limitations of the OLS, logistic regression model is utilized:

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_i}{1-P_i}\right) = \ln(Odds_i) = \beta_0 + \sum_{j=1}^k \beta_j x_{ij} = Z_i \quad (2)$$

$$\exp\left(\ln\left(\frac{P_i}{1-P_i}\right)\right) = \exp(\beta_0 + \sum_{j=1}^k \beta_j x_{ij}) \quad (3)$$

$$\frac{P_i}{1-P_i} = e^{\beta_0} e^{\beta_1 x_{i1}} \dots e^{\beta_k x_{ik}} \quad (4)$$

$e^{\beta_j}$  is the partial effect of one of the variables on the odds of the event of interest when the other variables are controlled. The probability is linear in independent variables in OLS, but not in logistic regression. Method of maximum likelihood technique is utilized to estimate logistic model. The interpretation of log odds and effect of a change in one of the regressors on the dependent variable is not straightforward. But the sign of the effect is intuitive for interpretation.

#### 4. Empirical Results

Dependent variable of the logit models presented in table 1 is neighimmig. If people would not like immigrants/foreign workers as neighbors, it equals to 1, otherwise 0. So, I utilize this variable as a measure of anti-immigrant attitude. 1st model shows that gender and age have no statistically significant effect on attitudes toward immigrants. As education level increases, log odds of negative attitudes toward immigrants decrease. If people live in urban areas rather than rural, log odds of negative attitudes decrease as well. Being married on the other hand is in a positive relationship with the anti-immigrant attitudes. In addition to demographic variables, individual level values and political preferences are added to the model as control variables.

As the importance of religion in one’s life increases, negative attitudes rise. In line with the religion case, nationalist thoughts are in a positive relationship with the anti-immigrant attitudes. As social class improves log odds of negative attitudes decline. The social class variable also includes the individual's own socioeconomic assessment. So as an individual’s place in socioeconomic environment improves, log odds of negative attitudes decrease. The place on the political scale has no significant effect. As those values and the demographic characteristics are combined in a model, the statistical significance of education disappears.

Interaction variables show that if a married person’s social class improves log odds of negative thoughts also increase. Or, as a male shifts toward right on the political scale, his thoughts about become more anti-immigrant. And, if a married person becomes more educated and social class improves, then log odds of negative attitudes increase compared to an unmarried person

**Table 4.** Logit: Attitudes Towards Immigrants

<b>Dependent Variable: neihimmig</b>							
VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
religinlife		0.603*** (0.000)	0.582*** (0.000)	0.584*** (0.000)	0.588*** (0.000)	0.742*** (0.000)	0.581*** (0.000)
nationalism		0.558*** (0.000)	0.554*** (0.000)	0.556*** (0.000)	0.551*** (0.000)	0.558*** (0.000)	0.554*** (0.000)
socclass		-0.224*** (0.000)	-0.190*** (0.000)	-0.324*** (0.000)	-0.190*** (0.000)	-0.184*** (0.001)	-0.289*** (0.002)
politicalscale		-0.007 (0.709)	-0.018 (0.373)	-0.016 (0.423)	-0.063** (0.026)	-0.018 (0.374)	-0.016 (0.430)
male	0.003 (0.971)		-0.034 (0.729)	-0.034 (0.728)	-0.600** (0.025)	-0.023 (0.815)	-0.034 (0.726)
education	-0.095*** (0.005)		-0.049 (0.227)	-0.049 (0.229)	-0.055 (0.182)	0.206 (0.279)	-0.217* (0.085)
age	-0.004 (0.345)		-0.005 (0.273)	-0.005 (0.288)	-0.005 (0.266)	-0.005 (0.237)	-0.005 (0.259)
married	0.362*** (0.000)		0.265** (0.022)	-0.354 (0.284)	0.269** (0.021)	0.267** (0.022)	-0.029 (0.872)
urban	-0.495*** (0.000)		-0.519*** (0.000)	-0.523*** (0.000)	-0.530*** (0.000)	-0.514*** (0.000)	-0.530*** (0.000)
c.married#c.socclass				0.213** (0.046)			
c.male#c.politicalscale					0.089** (0.023)		
c.education#c.religinlife						-0.074 (0.170)	
0b.married#c.education#c.socclass							0.028 (0.497)
1.married#c.education#c.socclass							0.071* (0.078)
Constant	0.448** (0.018)	-3.363*** (0.000)	-2.777*** (0.000)	-2.416*** (0.000)	-2.486*** (0.000)	-3.360*** (0.000)	-2.284*** (0.000)
Observations	2,339	1,963	1,959	1,959	1,959	1,959	1,959
Pseudo R-squared	0.0170	0.0776	0.0887	0.0902	0.0906	0.0894	0.0910
pval in parentheses							
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05,							
* p<0.1							

For robustness, different dependent variables are utilized to measure negative attitudes toward immigrants. As the importance of religion increases in individuals' life and their nationalist views improves, then the log odds of having negative attitudes toward immigrants increase. People prefer natives over immigrants if the job opportunities are scarce. They think immigrants cause crime rate, terrorism, unemployment, and social conflict to increase.

And they prefer more strict government policies to limit the entrance of immigrants. People in urban areas are less likely to have negative attitudes toward immigrants. But log odds of preferring natives over immigrants in labor market especially when jobs are scarce increases in urban areas compared to rural. That may be because people in the urban areas believe that face negative effects of immigrants' existence in the labor market as competitors to themselves.

**Table 5.** Logit: Attitudes Towards Immigrants

<b>Dependent Variable: anti-immigrant</b>						
VARIABLES	(8) jobPriority	(9) crime	(10) terrorism	(11) unemployment	(12) socconf	(13) limitwork
religinlife	0.543*** (0.000)	0.133* -0.06	0.266*** (0.000)	0.325*** 0	0.227*** (0.001)	0.585*** (0.000)
nationalism	0.364*** (0.000)	0.777*** (0.000)	0.700*** (0.000)	0.792*** (0.000)	0.744*** (0.000)	0.477*** (0.000)
socclass	0.087 (0.114)	-0.151*** (0.007)	-0.086 (0.125)	-0.176*** (0.004)	-0.109* (0.053)	0.111* (0.058)
politicalscale	-0.048** (0.022)	-0.018 (0.395)	-0.014 (0.505)	-0.034 (0.142)	-0.054** (0.013)	-0.113*** (0.000)
male	0.026 (0.793)	0.038 (0.706)	-0.055 (0.583)	0.005 (0.965)	-0.102 (0.313)	-0.027 (0.800)
education	-0.088** (0.035)	-0.033 (0.433)	-0.034 (0.421)	-0.021 (0.642)	0.009 (0.834)	-0.009 (0.829)
age	-0.006 (0.165)	0.003 (0.518)	0.002 (0.675)	0.008 (0.121)	0.008* (0.095)	0.001 (0.901)
married	-0.006 (0.958)	-0.129 (0.275)	-0.030 (0.798)	-0.137 (0.281)	-0.051 (0.667)	0.078 (0.529)
urban	0.355*** (0.001)	-0.403*** (0.001)	-0.676*** (0.000)	-0.502*** (0.000)	-0.618*** (0.000)	-0.201* (0.099)
Constant	-2.267*** (0.000)	-1.706*** (0.000)	-1.892*** (0.000)	-1.964*** (0.000)	-1.852*** (0.000)	-2.218*** (0.000)
Observations	1,973	1,953	1,952	1,952	1,946	1,960
Pseudo R-squared	0.0479	0.0656	0.0727	0.0855	0.0698	0.0603

pval in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Because numerical interpretation of log odds is hard to digest, odds ratio or marginal effects can be utilized. Because the right-hand side of the odds ratio equation is multiplicative rather than additive, any change in the regressors affects odds ratio multiplicatively. So, if the coefficient  $e^{(\beta_j x_{ij})}$  is greater than 1, odds ratio

increases. If it is lower than 1, the odds ratio decreases. If it is 1, then the odds ratio remains same

For two otherwise identical respondents, odds for the one in urban areas is 0.595 times lower in model (3). As religion in life increases, odds of having negative attitudes toward immigrants increases by 1.79 times. This is 1.741 for nationalistic views. As social class improves, odds of having



negative attitudes lowers by 0.827 times for each class jump. The results are similar to the ones for the coefficients of logistic regression above. Odds of having anti-immigrant

views increase as the importance of religion in life, and nationalistic views increase.

**Table 6.** Logit-Odds Ratio: Attitudes Towards Immigrants

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
	neighimmig	neighimmig	neighimmig	jobPriority	crime	terrorism	unemployment	socconf	limitwork
male	1.003 (0.971)		0.967 (0.729)	1.026 (0.793)	1.038 (0.706)	0.946 (0.583)	1.005 (0.965)	0.903 (0.313)	0.974 (0.800)
education	0.909*** (0.005)		0.952 (0.227)	0.916** (0.035)	0.968 (0.433)	0.967 (0.421)	0.979 (0.642)	1.009 (0.834)	0.991 (0.829)
age	0.996 (0.345)		0.995 (0.273)	0.994 (0.165)	1.003 (0.518)	1.002 (0.675)	1.008 (0.121)	1.008* (0.095)	1.001 (0.901)
married	1.437*** (0.000)		1.303** (0.022)	0.994 (0.958)	0.879 (0.275)	0.970 (0.798)	0.872 (0.281)	0.950 (0.667)	1.081 (0.529)
urban	0.610*** (0.000)		0.595*** (0.000)	1.427*** (0.001)	0.668*** (0.001)	0.509*** (0.000)	0.606*** (0.000)	0.539*** (0.000)	0.818* (0.099)
religinlife		1.828*** (0.000)	1.790*** (0.000)	1.720*** (0.000)	1.142* (0.060)	1.304*** (0.000)	1.384*** (0.000)	1.255*** (0.001)	1.795*** (0.000)
nationalism		1.747*** (0.000)	1.741*** (0.000)	1.440*** (0.000)	2.175*** (0.000)	2.014*** (0.000)	2.207*** (0.000)	2.105*** (0.000)	1.611*** (0.000)
socclass		0.799*** (0.000)	0.827*** (0.000)	1.091 (0.114)	0.860*** (0.007)	0.918 (0.125)	0.839*** (0.004)	0.897* (0.053)	1.117* (0.058)
politicalscale		0.993 (0.709)	0.982 (0.373)	0.953** (0.022)	0.982 (0.395)	0.986 (0.505)	0.966 (0.142)	0.947** (0.013)	0.894*** (0.000)
Constant	1.565** (0.018)	0.035*** (0.000)	0.062*** (0.000)	0.104*** (0.000)	0.182*** (0.000)	0.151*** (0.000)	0.140*** (0.000)	0.157*** (0.000)	0.109*** (0.000)
Observations	2,339	1,963	1,959	1,973	1,953	1,952	1,952	1,946	1,960
Pseudo R-squared	0.0170	0.0776	0.0887	0.0479	0.0656	0.0727	0.0855	0.0698	0.0603

pval in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Marginal effects can be more useful because probabilities are used more than the odds in daily life. Average Marginal Effects are reported in the table below. For Model (3), as religion becomes more important in individuals' lives, the probability of not wanting immigrants as neighbors is 12.9 percentage points higher. For each jump in 1-4 scale of nationalism, probability of not wanting immigrants as neighbors increase by 12.2 percentage points. If a person is married, then the probability of not wanting immigrants as neighbor is 5.9 percentage points larger. As one's upward transition between social classes increases, the probability of negative attitudes decreases by 4.2 percentage points.

Natives in the urban areas have lower probability of anti-immigrant views. As an exception, however, people in urban areas prefers own nation over immigrants in the labor market when jobs are scarce as it is seen in the model (8). The results for religion and nationalism are robust across models. As social class increases, people are less likely to see immigrants as security threats. Respondents have lower probability to see immigrants as a source of crime rate, unemployment or social conflict. Yet, the probability of a desire for more strict government policies against immigrants who come for work is larger as social class improves in model (13).

**Table 7.** Logit-Marginal Effects: Attitudes Towards Immigrants\_Average Marginal Effects AME

VARIABLES	(3) neighimmig	(8) jobpriority	(9) crime	(10) terrorism	(11) unemployment	(12) socconf	(13) limitwork
religinlife	0.129*** (0.000)	0.115*** (0.000)	0.028* (0.059)	0.055*** (0.000)	0.059*** (0.000)	0.047*** (0.001)	0.111*** (0.000)
nationalism	0.122*** (0.000)	0.077*** (0.000)	0.163*** (0.000)	0.146*** (0.000)	0.143*** (0.000)	0.153*** (0.000)	0.090*** (0.000)
socclass	-0.042*** (0.000)	0.018 (0.113)	-0.032*** (0.007)	-0.018 (0.125)	-0.032*** (0.004)	-0.022* (0.052)	0.021* (0.057)
politicalscale	-0.004 (0.372)	-0.010** (-0.021)	-0.004 (0.394)	-0.003 (0.504)	-0.006 (0.142)	-0.011** (0.012)	-0.021*** (0.000)
male	-0.007 (0.729)	0.005 (0.793)	0.008 (0.706)	-0.011 (0.583)	0.001 (0.965)	-0.021 (0.312)	-0.005 (0.800)
education	-0.011 (0.226)	-0.019** (0.034)	-0.007 (0.433)	-0.007 (0.421)	-0.004 (0.642)	0.002 (0.834)	-0.002 (0.829)
age	-0.001 (0.273)	-0.001 (0.164)	0.001 (0.518)	0.000 (0.675)	0.001 (0.121)	0.002* (0.094)	0.000 (0.901)
married	0.059** (0.022)	-0.001 (0.958)	-0.027 (0.275)	-0.006 (0.798)	-0.025 (0.280)	-0.011 (0.667)	0.015 (0.529)
urban	-0.114*** (0.000)	0.075*** (0.001)	-0.084*** (0.001)	-0.141*** (0.000)	-0.090*** (0.000)	-0.127*** (0.000)	-0.038* (0.099)
Observations	1,959	1,973	1,953	1,952	1,952	1,946	1,960

pval in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

## 5. Conclusion

In this study, the determinants of negative attitudes towards immigrants are investigated for the Turkish sample. In this way, it is attempted to contribute to the literature on attitudes towards immigrants, which has been extensively studied especially for developed country samples. Among the variables analyzed, religion and nationalism stand out as the main determinants of those attitudes. Socio-economic variables such as social class, although less influential and in the opposite direction compared to religion and nationalism, still retain their influence on anti-immigrant sentiment. That is, as socio-economic status of individuals improves, they are less likely to support anti-immigrant views. However, when faced with the threat of competition in the labor market, increased social class results in a growing sense that stricter immigration policies should be pursued. Living in an urban area lowers the probability of having anti-immigrant views. The fact that people living in urban areas interact with other people more than those living in rural areas may have made them more open-minded.

Unlike the literature (Cooray, et al., 2018), political position in the left-right scale does not have a persistent effect on the negative attitudes in Turkey. Likewise, education, age or

marital status do not have a significant impact on people's decision about immigrants. In the Turkish sample, demographic characteristics that are difficult to change do not have a significant effect on people's perception of migrants. Therefore, it may be relatively easier to change the perception of migrants in the society. It would be necessary to construct social policies that will correct the perspective on migrants through values such as religion and nationalism. In addition, it is obvious that socio-economic improvements will reduce anti-immigrant sentiment and xenophobia in Turkish society.

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