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Abstract

Turkey has received a large influx of Syrian refugees since the start of Syrian civil war in 2011. Integration and social cohesion have become important issues for public policy in Turkey. We study social cohesion among young Turkish nationals and Syrian refugees. Our study sample comprises adolescents and young adults (12-30 years), and children (6-11 years) who participated in events of the "Education Program for Syrian Refugees and Host Communities" (BILSY) program conducted by the German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ). Social cohesion among adolescents and young adults is measured along three dimensions: sense of belonging, trust, and relational capacity. For children, we use behavioural games to measure two dimensions of social cohesion – altruism and trust. Our results show high social cohesion for both age groups, though lack of trust among Turkish nationals towards Syrian nationals is an area of concern. We also evaluate the impact of participation in BILSY program events using a randomised design and find that it had no impact on social cohesion. Our article adds to the limited literature on social cohesion among children and youths in countries affected by forced displacement.

Keywords: *migration, social cohesion, refugees, Syria, Turkey*

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I. INTRODUCTION

By the end of 2021, approximately 89 million people worldwide were refugees (UNHCR 2022) and the majority sought protection in neighbouring countries, as reaching, and asking for asylum in high-income regions became increasingly difficult. For instance, to reach Europe, not only humanitarian corridors are rarely an option for most Asylum seekers[i], but since 2015 the arrivals from the east Mediterranean maritime route dropped significantly as a result of the EU bilateral agreements with Turkey. Thus, a few countries bear the brunt of the global refugee crisis (UNHCR 2022), and often find themselves in economically difficult and socially unstable situations. Competition between the host and refugee populations for scarce resources, and cultural diversity, are potential sources of conflict. The risk of conflict is higher if the host country is also facing slower economic growth and social instability. In such contexts, promoting social cohesion can be a means to mitigate this risk. Social cohesion is not only a desirable goal in itself; it is closely connected with other key dimensions of socio-economic wellbeing (Colletta and Cullen 2000; Devereux et al. 2011; Ferroni et al. 2011; Hayami 2009; King et al. 2010). While many studies investigate the material deprivations experienced by refugees (Alemayehu et al. 2016; Grijalva-Eternod et al. 2012; Hejoj 2007), the evidence on social cohesion between refugees and host communities in low- and middle-income countries remains limited, but is crucial to inform policies intended to improve their living conditions.

As a result of the Syrian crisis, more than 3.6 million refugees from Syria now live in Turkey (UNHCR 2022), making up 4.5% of the total population of the country (DGMM 2020). This rapid change in demographic composition has contributed to friction between newly arrived immigrants and host communities. While Syrian nationals were initially welcomed in Turkey, the attitude towards them has rapidly turned negative (İçduygu 2015), suggesting that the social cohesion between the two groups might be deteriorating (Erdoğan 2017; 2020).

We examine the differences in social cohesion among young Turkish nationals and Syrian refugees, and assess the impact of the BILSY program on social cohesion among children and youths. The analysis is conducted for two age groups – 685 children (aged 6 to 11 years) and 1305 adolescents and young adults (aged 12 to 30 years). These age groups together represent more than 60 percent of the Syrian refugee population in Turkey (UNHCR 2019), and can greatly influence social cohesion. This generation (especially those born in Turkey) will most likely settle permanently in Turkey, so it is imperative to understand patterns of social cohesion and how to enhance it among children. Many studies that measure social cohesion in Turkey focus on adults (Erdoğan 2017; 2020; International Crisis 2018; WFP 2018), fewer studies assess social cohesion in young people in other contexts (Barron et al. 2021; Kuhnt et al. 2019). We contribute to the limited descriptive evidence on social cohesion among children and youths living in communities deeply affected by war and forced displacement. Additionally, many studies that examine social cohesion focus only on

the perceptions of Turkish nationals. Our analysis is among the few that study the perceptions of both groups. Furthermore, we add to the growing number of articles on refugee children's inclusion in Turkey (Alan et al. 2021; 2020; Boucher et al. 2020). However, all of these studies use class room settings for the intervention. Our article differs from these studies because we examine the effectiveness of an intervention outside school, in an informal environment.

Social cohesion is a multidimensional concept that focuses on societal relationships both horizontal (between individuals) and vertical (between individuals and institutions). One of the early school of thoughts on social cohesion represented by Durkheim, postulates that the solidarity emerges in a society from material or nonmaterial similarities. Similarities in non-material things such as beliefs, morality and feelings, are referred to as collective conscience or social cohesion (Larsen 2014). While there is no universal definition of social cohesion, common factors can be identified in how it has been defined and operationalised in literature. In a review of approaches to social cohesion, Schiefer and van der Noll (2017) identify six commonly used dimensions of social cohesion in the literature - Social relations, identification, orientation towards the common good, shared values, quality of life, and (in)equality. Each of these dimensions are further subdivided into components, and are connected to each other. Based on the review of literature, Schiefer and van der Noll (2017) define social cohesion as "a descriptive attribute of a collective, indicating the quality of collective togetherness".

For adolescents and young adults, we consider three dimensions of social cohesion – sense of belonging, trust, and relational capacity. We measure these perceptions using questionnaire-based interviews. We also explore heterogeneity in the social cohesion proxies by gender. For children, we conduct behavioural games to estimate their levels of altruism and trust. We collect data on the participants in the BILSY program between November 2018 – January 2019 in Ankara, Istanbul, and in the bordering cities (which have a large refugee population) of Mardin, Gaziantep, Hatay and Şanlıurfa. The selected respondents were randomly assigned to be interviewed either before (control group) or after (treatment group) their participation in the BILSY program. We use the data for the control group only to understand the patterns of social cohesion in Turkey, and data for both control and treatment groups to evaluate the impact of the program.

In the next section we describe Turkey in context and discuss the literature. In Section 3 we describe the sampling design, study sample and the measures of social cohesion. In Section 4 and 5 we discuss how perceptions about social cohesion differ between Syrian and Turkish nationals among children, adolescents and young adults. In Section 6 we examine the immediate impact of participation in the BILSY program, and the conclusion is in Section 7.

II. BACKGROUND

Since the Syrian crisis began, the policies implemented by Turkish government have not involved medium- or long-term plans to integrate Syrian nationals. The

efforts to do so have been limited at best (Kınıklıoğlu 2020) as Turkish authorities expected the conflict to be resolved over a short period (İçduygu 2015). However, in 2014, as the crisis extended and the inflow of refugees increased, the Turkish government granted Temporary Protection to registered Syrian nationals but denied them refugee status (UNHCR 2022).[ii] Furthermore, even though there were some measures to improve Syrians' access to the formal labour market and to services, by 2018 only 25,000 work permits had been issued, which is a small fraction of the total number of refugees in Turkey (Batalla and Tolay 2018). Syrians also face substantial barriers to access health services, education and housing (Batalla and Tolay 2018). Although in 2016 Turkey started granting citizenship to Syrian nationals, however, as for work permit policies, this policy benefitted mostly educated and skilled refugees (Batalla and Tolay 2018).

< INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE>

The early reception of Syrian nationals was very positive. At the outset, the Turkish government established, funded and managed camps for Syrian nationals and almost all Syrian refugees resided in camps. However, as the crisis continued and capacity in camps became strained, most Syrian refugees took shelter in towns and cities (İçduygu 2015). The majority of these refugees are settled in Istanbul, Ankara and the provinces that share a border with Syria (Figure 1). As Syrians moved out of camps and into cities, their visibility increased. However, the policy discourse continued to treat Syrians in Turkey as a temporary event and this contributed to

resentment among Turkish nationals, whose attitudes towards Syrians turned negative (Kınıklıoğlu 2020). Some Turkish nationals blame Syrians for price increases, for crowding out employment opportunities and consuming public resources, and for increased crime (İçduygu 2015; International Crisis 2018; Korkut 2016), among other things. Erdoğan (2017; 2020) constructs a measure of social distance which is an indicator of social acceptance and reports that the social distance perceived by Turkish nationals towards Syrians has increased over time. However, the social distance perceived by Syrians towards Turkish citizens is quite opposite. Syrian nationals report a positive perception of Turkish nationals and society and do not perceive high social distance to Turkish society (Erdoğan 2017; 2020). Furthermore, Şimşek (2020) argues that Syrians in Turkey go through a "class-based integration", leaving marginalised classes even more excluded from social life in the country. These studies focus on perceptions of adults, and perceptions among younger age groups may differ. Kuhnt et al. (2019) and Barron et al. (2021) focus on youth and children, respectively, and find higher social cohesion among these age groups.

Studies on the lives of Syrian refugees in Turkey have shown that interaction between Syrians and Turkish nationals is very limited, despite living in close contact (Kınıklıoğlu 2020). Seyidov (2021) proposes that more communication and collaboration between the two groups can promote social cohesion. The "contact hypothesis" predicts that under certain circumstances, increasing the occasions for valuable interactions reduces stereotypes towards the members of other social groups

(Allport 1954). Betts et al. (2022) find support for this hypothesis in a positive correlation between refugee-host interaction and perceptions of hosts towards refugees in urban areas. The literature examining this theory has focused predominantly on high-income countries (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006), although a growing number of articles examine this nexus in low- and middle-income states affected by war and forced migration. For instance, Alan et al. (2021; 2020) and Boucher et al. (2020) examine social cohesion in Turkey among children and find evidence in favour of the contact hypothesis, whereas the work by Zhou and Lyall (2021) shows that prolonged interaction does not reduce stereotyping between internally displaced persons and host communities in Afghanistan. Similarly, Mousa (2020) in her article on the impact of a football program on social cohesion between Muslim and Christian communities in post-ISIS Iraq, only finds a positive effect of the intervention on attitudes among program participants. She finds a null effect towards outgroups in other social contexts.

Nevertheless, the "contact hypothesis" has also been criticised for being a too mild solution to solve structural problems and victimisation of marginalized communities (Erasmus 2010). In particular, this stream of literature questions the adequacy of describing prejudice not as a social phenomenon deriving from an unbalanced power structure, but as an "individual pathology" (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Denis 2015; Erasmus 2010). Thus, prejudice goes beyond the responsibility of the individual and needs to be understood as the result of unequal societal structures that

relegate some groups to the margins. However, it also true that processes of marginalisation on the basis of ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation are first and foremost processes of dehumanisation. Thus, positive interaction can provide a tool to humanise outgroups. Indeed, when economic and political structures create inequality, positive contact needs to be combined with structural change to remove privilege and oppressive relationships to achieve social cohesion.

Thus, the purpose of this study is not to suggest a unique solution to prejudice and victimisation, rather to test whether programs promoting positive interaction can constitute one of many tools that can be used to create cohesive societies. The limited available evidence shows that successful programs engage with communities through formal education and rely on prolonged contact to improve social cohesion, but the potential for informal education programs to alleviate social tensions is unclear. Such programs have the advantage that they can reach children not registered in schools. This is important in the Turkish context as 35 percent of Syrian children in Turkey are still not in school. In this analysis, we focus on participants in informal education events organised within BILSY. The program leveraged the involvement of locals in community life as a more effective strategy to improve social cohesion, compared to a top-down approach (Ozcurumez and Hoxha 2020).

III. SAMPLING DESIGN AND VARIABLES

III.1 Sampling design

In 2016-2019, the GIZ implemented the BILSY program with the aim of improving access to formal and informal education for both Syrian refugees and Turkish hosts, and increasing social cohesion between and within communities. The program had two components – formal and non-formal education. We focus on the participants in the non-formal education component of the BILSY program since this part of the program was directly targeted towards improving social cohesion between these groups. Withing this framework, local and international social workers trained volunteers (both Turkish and Syrian nationals) who were then encouraged to organise social, cultural, and sporting activities to offer to children and youths. According GIZ program documents, volunteers were supposed to advertise these activities in their communities to invite participants. However, we do not have monitoring data for this and cannot rule out that some volunteers invited participants directly or differently. Data for our study was collected through a primary survey conducted between November 2018 - January 2019, funded by GIZ. The data collection was carried out in Ankara, Istanbul and the border cities of Mardin, Gaziantep, Hatay and Şanlıurfa, where a high share of refugee population resides.

We used a cluster randomised sampling design at the event-level. Events refer to social, cultural and sporting activities organised by volunteers under the non-formal education component of the BILSY program.[iii] First, for each age group, we

collected information on all events taking place and the number of participants in each event in the sampling area during our data collection period. From the list of all events, we randomly selected events to include in our survey using Probability Proportional to Size (PPS) method. This means that events with a higher number of participants had a higher probability of being selected.

We randomly selected 60 events for adolescents and young adults, and 27 events for children. We randomly assigned each selected event either to the control or the treatment group. The control group was surveyed before the start of the event and the treatment group at the end of the event, to assess the immediate impact of participating in events of the BILSY program on social cohesion. Finally, within each event, we used PPS to randomly select participants to take part in the survey. At the individual level, we assigned a different probability of being selected to Syrian refugees and Turkish nationals for both age groups, in order to reflect the actual composition of the program participants. Overall, the sample included 1305 adolescents and young adults and 685 children. Since the primary objective of this study is to examine social cohesion among Syrian refugees and Turkish nationals, we only use data from the control group in the descriptive part of the study, and the full data to evaluate the impact of participating in BILSY program events on social cohesion. The descriptive part of the study is based on a sample of 666 adolescents and young adults (12-30 years) and 350 children (6-11 years).

III.2 Measuring social cohesion – adolescents and young adults

The average age of respondents in the sample is 17 years, and 61 percent of the sample respondents are below 18 years of age (Table 1). The percentage of females among the Syrian sample is 40 percent, which is similar to the estimated share of females among Syrian refugees in Turkey (Cagaptay and Yalkin 2018). About 56 percent of respondents are Turkish nationals and 44 percent are Syrian refugees, representative of equal participation of both nationalities in the BILSY program. On average, Syrian refugees in our sample had been in Turkey for almost 5 years. Most of our sample is from urban areas, as almost all refugees are located in urban areas. 74 percent of the sampled individuals were in school, while 26 percent had finished, stopped, or never went to school. However, a significantly higher percentage of Turkish nationals attended school than Syrian refugees, reflecting issues in integration of Syrian children into the Turkish education system. About 90 percent of Syrian refugees in our sample could speak at least some Turkish. Language is considered a barrier to integration of Syrian nationals in Turkish society (Batalla and Tolay 2008), but it seems this is less relevant in our sample. In our study we define social cohesion to imply the inclusion of all the members of a society. It alludes to the forces that keep an individual within their group (Friedkin 2004), such as a sense of belonging and trust towards other members of the group. In context of diversity, it also includes respect for other groups (Kuhnt et al. 2019). We therefore include both in-group and out-group perceptions in our analysis. Our measure of social cohesion for adolescents and young adults draws from Kuhnt et al. (2019) and WFP (2018) to find suitable and

context-specific proxies of social cohesion. Specifically, Kuhnt et al. (2019) focus on the dimensions of *sense of belonging* and *trust*. Adapting from WFP (2018), we add a third dimension to the measure of social cohesion – *relational capacity*. Thus, we focus on the social relation and identification dimension identified by Schiefer and van der Noll (2017).

< INSERT TABLE 1 HERE>

The first dimension of *sense of belonging* focuses on the relationship with individuals or groups that have a similar trait/identity marker as the respondent. Respondents were asked to report their perception of sense of belonging with ten different groups – family; people of the same age, religion, gender, interests; people living in the same neighbourhood, same city, living in Turkey; people who belong to the same country of origin as the respondent, and people who speak the same language. For each group, respondents were presented with a statement: I feel a sense of belonging to the "group name", and they had to respond if and to what extent they agreed with the statement. We used a 4-point hedonic scale – strongly agree, agree, disagree and strongly disagree.

Similar statement-based questions were used to elicit perceptions on the other two dimensions as well, using the same 4-point hedonic scale. The second dimension relates to *trust*. Respondents reported their perception of trust towards seven groups – their family, friends, strangers, neighbours, Syrian nationals, Turkish nationals and people of a third (non-Syrian, non-Turkish) nationality. The participants in our study

were either Turkish nationals or Syrian refugees and we focus on perceptions within (referred to as same nationality from here on) and across (referred to as different nationality from here on) these two groups. Therefore, we use the responses for trust towards Syrian and Turkish nationals and information on nationality of the respondent to construct two new groups – trust towards people of same nationality as the respondent (in-group) and different nationality to the respondent (out-group). These new groups are used in the analysis in place of responses for trust towards Syrians and Turkish nationals. Trust towards all other nationalities is covered in the last group - trust towards a third (non-Syrian non-Turkish) nationality (out-group).

The third dimension, *relational capacity*, relates to social interactions which can contribute substantially to social cohesion. Direct personal and meaningful contact can reduce bias and prejudice and improve attitudes towards the refugee population (WFP 2018). This dimension can be further divided into two sub-categories. The first sub-category is *willingness to make friends.* Respondents were asked about their willingness to make friends with three groups – Turkish nationals, Syrian nationals and a third (non-Syrian non-Turkish) nationality. Here again, similar to the trust dimension, we create two new groups – willingness to make friends with people of the same nationality (in-group) and with people of a different nationality (out-group) – to replace responses for willingness to make friends with Turkish and Syrian nationals in the analysis. The second sub-category refers to *interaction* and sharing space. In this sub-category, respondents were asked about their perception of working

together with others. This sub-category considers overall perceptions towards other members of the society and does not focus on a particular group identity (that is, no nationality was specified). Respondents were asked about four aspects of interactions with others – willingness to work together with others, to learn together with others, to help others, and to work together with others to solve problems. For both sub-categories, we used the same statement format of interviewing described above.

We used the data to create four discrete variables, corresponding to the 4-point hedonic scale, to represent perceptions towards each group or concept. We also re-classified the 4-point hedonic scale in two categories – agree (combining strongly agree and agree) and disagree (combining strongly disagree and disagree) for each group/concept of the three dimensions of social cohesion, to create a dichotomous variable.

III.3 Measuring social cohesion – children

Our sample comprises 350 children; 182 took part in a dictator game, and 168 in a trust game (Table 2). The mean age of our sample is 9 years, and the sample is evenly distributed between males and females. The distribution by nationality in this age group is similar to what we observe for adolescents and young adults.

< INSERT TABLE 2 HERE>

Questions using proxies of social cohesion such as those used for adolescents and young adults may be too abstract for children. Therefore, we decided to utilise behavioural games to estimate social cohesion in this age-group. Following the

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) definition of social cohesion, we opted to employ *altruism* and *trust* as meaningful dimensions for our analysis, which were elicited via the dictator game and the trust game respectively. These games are widely used in the literature to assess altruism and trust for both adults and minors (Benenson et al. 2007; Chen et al. 2013; van den Bos et al. 2012). Many studies (such as Alan et al. 2020; Gilligan et al. 2014; Osborne et al. 2018) have used them in contexts of forced migration, war, and post conflict settings to measure variations in social cohesion.

Children could play only one of the two games because of logistics. The enumerators paired a randomly selected Turkish child and a randomly selected Syrian child. Each game was played in two rounds – once with the Turkish partner and once with the Syrian partner. The order of the two rounds was random. Children had to make decisions on the allocation of tokens between themselves and their partner in both games. At the end of the experiment participants exchanged the tokens they won for stickers. After the game, enumerators distributed stickers to all children, even if they did not engage in the game.

Dictator game. Each participant (dictator) was given an endowment of four tokens before the start of each round. They were asked to decide how they would like to allocate the tokens between themselves and their partner (receiver). The interviewer emphasised that children were free to donate all, some or none of their tokens. Dictators were also informed that the donations were anonymous. Dictators only

knew the nationality of the receiver, and no other characteristics. After the dictators made their choice, they put their donation in an envelope that the enumerators delivered to the receivers. As mentioned above, the enumerators repeated the process twice, once for the Syrian and once for the Turkish receiver.

The main outcome variable of this game was the number of tokens donated by the dictator in each round. Using this outcome variable and information on nationality of the dictator and the receiver, we construct two new variables – donations made by the dictator to the receiver of same nationality (in-group) and donations made by the dictator to the receiver of different nationality (out-group). Both variables are count variables that take integer values from 0 to 4.

Trust game. We designed a simplified version of the trust game used by van den Bos et al. (2012) due to time and organisational constraints. There were no endowments in this game. Participating children (trustor) were presented with two options and had to choose one. The first option was keeping two tokens for themselves and allocating no tokens to their partner (trustee). The second option was to allocate four tokens to the trustee and leave the allocation decision to the trustee. If a trustor chose the second option, they were additionally asked how many tokens they expected the trustee would allocate to them, referred to as 'expected trustee's transfer'. The trustor played two rounds, one with the Turkish and one with the Syrian trustee in random order. Similar to the dictator game, trustors were informed that their identity was kept anonymous from the trustees, but they knew the nationality of the

trustees. Once the game was over, the interviewers delivered to each child the tokens they chose.

We use the responses from this game to construct two sets of variables. The trustor's choice was coded as a binary variable – taking value 0 if the child chose not to trust the trustee (the first option) and taking value 1 if the child chose to trust the trustee (the second option). Similar to the dictator game, we further construct two binary variables – trust towards the trustee of same nationality (in-group) and trust towards the trustee of different nationality (out-group). A second set of variables is based on the number of tokens the trustor expected the trustee to allocate back to them. These variables were constructed only for those trustors who selected option 2. Again, we construct two new variables – expected trustee's transfer from trustee of same nationality and of different nationality. These variables take integer values from 0 to 4 depending on how many tokens the trustors thought they would receive back from the trustee.

IV. SOCIAL COHESION AMONG ADOLESCENTS AND YOUNG ADULTS

In this section we report the responses of the study participants for the three dimensions of social cohesion. Responses to a 4-point hedonic scale are presented in figures 2-5. We also present results for the dichotomous variable constructed from the 4-point hedonic scale (described in II.2) in Table 3. Responses by nationality are presented in columns 2 and 3, and difference between the two is presented in the last column.

IV.1 Sense of belonging

The majority of the respondents (over 95 percent), irrespective of the nationality, feel a strong sense of belonging with their families (Table 3 (column 1)). However, this sense of belonging decreases slightly as we move away from direct personal interactions to community-based interactions. 82-87 percent of the respondents feel a sense of belonging to people with same attributes such as age, gender, religion, country of origin, speaking the same language and having the same interests. About three-quarters of our sample report having a sense of belonging with the people in the same neighbourhood and same city. There is no statistically significant difference between the sense of belonging reported by Syrian refugees and Turkish nationals (Table 3 (column 4) and Figure 2).[iv] While a high sense of belonging is considered a direct measure of social cohesion, these groups do not explicitly capture perceptions towards out-groups, which are equally important for cohesion in a diverse society.

< INSERT TABLE 3 HERE>

We also asked respondents to rank the three groups they feel the strongest sense of belonging to. While family is the first response for most of the sample, there are differences in what ranks second. People with same interests rank second for Turkish nationals, but Syrian refugees rank people of same religion in second place.

We also checked whether there is any statistically significant difference in sense of belonging by gender, as women bear a higher burden of war and displacement (Asaf 2017). We find that, compared to Syrian men, Syrian women are significantly

less likely to feel a sense of belonging with their family. Also, in comparison to Turkish men, Turkish women are significantly less likely to feel a sense of belonging towards their neighbours.

< INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE>

IV.2 Trust

Next, we consider the *trust* dimension (Table 3 and Figure 3). As with *sense of belonging*, we begin by enquiring about trust towards family members, gradually broadening the spectrum to local community, country and rest of the world. Three variables – trusting people of the same nationality, trusting people of different nationality and trusting people of any third nationality – are particularly interesting here. These help us to understand out-group perceptions between Syrian refugees and Turkish nationals which are not captured in the *sense of belonging* dimension.

< INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE>

A high percentage of respondents report trust towards friends (about 87 percent) and family (about 83 percent); (Table 3, column 1). Respondents are significantly more likely to trust people of the same nationality in comparison to people of a different nationality [v]. Only 50 percent of our sample report that they trust strangers.

There are, however, significant differences between perceptions of Turkish nationals and Syrian refugees towards some groups (Table 3 and Figure 3). The gap between trusting people of same and different nationality is higher for Turkish

nationals compared to Syrian refugees. This supports the evidence found in other studies for adults (Erdoğan 2020) that out-group perceptions are poorer among Turkish nationals, compared to Syrian refugees. Also, compared to Turkish nationals, Syrian refugees are less likely to trust strangers, neighbours, and people of a third, non-Syrian non-Turkish, nationality.

As above, we examine if there is a statistically significant difference between perceptions of females and males. We find that, compared to males, females are significantly less trusting, especially towards these groups – family, neighbours, and people of different nationality. We also find that, compared to Turkish males, Turkish females are significantly less likely to trust family and neighbours, and in comparison to their male counterparts, Syrian females are significantly less likely to trust strangers and Turkish nationals.

IV.3 Relational capacity

92 percent of respondents report that they are willing to make friends with people of the same nationality and 87 percent are willing to make friends with people of different nationalities (Table 3 and Figure 4). There is no statistical difference between Syrian refugees and Turkish nationals for both these groups. However, Turkish nationals are significantly less willing to make friends with Syrians than they are to make friends with other Turkish nationals (Table 3 (column 3)). Syrian refugees report no statistically significant difference between willingness to make friends with other Syrians or Turkish nationals. Gender differences are only significant for Syrian

women; Syrian women are less willing to make friends with other Syrian women, compared to the willingness of Syrian men to make friends with other Syrian men.

< INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE>

The last panel of Table 3 and Figure 5 presents results for the second sub-category of relational capacity – interaction. More than 80 percent of the respondents report willingness to interact with others on all four aspects considered in the study (Table 3 (column 1)). This could be driven by the nature of the program: people more willing to interact with others are probably more likely to participate in the BILSY program. But there are significant differences by nationality. Syrians show a higher willingness to interact with others for three of the four aspects of this sub-category. They are more open and receptive to integration with Turkish society. This has been reported by other studies as well (Erdoğan 2017; Ziss 2019). Similar to results from other studies (WFP 2018), as compared to males, females in our sample are significantly more willing to interact with others.

< INSERT FIGURE 5 HERE>

V. SOCIAL COHESION AMONG CHILDREN

V.1 Dictator Game

On average, dictators gave 2.7 tokens out of 4 to receivers of the same nationality and 2.2 token to receivers of a different nationality (Table 4); the difference between the two is statistically significant. When comparing by nationality of the dictator, we find no statistically significant difference in the number of tokens given to the receiver,

irrespective of the nationality of the receiver. In both cases, dictators donated more than 50 percent of the endowment, which reflects high levels of altruism.

< INSERT TABLE 4 HERE>

The distribution of the number of tokens donated according to the nationality of the dictator is presented in Figure 6. We find some differences by nationality of the dictator here. When the receiver was of the same nationality, we find no statistically significant difference at the lower end of the distribution: about 1 percent of dictators of both nationalities gave nothing to a receiver of same nationality. But at the upper end of the distribution, 38 percent of Turkish and 26 percent of Syrian dictators gave all 4 tokens when the receiver was of same nationality. The difference between Turkish and Syrian dictators is statistically significant. Compared to Syrian dictators, Turkish dictators were more likely to donate all 4 tokens to a receiver of same nationality.

< INSERT FIGURE 6 HERE>

At the lower end of the distribution, there is a significant difference in the behaviour of the dictators by their nationality. About 7 percent of Turkish and 15 percent of Syrian dictators gave nothing when the receiver was of different nationality, that is, compared to Turkish dictators, Syrian dictators were more likely to not donate anything to a receiver of a different nationality. There was no such difference at the upper end of the distribution: 23 percent of dictators of both nationalities gave all 4 tokens when the receiver was of different nationality. When

the receiver was of different nationality, dictators from both nationalities were more likely to split the tokens evenly.

V.2 Trust Game

Figure 7 shows the choices made by children in the trust game. Choosing option 1 corresponds to trustor not trusting the trustee and option 2 to trustor trusting the trustee. There is no statistically significant difference between trustors of both nationalities when it comes to trusting a trustee of same nationality. However, compared to Syrian trustors, a Turkish trustor was less likely to trust a trustee of a different nationality. This result for Turkish children is similar to what we observed for other age groups.

< INSERT FIGURE 7 HERE>

Next, we discuss the expected trustee's transfer. Table 4 shows that on average, trustors of both nationalities expected more than an equitable transfer from their trustees. As with dictator games, there is no statistically significant difference between behaviour of Turkish or Syrian trustors. Additionally, both Syrian and Turkish trustors expected a higher allocation from a trustee of the same nationality, compared to a trustee of different nationality. The percentage of trustors who expected zero transfers is very low (Figure 8).

< INSERT FIGURE 8 HERE>

VI. IMMEDIATE IMPACTS OF THE BILSY PROGRAM

The BILSY program was implemented with the aim of improving social cohesion among adolescents and young adults, and children. The program relied on positive contact to reduce victimisation and stereotyping and to enhance trust and reciprocity among Syrian refugees and Turkish nationals. In the non-formal component of the BILSY program, various types of recreational activities (called events) outside the context of formal education (such as cultural, recreational and sporting events) were organised. As mentioned before, the events were randomly allocated to control and treatment groups. Both groups were interviewed only once. The control group was interviewed before, and the treatment group was interviewed after their participation in the BILSY program. This allows us to assess the immediate impact of the BILSY program. Our identification strategy relies on the randomisation of time of interview/game rather than treatment assignment. All the participants in our survey received treatment at some point, but the control group was not interviewed after receiving the treatment due to logistical issues. We identify the control group as all those who had not received treatment by the time of the interview/game and the treatment group as all those who had taken part in a BILSY program activity before the interview/game.

The internal validity of our identification strategy relies on the assumption that no confounders affect any of the two groups systematically. This could have been a relevant concern if we systematically collected all the data on untreated individuals

before collecting data on treated individuals. Most of the BILSY activities lasted for one day, limiting the time difference between data collection for control and treatment groups. We can also rule out self-selection into the survey as 98% of the children who were invited to take part in our data collection agreed to participate. Treatment and control groups are balanced on relevant characteristics for both age groups and both games. [vi]

VI.1 Immediate impact – adolescents and young adults

The total sample comprises 1305 respondents, of which 666 belong to the control group and 639 to the treatment group. We use linear probability models to examine the impact of program participation on the three dimensions of social cohesion used in the study (See Table 5). We use the binary variable for each group for all three dimensions as an outcome variable, and regress it on a treatment dummy, a nationality dummy and an interaction between the two. Other controls include age and gender of the respondent, location (urban or otherwise), a dummy for survey areas closer to the border and a project line fixed effect (the informal component of the BILSY program was organised through 4 project lines).

< INSERT TABLE 5 HERE>

We find no impact of the program on the *sense of belonging* and *trust* dimensions of social cohesion for respondents of either nationality. For the third dimension, *relational capability*, we find that compared to Turkish nationals, Syrian refugees are significantly more willing to make friends with people of a third nationality (non-

Syrian non-Turkish) after participating in the program. This finding is, however, not robust to adjustment for multiple hypothesis testing. No other results were statistically significant.

VI.2 Immediate impact – children

Our sample size comprises 685 children, among whom 351 participated in the dictator game (182 in the control and 169 in the treatment group), and 334 participated in the trust game (168 in the control and 166 in the treatment group). Depending on the outcome variable, we used two types of regression models. Negative binomial regression models were used for the outcomes of tokens donated and expected trustee's transfer. A linear probability model was used for the outcome variable trust towards trustee. In both models, the coefficient on treatment dummy, nationality dummy and an interaction between the two were of primary interest. Other controls included age and gender of the child, and project line fixed effects.

For the dictator game (Table 6), we find that participation in the BILSY program has no immediate effect on the number of tokens given by the dictator to a receiver of the same nationality. However, when the receiver has a different nationality, the treatment has a positive effect on the number of tokens donated. There is no difference by nationality of the dictator. For the trust game, we find no immediate impact of the treatment on the probability of the trustor trusting the trustee. This holds irrespective of the nationality of the trustor and trustee. For the expected transfer amount, the only significant immediate impact is observed when trustor is Turkish and the trustee is

Syrian: Turkish trustors expect a lower trustee's transfer from a Syrian trustee after participating in the BILSY program. However, the findings for both the dictator and the trust game are not robust to an adjustment for multiple testing.

< INSERT TABLE 6 HERE>

VII. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We can draw several conclusions based on the results from our study. *First*, social cohesion among adolescents and young adults in our sample is relatively high, compared to other studies (Kuhnt et al. 2019; WFP 2018). This finding holds for children as well. Comparing the percentage of endowment donated, our results show that children in our sample are more altruistic than children in other studies in both conflict and non-conflict settings (Alan et al. 2020; Engel et al. 2011).

Second, out-group bias is lower in our study sample compared to other studies. Mironova and Whitt (2018) find favourable bias for co-ethnic groups in Kosovo and a bias against out-groups. Though both Syrian and Turkish children are more altruistic towards other children of the same nationality, when paired with a child of a different nationality they are more likely to divide the endowment equally.

Third, when it comes to trust, our results are similar to other studies. We also find that reciprocal perceptions of trust are lower among Turkish nationals than among Syrian refugees. Turkish nationals are less willing to make friends and interact with Syrian refugees while the opposite is not true. This conclusion also holds for children. While a substantial proportion of children choose to trust other children, trust among

Turkish children towards Syrian children (percentage of Turkish children trusting Syrian children) is comparatively lower. Higher social distance (implying lower social acceptance) perceived by Turkish nationals, compared to perceptions among Syrian refugees, is a common finding across studies. Erdoğan (2020) argues that Turkish nationals have accepted Syrians reluctantly and maintain a "conscious distance" from them.

Fourth, some of the social cohesion indicators for *sense of belonging* and *trust* show low cohesion among females, particularly Syrian females. Syrian women spend more time at home and have a low labour force participation rate (UN Women 2018). Thus, they have limited exposure to Turkish society, and fewer occasions to practice the Turkish language and therefore to bond with the local community. Erdoğan (2020) also reports higher social distance perceived by Turkish women towards Syrians, compared to Turkish men's perception of social distance towards Syrians.

Finally, for the third dimension of *relational capability*, female adolescents and young adults show higher social cohesion than males. This is contrary to results for the other two dimensions discussed above, but these results are consistent with the findings of WFP (2018) that women are becoming progressively more open towards Turkish nationals over time. Also, UN Women (2018) finds that, despite having limited contact with local communities, Syrian women believe that establishing relations with Turkish nationals is important.

Participation in the BILSY program was voluntary, so we should take caution in generalising the results of this study. However, any such program is likely to have voluntary participation, whether it is implemented by the government or any other agency. We did not find strong effects of participation in events of the BILSY program on social cohesion. There could be several reasons for this. The first is the short duration of the activities: 70 percent of activities lasted a day or less. Successful interventions, such as those evaluated in Alan et al. (2020) and Boucher et al. (2020), provided a prolonged exposure to positive (İçduygu and Şimşek 2016) interactions. Second, the heterogeneity in the type of activities could be partially responsible for the lack of significant effects. It is possible that some events were more effective in increasing social cohesion than others, but due to lack of data we cannot investigate each activity separately. Third, the traumatic experiences of war and displacement play an important role in shaping attitudes towards in-group and out-group members and are difficult to change.

These results may also indicate that positive contact alone is not sufficient to decrease marginalisation and increase social cohesion. Future interventions should take these limitations into account and understand positive contact as part of broader range programs and collective action to tackle other key determinants of social cohesion. Thus, beyond interventions to address individual prejudices, specific attention and care should be devoted to policies that tackle issues such as the healing of collective trauma through adequate mental health assistance to war survivors,

raising awareness among host communities about the experience of war and forced displacement, as well as policies to promote social justice.

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Tables

Table 1 – Summary statistics for adolescents and young adults (aged 12-30 years)

Variables	Full Sample	Syrian Refugee	Turkish National	Difference (2) – (3)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Age (years)	17.5 (0.2)	17.3 (0.3)	17.6 (0.3)	-0.3 (0.04)
Female (%)	46.5 (1.9)	40.3 (2.9)	51.3 (2.6)	-11.0 (3.9) ***
Attending school				
Currently, yes (%)	73.7 (1.7)	59.7 (2.9)	84.6 (1.9)	-24.9 (3.4) ***
Went in past (%)	23.1 (1.6)	34.8 (2.8)	14.1 (1.8)	20.7 (3.3) ***
Never went (%)	3.2 (0.7)	5.5 (1.3)	1.3 (0.6)	4.2 (1.5) ***
Place of residence (%)				
Urban areas	87.8 (1.3)	79.7 (2.4)	94.1 (1.2)	-14.5 (2.7) ***
Rural areas	8.0 (1.0)	13.4 (2.0)	3.7 (1.0)	9.7 (2.2) ***
Refugee Camp	1.4 (0.4)	3.1 (1.0)		
Others	2.9 (0.6)	3.8 (1.1)	2.1 (0.7)	1.7 (1.3)
Time since in Turkey (months)		56.1 (1.5)		
Living condition (%)				
Better than other	45.3 (1.9)	35.2 (2.8)	53.2 (2.6)	-18.0 (3.8) ***
Same as others	43.4 (1.9)	44.1 (2.9)	42.8 (2.6)	1.3 (3.9)
Worse than others	11.3 (1.2)	20.7 (2.4)	4.0 (1.0)	16.7 (2.6) ***
Speak Turkish	95.3 (0.8)	89.7 (1.8)	99.7 (0.3)	-10.1 (1.8) ***
Speak Arabic	48.5 (1.9)	97.9 (0.8)	10.4 (1.6)	87.6 (1.8) ***
Observations (#)	666	290	376	

Standard errors in parenthesis. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 2 – Summary statistics for children (aged 6 to 11 years), by type of game

Variables	Full Sample	Dictator Game	Trust Game
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Age (years)	9.1 (0.1)	9.5 (0.1)	8.6 (0.1)
Female (%)	46.3 (2.7)	46.7 (3.7)	45.8 (3.9)
Syrian	45.1 (2.7)	44.0 (3.7)	46.4 (3.9)
Speak Arabic (%)	48.6 (2.7)	47.2 (3.7)	50.0 (3.9)
Speak Turkish (%)	90.0 (1.6)	92.3 (2.0)	87.5 (2.6)
Observations (#)	350	182	168

Standard errors in parenthesis. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3 – Perceptions of adolescents and young adults (aged 12-30 years) on three dimensions of Social Cohesion, by nationality

Variables	Full Sample	Syrian Refugee	Turkish National	Difference (2) – (3)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Sense of Belongingness				
With family	0.96 (0.01)	0.95 (0.01)	0.97 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
With people of -				
Same age	0.87 (0.01)	0.86 (0.02)	0.88 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)
Religion	0.84 (0.01)	0.86 (0.02)	0.83 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Gender	0.83 (0.01)	0.82 (0.02)	0.83 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Similar interest	0.87 (0.01)	0.87 (0.02)	0.88 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
Same neighbourhood	0.74 (0.02)	0.74 (0.03)	0.74 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Same country of origin	0.80 (0.02)	0.82 (0.02)	0.78 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Same language	0.83 (0.01)	0.83 (0.02)	0.83 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Living in same city	0.77 (0.02)	0.78 (0.02)	0.77 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)
Living in Turkey	0.81 (0.02)	0.81 (0.02)	0.81 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Trust *towards*				
Family	0.83 (0.01)	0.84 (0.02)	0.82 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)
Friends	0.88 (0.01)	0.88 (0.02)	0.89 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Strangers	0.49 (0.02)	0.43 (0.03)	0.54 (0.03)	-0.11 (0.04)***
Neighbours	0.70 (0.02)	0.63 (0.03)	0.75 (0.02)	-0.12 (0.04)***
People of same nationality†	0.77 (0.02)	0.75 (0.03)	0.79 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)
People of different nationality†	0.70 (0.02)	0.72 (0.03)	0.68 (0.02)	0.05 (0.03)
Any third (non-Syrian non-Turkish) nationality	0.61 (0.02)	0.54 (0.03)	0.67 (0.02)	-0.13 (0.04)***
Relational capability				
Making friends with people of				
Same nationality†	0.92 (0.01)	0.90 (0.02)	0.93 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)
Different nationality†	0.87 (0.01)	0.89 (0.02)	0.86 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Any third (non-Syrian non-Turkish) nationality	0.81 (0.02)	0.75 (0.03)	0.86 (0.02)	-0.11 (0.03)***
Interaction				
Working together with others	0.90 (0.01)	0.92 (0.02)	0.88 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)*
Learning together with others	0.86 (0.01)	0.92 (0.02)	0.81 (0.02)	0.11 (0.02)***
Willing to help others	0.84 (0.01)	0.86 (0.02)	0.82 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Solving problems with others	0.89 (0.01)	0.92 (0.02)	0.87 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)**
Observations (#)	666	290	376	

Notes: Standard errors in parenthesis. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

1. For each dimension, we collected data for various groups/aspects. The third dimension – *relational capability* – comprises of two sub-categories – *willingness to make friends* and *interact*.

2. The respondents reported their perceptions using a 4-point hedonic scale. The responses were converted to binary variables where value 1 implies positive perception (higher social cohesion) and 0 implies negative perception (lower social cohesion). The estimates in the table are based on the binary variables.

† Same nationality refers to within group cohesion for Syrians and Turks. Different nationality refers to cohesion between Syrians and Turks.

Table 4 – Outcome of Dictator Game and Trust Game played with children (aged 6-11 years), by nationality of the participant

Nationality of player →	Turkish	Syrian	Turkish	Syrian
	Same nationality partner		Different nationality partner	
	Dictator Game			
Number of tokens donated	2.8 (0.1)	2.7 (0.1)	2.2 (0.1)	2.2 (0.1)
	Trust Game			
Percentage choosing to trust the trustee	77.7 (0.5)	65.4 (5.4)	67.8 (4.9)	80.8 (0.5)
Expected trustee's transfer	3.1 (0.1)	2.5 (0.2)	2.7 (0.2)	2.3 (0.1)

Standard errors in parenthesis. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Same nationality refers to within group cohesion for Syrians and Turks. Different nationality refers to cohesion between Syrians and Turks.

Choosing to trust the trustee means choosing option 2 in trust game.

Table 5 – Immediate impact of the BILSY program on adolescents and young adults (aged 12-30 years) – coefficients from LPM model

Variables	Treatment	Syrian	Treatment*Syrian
Sense of Belongingness			
With family	-0.03 (0.19)	-0.02 (0.21)	0.01 (0.73)
With people of -			
Same age	0.01 (0.75)	-0.03 (0.39)	-0.01 (0.83)
Religion	0.00 (0.94)	0.02 (0.48)	0.02 (0.70)
Gender	-0.02 (0.65)	-0.01 (0.87)	0.04 (0.45)
Similar interest	0.02 (0.58)	-0.01 (0.84)	0.00 (0.97)
Same neighbourhood	0.05 (0.29)	0.01 (0.80)	0.01 (0.93)
Same country of origin	0.06 (0.14)	0.04 (0.29)	0.00 (0.95)
Same language	0.00 (0.98)	0.00 (0.93)	0.02 (0.70)
Living in same city	0.03 (0.45)	0.02 (0.64)	0.01 (0.88)
Living in Turkey	0.01 (0.88)	0.00 (0.95)	0.02 (0.79)
Trust *towards*			
Family	-0.01 (0.87)	0.01 (0.61)	0.00 (0.93)
Friends	-0.04 (0.24)	-0.01 (0.71)	0.05 (0.26)
Strangers	0.03 (0.59)	-0.07 (0.31)	0.11 (0.24)
Neighbours	0.01 (0.82)	-0.10 (0.07)*	0.11 (0.15)
People of same nationality[4]	0.00 (0.92)	-0.05 (0.32)	0.07 (0.24)
People of different nationality[5]	0.04 (0.55)	0.06 (0.30)	0.04 (0.60)
Any third (non-Syrian non-Turkish) nationality	0.06 (0.22)	-0.07 (0.13)	0.05 (0.48)
Relational capability			
Making friends with people of			
Same nationality[4]	0.01 (0.60)	-0.04 (0.14)	0.02 (0.58)
Different nationality[5]	-0.03 (0.43)	0.04 (0.28)	0.03 (0.51)
Any third (non-Syrian non-Turkish) nationality	-0.04 (0.28)	-0.07 (0.03)**	0.10 (0.05)**
Interaction			
Working together with others	0.01 (0.70)	0.05 (0.07)*	-0.01 (0.76)
Learning together with others	0.02 (0.70)	0.12 (0.00)***	-0.09 (0.06)*
Willing to help others	0.02 (0.58)	0.02 (0.47)	0.00 (0.99)
Solving problems with others	0.03 (0.37)	0.06 (0.04)**	0.00 (0.93)
Observations (#)			

Notes: Standard errors were bootstrapped using wild bootstrap due to few clusters.
p-value from wild bootstrap in parenthesis. * indicates significance after wild bootstrapping the standard error
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

1. For each dimension, we collected data for various groups/aspects. The third dimension – *relational capability* – comprises of two sub-categories – *willingness to make friends* and *interact*.

2. The respondents reported their perceptions using a 4-point hedonic scale. They were converted to binary variables where value 1 implies positive perception (higher social cohesion) and 0 implies negative perception (lower social cohesion). The estimates in the table are based on the binary variables.

3. The models were estimated using linear probability model. Other controls in the model include age and gender of the respondent, location (urban or otherwise), dummy for survey areas closer to the border and a project line fixed effect (the informal component of the BILSY program was organised through 4 project lines).
4. Same nationality refers to within group cohesion for Syrians and Turks.
5. Different nationality refers to cohesion between Syrians and Turks.

Table 6 – Immediate impact of the BILSY program on children (aged 6-11 years)

Variables	Dictator Game		Trust Game			
	Tokens donated to the recipient (Incidence rate ratios)[a]		Probability of trusting the trustee in Trust Game[b]		Expected trustee's transfer (Incidence-rate ratios) [a]	
	Same Nationality[c]	Different Nationality[d]	Same Nationality[c]	Different Nationality[d]	Same Nationality[c]	Different Nationality[d]
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Treatment	0.93	1.20	0.07	0.01	0.93	0.82
	(0.46)	(0.02)**	(0.33)	(0.91)	(0.23)	(0.04)**
Syrian	0.96	0.98	-0.09	0.16	0.80	0.83
	(0.77)	(0.73)	(0.26)	(0.06)*	(0.06)*	(0.35)
Treatment*Syrian	0.93	0.80	0.08	0.00	1.08	1.43
	(0.63)	(0.42)	(0.24)	(1.00)	(0.56)	(0.08)*
Age	1.03	1.00	0.01	0.01	1.02	0.99
	(0.05)*	(0.94)	(0.36)	(0.52)	(0.26)	(0.43)
Female	1.06	1.11	0.01	0.04	0.99	1.19
	(0.60)	(0.36)	(0.78)	(0.49)	(0.86)	(0.10)
Project line 2[e]	1.08	1.19	0.17	0.06	1.09	1.06
	(0.28)	(0.16)	(0.09)*	(0.63)	(0.27)	(0.58)
Project line 3[e]	1.02	1.03	0.10	0.22	0.98	0.90
	(0.86)	(0.89)	(0.28)	(0.03)**	(0.74)	(0.43)
Constant	2.09	2.06	0.57†††	0.43	2.63†††	2.90†††
	(0.02)**	(0.03)**	(0.00)	(0.08)*	(0.00)***	(0.00)***
Observations (#)	351	351	333	333	257	252

Notes: Standard errors were bootstrapped using wild bootstrap due to few clusters.

p-value from wild bootstrap in parenthesis. * indicates significance after wild bootstrapping the standard error and † indicates significance after Bonferroni's correction ***, ††† p<0.01, **, †† p<0.05, *, † p<0.1

a. The model was estimated using negative binomial model.

b. The model was estimated using linear probability model.

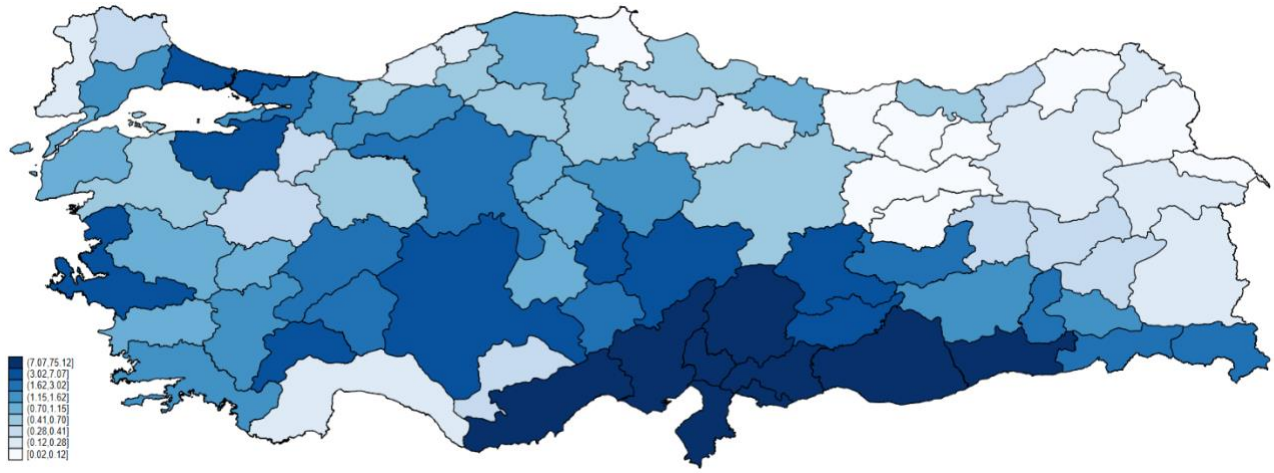
c. Same nationality refers to within group cohesion for Syrians and Turks.

d. Different nationality refers to cohesion between Syrians and Turks.

e. The informal component of the BILSY program was organised through 4 project lines. At the time of our survey, events were being organised in only three of the four project lines. Project lines 2 and 3 capture project line fixed effects.

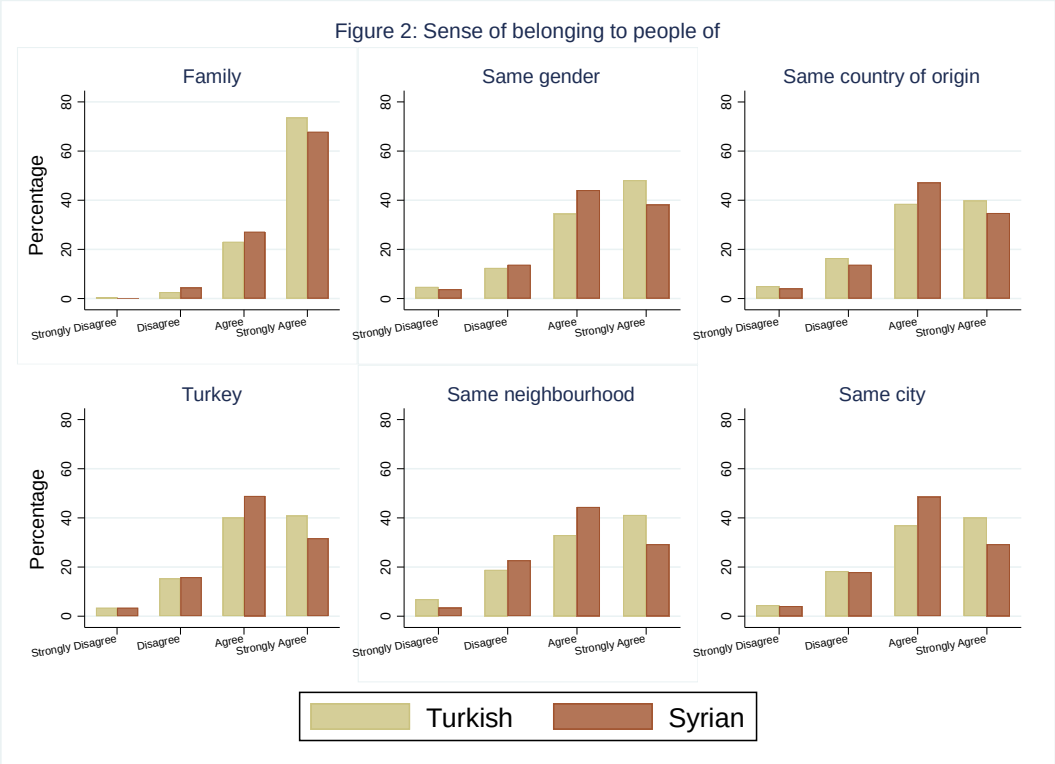
Figures

Figure 1: Share of Syrian refugees over total population by province (2021)



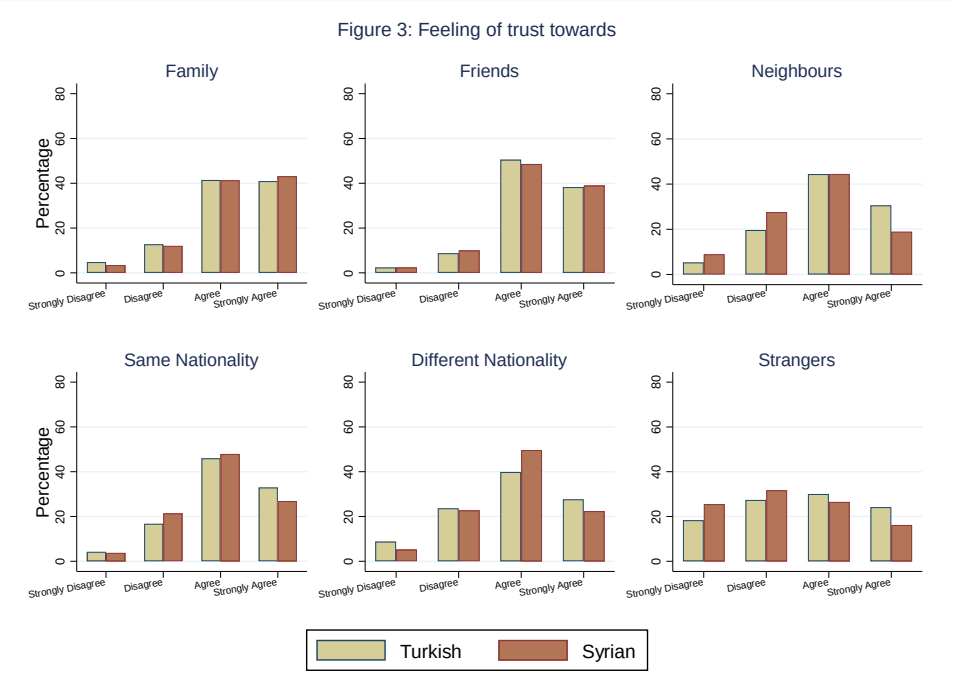
Notes: Drawn by author using Turkish Directorate General of Migration Management data (2021)

Figure 2: Reported perception of adolescents and young adults (aged 12-30 years) for the first dimension of social cohesion – *Sense of Belongingness* – with various groups



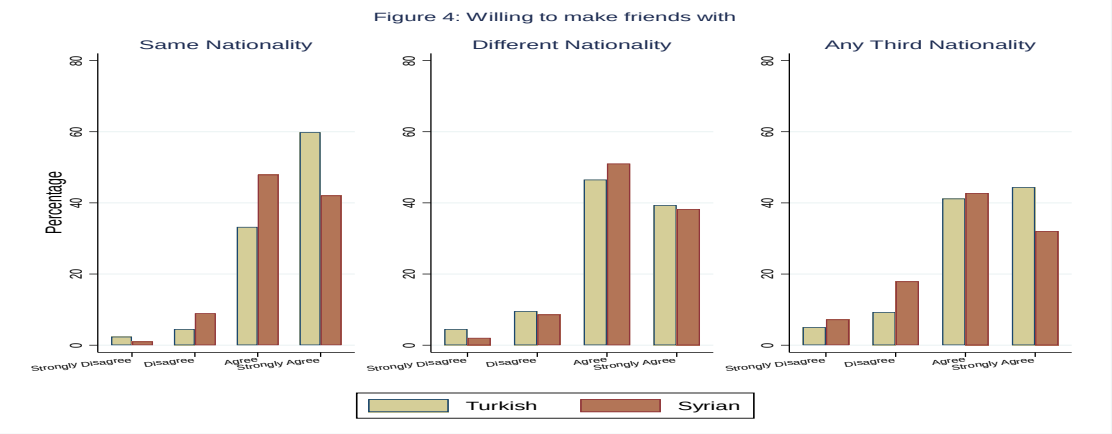
Notes: Respondents were presented with a statement: You feel a sense of belonging to "group name" and they were asked if and to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement. A 4-point hedonic scale was used to record responses – strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly disagree – which are presented here.

Figure 3: Reported perception of adolescents and young adults (aged 12-30 years) for the second dimension of social cohesion – *Trust* – towards various groups



Notes: Respondents were presented with a statement: You trust "group name" and they were asked if and to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement. A 4-point hedonic scale was used to record responses – strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly disagree – which are presented here. Same nationality refers to within group cohesion for Syrians and Turks. Different nationality refers to cohesion between Syrians and Turks.

Figure 4: Reported perception of adolescents and young adults (aged 12-30 years) for the third dimension (first sub-category) of social cohesion – *willing to make friends* – with various groups

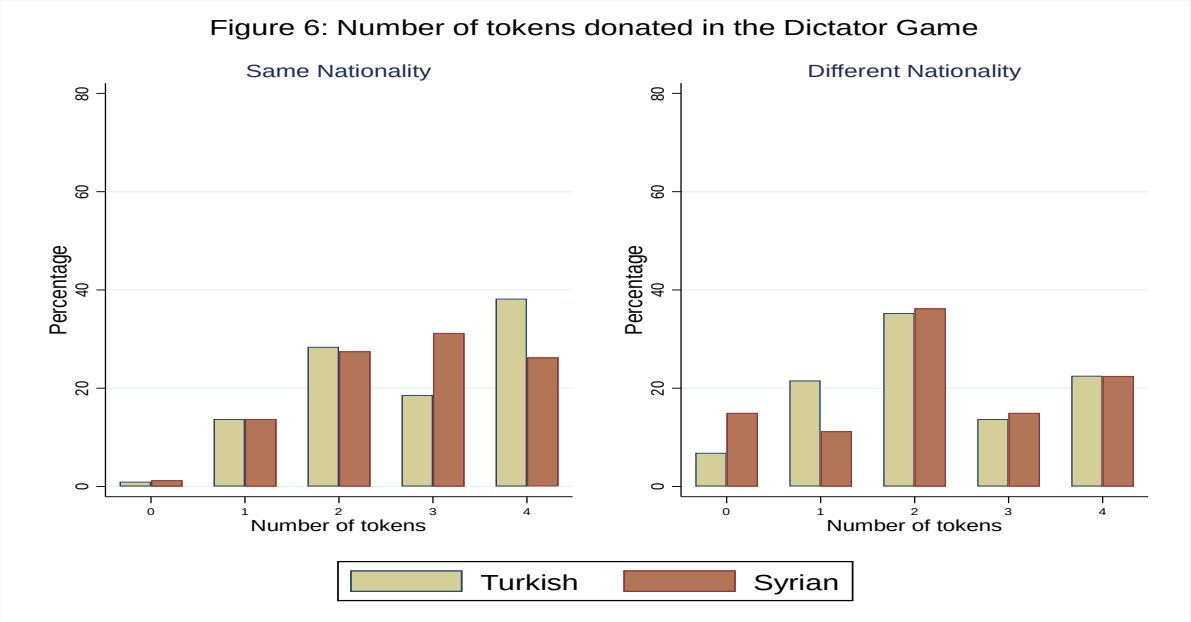


Notes: Respondents were presented with a statement: You are willing to make friends with "group name" and they were asked if and to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement. A 4-point hedonic scale was used to record responses – strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly disagree – which are presented here.
Same nationality refers to within group cohesion for Syrians and Turks. Different nationality refers to cohesion between Syrians and Turks.

Figure 5: Reported perception of adolescents and young adults (aged 12-30 years) for the third dimension (second sub-category) of social cohesion – *interaction* – for various aspects

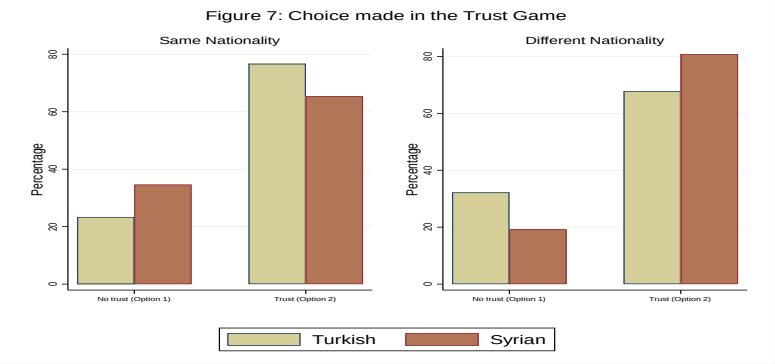
Notes: Respondents were presented with a statement: You are willing to "aspect name" and they were asked if and to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement. A 4-point hedonic scale was used to record responses – strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly disagree – which are presented here.

Figure 6: Number of tokens donated by the dictator in the Dictator Game played by children (aged 6-11 years)



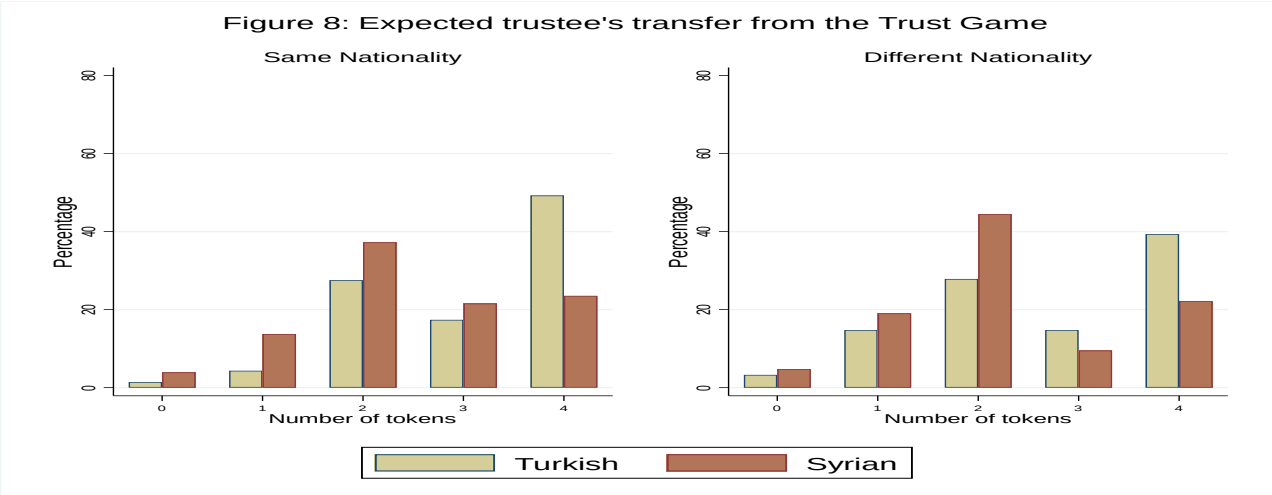
Notes: Same nationality refers to within group cohesion for Syrians and Turks. Different nationality refers to cohesion between Syrians and Turks.

Figure 7: Choice made by trustor in the Trust Game played by children (aged 6-11 years)



Notes: Trustor was presented with two choices, to trust or not trust the trustee.
Same nationality refers to within group cohesion for Syrians and Turks. Different nationality refers to cohesion between Syrians and Turks.

Figure 8: Expected trustee's transfer by the trustor in the Trust Game played by children (aged 6-11 years)



Notes: Trustors were asked to guess how many tokens they expect the trustee to allocate back to them.
Same nationality refers to within group cohesion for Syrians and Turks. Different nationality refers to cohesion between Syrians and Turks.

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[i] The Humanitarian Corridors are a safe and legal programme of transfer and integration in Europe of vulnerable refugees such as minors, disabled people, persons with serious illnesses, single parents with minor children, persons with mental disorders, elderly people (Humanitarian Corridors, 2019).
[ii] Not all Syrian nationals in Turkey register themselves, for various reasons (Adalı and Türkyılmaz 2020).
[iii] These events varied by the volunteer and examples of events include picnics, reading clubs, photography clubs and sporting events.
[iv] We present figures for only six groups out of a total ten, which had the most contrasting results. Others can be made available on request.
[v] Note that within these games, the different nationality is either Syrian or Turkish, but not a third nationality.
[vi] Results are available on reques