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Language, Contact and Belonging: Acculturation Orientations and Marginality among Syrian Arabic-Speaking Adults in Turkey

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Abstract Psychometric evidence on how Syrian adults in Turkey orient towards Turkish and Syrian cultural worlds remains scarce. This study examined the dimensional structure and correlates of an Arabic-language acculturation questionnaire. Data were collected from Syrian Arabic-speaking adults in Turkey in 2019–2020. Exploratory factor analysis provided preliminary support for three dimensions: host-culture involvement, perceived exclusion, and relative comfort with Syrian rather than Turkish company. However, several items performed weakly. Mean involvement and marginality scores fell below the scale midpoint. Regarding acculturation correlates, Turkish-language media use and friendships with Turkish people were associated with greater host-culture involvement, whereas self-rated proficiency and course attendance were not. Furthermore, Turkish friendships were associated with lower perceived marginality. Although support for the proposed hypotheses was mixed, the association between media use and host-culture involvement remained stable across sensitivity analyses. Overall, the findings suggest that informal Turkish use and cross-group friendships accompany host-society involvement, although further research using refined measures and larger, more representative samples is needed.

Keywords: *Acculturation, Syrian refugees, Marginality, Host-culture involvement, Language contact, Turkey*

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1. Introduction

Acculturation, the process of cultural and psychological change that follows sustained contact between cultural groups (Berry, 1997, 2005), is central to how the social sciences understand migration. How newcomers orient towards the receiving society and their heritage culture shapes their wellbeing and the cohesion of host societies (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Ward & Geeraert, 2016), and language is a marker of orientation, the medium of contact, and the first object of integration policy. These issues carry particular weight in Turkey, which has hosted the world's largest refugee population for most of the past decade. Since 2011, more than 3.5 million Syrians have sought protection there (United Nations High

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Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2025), arriving with minimal Turkish (Bircan & Sunata, 2015) into a receiving society whose attitudes have grown increasingly ambivalent (Erdogan, 2020, 2025). The state and civil society have responded primarily through formal instruction, most visibly the university Turkish Teaching Centres (TÖMER; Yildiz & Uzgoren, 2016), on the assumption that competence in Turkish is the gateway to participation.

Applied linguistic research has long questioned that assumption: proficiency alone does not guarantee integration, and it is the use of the language in meaningful social contact that links competence to adaptation (Clement et al., 2001; Masgoret & Ward, 2006; Noels et al., 1996). Whether this holds for Syrians in Turkey is largely unknown. The Turkish literature relies mainly on qualitative interviews, policy analysis, or single-item indicators (e.g., Erdogan, 2020; Kaya & Kirach, 2016). No psychometrically examined Arabic-language instrument measures the classical dimensions of acculturation (host orientation, heritage orientation, and marginality) among Syrian adults, and there is little quantitative evidence on how self-rated proficiency, course attendance, and informal Turkish use relate to these dimensions, although the answer bears on whether integration resources belong in classrooms or in opportunities for contact.

To address these gaps, the study therefore sought to 1. examine the dimensional structure and internal consistency of a 29-item Arabic-language acculturation questionnaire adapted from the ARSMA-II (Cuellar et al., 1995) among Syrian adults in Turkey, and 2. describe how the resulting dimensions relate to language proficiency, formal instruction, informal Turkish use, friendship networks, and background characteristics. In particular, the study addressed six research questions.

1. Do the acculturation questionnaire items form three internally consistent dimensions (host-culture involvement, heritage orientation, marginality) as in the ARSMA-II?
2. How are host-culture involvement, heritage orientation, and marginality related to one another?
3. How are informed Turkish use, self-rated Turkish proficiency, and TÖMER attendance related to host-culture involvement?
4. How is the size of respondents' Turkish friendship networks related to host-culture involvement and to marginality?
5. Do the acculturation dimensions differ by age and other demographic characteristics?
6. Are Turkish media use and friendship networks associated with host-culture involvement and marginality when proficiency and TÖMER attendance are taken into account?

To address these questions, data were collected between December 2019 and March 2020, before the pandemic, the hardening of public attitudes, and the political transition in Syria in December 2024. This was a formative period in which temporary displacement had become long-term settlement (Erdogan, 2020; Ichduygu & Shimshek, 2016).

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Acculturation as a Multidimensional Construct

Theoretical accounts of acculturation have moved from unidimensional to multidimensional models. In the assimilationist tradition exemplified by Gordon (1964), acculturation was movement along a single continuum from heritage to host culture. Berry's (1997, 2005) bidimensional framework proposed instead that heritage and host orientations vary independently, yielding four strategies: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. Head-to-head comparisons have favoured the bidimensional model (Ryder et al., 2000); integration is the most common and most adaptive profile among immigrant youth (Berry et al., 2006), and biculturalism is the orientation most consistently associated with positive adjustment (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). Three refinements are directly relevant. Bourhis et al.'s (1997) interactive acculturation model places the receiving society's orientations alongside those of migrants, so that perceived rejection can push newcomers towards separation or marginalisation. Schwartz et al. (2010) and Arends-Toth and van de Vijver (2004) show that acculturation is domain-specific: practices (language use, media, friendship), values and identifications change at different rates, and public domains before private ones. Rudmin (2003) and Ward and Geeraert (2016) caution that the four strategies are analytic categories rather than measured

types, and that measurement should distinguish behavioural contact from attitudes and from the ecological conditions, such as discrimination and opportunity structures, that shape both.

These refinements connect acculturation theory to language contact and to the dimensions investigated here. Language practices are the most visible behavioural domain of host-culture involvement, and the one in which the interactive model's two-sided dynamic is most directly felt, since using the host language requires willing interlocutors. Marginality is the least adaptive outcome. In Berry's (1997, 2005) model, it is defined by low host and low heritage orientation, whereas the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans II (ARSMA-II) assesses it directly with items expressing difficulty accepting the ideas, values, and customs of each group (Cuellar et al., 1995; Ward et al., 2001). The present questionnaire follows the ARSMA-II's tripartite model but phrases marginality as not being accepted or understood by, or able to trust, either group, that is, as perceived exclusion in the sense of the interactive model. Its three scores are therefore related to, but not an implementation of, Berry's strategies, Marginality is measured as perceived exclusion rather than inferred from two low orientations, and the heritage-oriented scale, as Section 4.1 shows, captures relative comfort with Syrian rather than Turkish company. Reading the dimensions as domain-specific practices and perceptions rather than strategy types is what the literature recommends and what exploratory evidence can support.

2.2. Language, Contact, and Adaptation

Second language proficiency is one of the most robust correlates of sociocultural adaptation among migrants (Masgoret & Ward, 2006; Ward et al., 2001), but the mechanisms are contested. Clement's (1980) socio-contextual model and Noels et al. (1996) propose that the frequency and quality of contact with the host community, rather than competence as such, mediate the relationship between language and identity change. Host-national friendships and host-language media use are associated with adaptation over and above proficiency (Clement et al., 2001; Masgoret & Ward, 2006), and sustained, equal-status contact reduces intergroup anxiety (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Association is not mediation, however, and interpersonal contact (friendship, messaging) and non-interpersonal exposure (news, books) are different routes to involvement. Formal instruction sits uneasily within these models, since the association between course participation and integration is modest once informal contact is controlled (Hoehne & Michalowski, 2016).

Empirical studies connect the three elements of acculturation: language, contact and adaptation, in pairs. On language and adaptation, a meta-analysis of 66 studies found that language proficiency and contact with host nationals were both positively related to sociocultural adaptation (Wilson et al., 2013), and a four-wave panel analysis of first-generation immigrants in Germany found that better German predicted stronger national identification, with no support for the reverse effect (Hochman & Davidov, 2014). On language and contact, two longitudinal studies indicate that proficiency more often leads to contact than contact leads to proficiency. Among immigrants from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles in the Netherlands, education and Dutch proficiency predicted later growth in contact with natives, although the authors cautioned that such characteristics may partly result from contact and that cross-sectional estimates overstate the effects of characteristics that change over time (Martinovic et al., 2009). In a three-wave study of 180 refugees in the United Kingdom, self-rated English competence was associated with later intergroup contact, and contact with later wellbeing, whereas the reverse paths were not reliable (Tip et al., 2019). Formal instruction contributes to the language side of this chain in refugee samples. Among about 3,500 refugees in the Netherlands, completing an integration course was associated with better speaking and reading proficiency in Dutch (van Tubergen, 2010), and in German panel data, exposure to the language was the strongest driver of proficiency, with refugees gaining most from structured courses and other new immigrants from informal everyday exposure (Kosyakova et al., 2022).

On contact and adaptation, the source and quality of contact matter as well as its amount. International students whose friendship networks contained a higher proportion of host nationals reported greater satisfaction and contentment and less homesickness (Hendrickson et al., 2011). In a two-year longitudinal study of exchange students, good-quality contact was associated with better cultural adjustment and lower stress, whatever its source, whereas having more co-nationals among one's closest contacts was linked to higher stress and poorer adjustment later in the stay (Geeraert et al., 2014).

Language use outside personal contact has been studied mainly through media. In data from the New Immigrant Survey in the United States, use of English-language media after arrival was associated with a preference for using English, and use of English-language print with higher English proficiency, while native-language media use was not uniformly negative for acculturation (Dalisay, 2012). For Syrians in Turkey, the evidence is largely qualitative. In interviews with 15 Syrian adults, Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al. (2021) found that perceptions of Turkish natives' attitudes shaped adaptation: positive perceptions encouraged people to seek social support, and perceived prejudice and discrimination lowered sociocultural adaptation. These studies establish associations between each pair of the three elements, but few measure language proficiency, language use, contact and adaptation in the same sample, and none of those reviewed here does so for Syrian adults in Turkey.

2.3. Syrians in Turkey

Turkey's temporary protection regime grants Syrians access to education, health care and, since 2016, formal employment, while stopping short of refugee status (Ichduygu & Shimshek, 2016). Four features of this setting shape the experiences examined here. First, Turkish-language learning is the principal integration challenge. Most Syrians arrived without Turkish; acquisition has depended heavily on TÖMER (the Turkish and foreign languages research and application centers attached to Turkish universities), which teach Turkish as a foreign language and certify learners' proficiency (Karagol, 2020), municipal and NGO courses, and access is constrained by cost, work, and family obligations, so attendance is uneven and often brief (Bircan & Sunata, 2015; Yildiz & Uzgoren, 2016). Syrians with an integration orientation report the strongest motivation to learn Turkish, but socio-economic barriers limit their ability to act on it (Bayram & Eryilmaz, 2025). Second, opportunities for interaction vary sharply. Integration is class-based, with Syrians who have educational and economic capital entering Turkish-speaking workplaces and universities while others remain in Arabic-speaking neighbourhoods and informal labour markets (Shimshek, 2020). Everyday interaction fosters belonging (Hancigaz, 2026) and Syrian and Turkish young people display comparatively high intergroup cohesion (Mittal et al., 2025), so Turkish friendship networks index the contact that contact theory regards as decisive. Third, perceived exclusion is widespread. Most Turkish citizens perceive Syrians as culturally distant even as more Syrians see their future in Turkey (Erdogan, 2020, 2025); qualitative work records discrimination alongside solidarity (Kaya & Kirach, 2016), and a recent survey reports high social exclusion among Syrians under temporary protection (Bayram Arli et al., 2026). Fourth, heritage ties remain strong. Arabic-medium commerce, media, and religious and family networks sustain a largely Syrian social life in the major cities (Shimshek, 2020), so preferring Syrian company need not reflect rejection by Turks.

Turkey is therefore a meaningful setting for the question, and the variables measured here map onto these features directly. Self-rated proficiency and TÖMER attendance index instructed competence; messaging, news, and book reading index informal use; the number of Turkish friends indexes interpersonal contact; the marginality items index perceived exclusion; and the heritage-preference items index relative comfort with Syrian company.

3. Methodology

3.1. Design

The study employed a cross-sectional survey design with an instrument-examination component. Because no factor structure had been established for the questionnaire, the analysis proceeded in two phases: exploratory factor analysis to identify a provisional structure and construct subscales, then descriptive, correlational, group-comparison, and regression analyses of the subscale scores. The factor analysis (RQ1) and the multivariable model for involvement (RQ6) were primary; RQ2–RQ5 were secondary, and the RQ5 comparisons were exploratory.

3.2. Participants

The analysed sample comprised 113 Syrian Arabic-speaking adults living in Turkey. Respondents were predominantly young, 71.7% being aged 18–29, and 78.8% holding a university or master's degree. Age was recorded in bands (18–23, 24–29, 30–39, 40 and above). By occupation, 80 (70.8%) described

themselves as academics or professionals, 17 (15.0%) as translators, and 16 (14.2%) as business owners. Nearly half (47.8%) reported having attended TÖMER courses, 27.4% rated their Turkish as advanced, 11.5% as beginner, and 41.6% reported five or more Turkish friends. Just under half of the respondents were women, about three in ten were married, and roughly one in six held dual citizenship.

Google Forms recorded 124 submissions. Seven were excluded at screening as incomplete or showing invalid response patterns, leaving 117 records in the master file. Two records identical on all items and background variables were removed as duplicates (n = 115); and two respondents who, despite the age confirmation, reported an age under 18, both newly admitted students in an English preparatory programme, were excluded because the study and its consent statement were designed for adults. The final sample was 113.

3.3. Instrument

A 29-item Arabic-language acculturation questionnaire was developed for this study (Appendix A). Its starting point was the ARSMA-II (Cuellar et al., 1995), a widely used measure comprising Anglo and Mexican orientation scales (language use, media, identity, interaction) and a separate marginality scale. The questionnaire's items fall into two groups. The first consists of 11 items derived from the ARSMA-II, with Turks and Syrians/Arabs replacing Anglos and Mexicans as reference groups. Nine items directly adapt its language-use, music, thinking, and friendship items, and two items extend its language-use items to humour (telling jokes in both languages) and creative writing (preferring to write poetry in Turkish). The second group consists of 18 items written for this study. They express perceived acceptance, understanding, trust, and comfort in relation to each group, and were written because the ARSMA-II's marginality items (difficulty accepting the ideas and customs of each group) were judged less relevant to a refugee population than perceived exclusion. All 29 items were assigned on theoretical grounds to the three intended dimensions, host-culture (Turkish) involvement, heritage-culture (Syrian) orientation, and marginality, before the data were analysed. The questionnaire thus keeps the ARSMA-II's tripartite design but shares only a minority of its items and is not a translation of it. Items were rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Factor analysis was conducted on the original responses; items loading negatively on their factors (13, 15, 17, 21, 24) were reverse-scored after extraction, and subscale scores were computed as the mean of the items assigned to each factor.

Translation and cultural adaptation followed Beaton et al. (2000) and the International Test Commission (2017): independent forward translation into Arabic by two bilingual translators (one a Syrian Arabic speaker, one unfamiliar with the constructs), reconciliation by the author and a third bilingual academic, back-translation by a bilingual colleague blind to the source items, and review by an expert panel of three (an applied linguist, a Syrian Arabic-speaking language teacher and the author), which reworded six items. The pre-final questionnaire was piloted with 30 Syrian Arabic-speaking students in a private university's English preparatory programme, who completed it online and explained their understanding of each item and the response scale in short cognitive interviews. Five items were simplified, and pilot participants were excluded from the main sample. These procedures support the linguistic equivalence and comprehensibility of the Arabic items.

The questionnaire also contained 13 background items: gender, age, TÖMER attendance (yes/no), self-rated Turkish and English proficiency (beginner to advanced), occupation (business owner, academic/ professional, translator), dual citizenship, marital status, number of Turkish friends (none, 1–2, 3–4, 5 or more), education, and three items on Turkish-language use rated never (0), sometimes (1), or always (2): messaging Turkish-speaking friends online, reading or watching news in Turkish, and reading books in Turkish. The use items were averaged into a Turkish media use index (range 0–2; $\alpha = .62$) because all represent voluntary use of Turkish outside the classroom. Since messaging overlaps with the friendship variable, analyses with the items separate and without messaging are also reported. The age item, as administered, offered the options under 18, 18–23, 24–29, 30–40 and 40 and above, so the two upper options overlapped at age 40. Each respondent could select only one option, and every respondent therefore belongs to a single category in the data file. The ambiguity concerns only respondents aged exactly 40, who could have chosen either upper option. The two categories are reported throughout as 30–39 and 40 and above, the reading implied by the option order, and the overlap is noted as a limitation. Age is coded 1 (18–23) to 4 (40 and above) in all analyses.

3.4. Procedure

3.4.1. Data Collection

Participants were recruited between December 2019 and March 2020 by two complementary non-probability strategies. Convenience sampling was used first. The author sent the questionnaire link directly to Syrian adults reachable through university contacts (Syrian students and staff at Turkish universities), Syrian community organisations, and social-media groups serving Syrians in Turkey. Snowball sampling was then used deliberately to extend reach. Every recipient was asked to forward the link to other Syrian adults, so later respondents were reached by referral. The two routes were not tracked separately.

3.4.2. Data Analysis

Data were entered in SPSS and analysed in Python 3.11; there were no missing responses. Phase 1 examined the factor structure. The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO) measure and Bartlett's test assessed the correlation matrix. Exploratory analysis was chosen because the item set had not been factor-analysed before and the theoretical assignment of the 18 new items was tentative. The number of factors was determined by Horn's (1965) parallel analysis (200 random datasets, 95th percentile). Factors were extracted by minimum residuals, which does not require multivariate normality, and rotated obliquely (promax) because the dimensions were expected to correlate. Items were assigned to the factor on which their absolute loading was highest when it was ≥ .40; items loading .35–.40 without a cross-loading above .32 were retained where theoretically coherent; items meeting neither rule, or with ambiguous content, were considered individually. Internal consistency was estimated with Cronbach's alpha (≥ .70 acceptable, ≥ .80 good; DeVellis, 2017). Sensitivity analyses re-estimated the solution, reliabilities, and regressions (a) without Item 25, (b) without Item 29, (c) without all items loading below .40, (d) with Item 29 reassigned to Marginality, and (e) with Items 13 and 21 assigned to Host-Culture Involvement.

Phase 2 analysed the subscale scores (item means; skewness and kurtosis within |1|) with Pearson correlations and, for the ordinal-use items, Spearman's rho, both with 95% confidence intervals (Fisher's z); Welch's t-test with Cohen's d; and one-way ANOVA with partial η^2 (95% confidence intervals) and Tukey tests, with Welch ANOVAs as checks because group sizes were unequal. The RQ5 comparisons (six demographic grouping variables, namely gender, age group, marital status, dual citizenship, education, and occupation, by three outcomes) were exploratory and are reported at the nominal .05 level with Bonferroni-adjusted family thresholds as a reference. Three multiple linear regression models related each subscale to gender (female = 1), age group (1–4), TÖMER attendance (yes = 1), Turkish proficiency (1–4), dual citizenship (yes = 1), marital status (married = 1), number of Turkish friends (0–3) and the media use index, with unstandardised coefficients, 95% confidence intervals and standardised coefficients. Age group, Turkish proficiency and number of Turkish friends were measured in ordered categories and were entered as single numerical scores. This treats each step between adjacent categories as equal, an assumption that cannot be verified for bands such as 18–23 against 40 and above, or beginner against intermediate proficiency, and under which the coefficient for each of these variables describes an approximately linear trend across its categories. Dummy coding was not used because it would have replaced three predictors with nine in a model estimated on 113 cases and would have rested on thinly populated categories. Residual plots showed no marked non-linearity or heteroscedasticity (maximum VIF 1.80; Durbin–Watson 1.82–2.16). Coefficients describe conditional associations and are not interpreted causally; $\alpha = .05$, two-tailed.

4. Results

4.1. Factor Structure and Reliability (RQ1)

The correlation matrix was suitable for factoring (KMO = 0.73; Bartlett's $\chi^2(406) = 1340.4$, $p < .001$). Eight eigenvalues exceeded 1.0, but only the first three (6.29, 3.94, 2.33) exceeded the 95th percentile of random eigenvalues from parallel analysis (2.24, 2.04, 1.88), so a three-factor solution was retained. It accounted for 36.0% of the common variance after rotation (13.1%, 12.9%, and 10.1%; Table 1).

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Table 1

Promax-Rotated Factor Loadings and Communalities for the 29 Acculturation Items (N = 113)

Item	F1 HCI	F2 MAR	F3 HCP	h^2
1. I write better in Turkish than Arabic.	**.63**	.07	.18	.44
2. The music I listen to is mostly Turkish.	**.48**	−.09	.08	.24
3. I tell jokes in both languages.	**.63**	.19	.01	.43
5. I usually speak Turkish at home.	**.67**	.02	−.01	.45
6. My closest friends are Turkish.	**.36**	−.18	−.31	.26
7. I think in Turkish as in Arabic.	**.64**	−.04	.07	.42
9. I would prefer to write poetry in Turkish.	**.57**	−.08	.17	.36
10. I prefer social events full of Turks.	**.38**	−.28	−.38	.37
11. I have Turkish and Syrian friends.	**.54**	−.42	.00	.47
19. I feel very comfortable around Turks and Syrians.	**.36**	−.22	−.21	.23
27. My work/school friends are mostly Turkish.	**.49**	−.02	−.18	.27
4. It's hard to communicate with anyone, Syrian or Turkish.	−.14	**.55**	−.31	.42
8. I feel not liked by Turks and Arabs.	−.02	**.65**	.04	.42
12. I feel that nobody includes me.	.33	**.44**	−.01	.30
15. I feel appreciated by Turks and Syrians. (R)	.15	**−.59**	−.06	.37
16. I have difficulty communicating with Turks.	−.10	**.35**	−.01	.13
20. It's hard to make friends.	.00	**.55**	−.03	.31
23. I feel Turks and Syrians do not accept me.	.03	**.59**	.04	.35
25. Syrians should not date non-Syrians.	.12	**.38**	.27	.23
26. It's hard to trust Turks and Syrians.	.07	**.57**	.00	.33
28. Turks and Syrians cannot understand me.	−.02	**.70**	−.02	.49
13. I get along better with Turks. (R)	.39	.06	**−.44**	.35
14. Syrians treat me more equally than Turks.	.19	.10	**.41**	.21
17. Turks understand me more than Syrians. (R)	.13	.22	**−.70**	.56
18. I would rather date a Syrian than a Turk.	.17	.00	**.57**	.35
21. It's easier to explain feelings to Turks. (R)	.30	.16	**−.41**	.29
22. I am more relaxed with a Syrian than a Turk.	.25	.16	**.52**	.36
24. I am more comfortable communicating with Turks. (R)	.29	.29	**−.66**	.60
29. I am not comfortable when I am with Turks.	.05	.40	**.54**	.45

Note. Minimum residual extraction, promax rotation, original (unreversed) responses. Bold = assigned subscale; (R) = reverse-scored after extraction; h^2 = communality.

Before the analysis, the items had been assigned on theoretical grounds to host-culture involvement, heritage orientation, and marginality; the empirical factors matched this assignment only in part. Factor 1, labelled Host-Culture Involvement (HCI), comprised 11 items describing linguistic, cultural, and social involvement with Turkish society, including explicitly bicultural items (having both Turkish and Syrian friends, joking in both languages) (primary loadings .36–.67; α = .83). Factor 2, labelled Marginality (MAR), comprised 10 items expressing being unaccepted, misunderstood, or excluded by either group, or distrusting both groups, with the endogamy item (25) and, loading negatively, feeling appreciated by both groups (15) (loadings .35–.70; α = .79). Factor 3, labelled Heritage-Culture Preference (HCP) comprised eight items contrasting ease and comfort with Syrians (14, 18, 22, 29) against, loading negatively, ease and comfort with Turks (13, 17, 21, 24). None of these eight items asks about maintaining Syrian language, media, customs, or identity, which is what heritage-culture maintenance means in the ARSMA-II and in Berry's (1997, 2005) framework. Every item instead compares how understood, equally treated, relaxed, or comfortable the respondent feels with Syrians as against Turks. HCP (loadings .41–.70; α = .77) is interpreted throughout in the narrow sense its items support: a relative preference for, or greater comfort in, Syrian rather than Turkish company. It is not read as heritage-culture maintenance or as a general orientation towards Syrian culture, and a high HCP score is compatible with both strong and weak maintenance of Syrian practices, which the questionnaire does not measure. Items 13 and 21, whose wording might suggest host involvement, loaded more strongly on this factor (−.44, −.41) than on HCI (.39, .30) and were assigned accordingly.

Five items had primary loadings below .40. Items 6 (.36), 19 (.36), and 16 (.35) were retained under the .35–.40 rule because they fitted their factors' content and had no cross-loading above .32, and Item 10

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loaded equally on HCI (.38) and, negatively, on HCP (−.38) and was assigned to HCI because its content describes host-society social involvement. Item 25 (Syrians should not date non-Syrians) loaded .38 on MAR, .27 on HCP and .12 on HCI and was retained in Marginality under the same rule. The theoretical case for keeping it there is that marginality was operationalised in this questionnaire as perceived social exclusion, and an endorsed prohibition on intimate relationships across the group boundary is one expression of social distance from the host group; the item also had its primary loading on this factor and no cross-loading above .32. The case against is equally clear: agreement with the item may express family norms, religious values, or a preference for endogamy without any sense of being rejected, so the item measures attitudes towards intergroup relationships at least as much as it measures marginality. The Marginality score, as computed, therefore covers both perceived rejection and in-group boundary maintenance, and this composition should be kept in mind when the score is interpreted. Item 29 (not feeling comfortable with Turks) loaded .54 on HCP and .40 on MAR. It was assigned to HCP because it concerns comfort with Turks specifically, the content shared by the other HCP items, but the cross-loading indicates that discomfort around Turks belongs to both empirical domains: it can register perceived exclusion as well as a relative preference for Syrian company. Because the item contributes to the HCP score while correlating with the Marginality items, it inflates the association between the two subscales. Both items were therefore examined in the sensitivity analyses. Communalities were low for Items 16 (.13), 14 (.21), 19 (.23), and 25 (.23), and Items 12 and 11 cross-loaded (.44/.33 on MAR/HCI; .54/−.42 on HCI/MAR). With 3.9 respondents per item, such loadings are imprecisely estimated, and the three-factor solution should be regarded as provisional: it is interpretable and internally consistent, but it has not been replicated, and the sensitivity analyses in Section 4.7 show that the inclusion or exclusion of the weaker items changes some of the associations between the subscales and the predictors. The analysis does not establish that the subscales validly measure the constructs after which they are named.

4.2. Levels and Interrelations of the Acculturation Dimensions (RQ2)

The scale midpoint of 3 is used below only as a descriptive reference point, the neutral value of the 1–5 response scale; the questionnaire has no validated cut-offs, and the midpoint is not a diagnostic or classification threshold for any of the three dimensions. Mean HCI was 2.56 (SD = 0.71), with 29.2% at or above the midpoint; 68.1% had both Turkish and Syrian friends, but only 11.5% usually spoke Turkish at home. Mean Marginality was 2.30 (SD = 0.65), and 16 respondents (14.2%) scored 3.0 or higher. This proportion describes the distribution of scores within the present sample; it is not an estimate of the prevalence of marginality among Syrian adults in Turkey, both because the threshold is unvalidated and because the sample was not drawn to represent that population. Global rejection items were rarely endorsed (4.4% felt unaccepted by both groups; 72.6% felt appreciated by both), whereas specific difficulties were common (38.1% sometimes had difficulty communicating with Turks; 32.7% sometimes found it hard to trust Turks and Syrians), so a low average should not be read as negligible exclusion. Mean HCP was 3.11 (SD = 0.65): 30.1% felt more relaxed with a Syrian than with a Turk and 13.3% got along better with Turks.

HCI correlated negatively with HCP ($r = -.42$, 95% CI [−.56, −.26], $p < .001$) and weakly with MAR ($r = -.21$, 95% CI [−.38, −.03], $p = .025$), and MAR correlated positively with HCP ($r = .28$, 95% CI [.10, .44], $p = .003$). Reliability and validity evidence must, however, be distinguished. The alpha coefficients show that the items assigned to each subscale are internally consistent in this sample, not that the subscales measure the constructs after which they are named.

4.3. Turkish Proficiency, Formal Instruction, and Media Use (RQ3)

Self-rated Turkish proficiency was associated with HCI, $F(3, 109) = 4.00$, $p = .010$, $\eta^2p = .099$ (95% CI [.007, .195]): mean HCI rose from beginners (2.12) to advanced respondents (2.84), the only significant pairwise contrast (Tukey $p = .010$). Proficiency was not related to MAR ($p = .219$) or HCP ($p = .874$); the HCI association survived the family Bonferroni threshold ($p = .0167$). Reported TÖMER attendance was not associated with any dimension: mean HCI was 2.56 in both groups, $t(109.7) = 0.00$, $p = .998$, $d = 0.00$, and MAR (2.30 in both) and HCP (3.06 vs. 3.15, $d = 0.13$) were similar. Attenders were less often beginners (5.6% vs. 16.9%), but proficiency distributions did not differ significantly, $\chi^2(3) = 3.98$,

p = .264. The binary variable does not capture duration, completion, quality, or timing of instruction, so this is an absence of observed association, not evidence that instruction is ineffective.

Turkish-language use showed the strongest associations with HCI. Messaging Turkish-speaking friends online (ρ = .47, 95% CI [.31, .60]), reading books in Turkish (ρ = .45 [.29, .59]) and following news in Turkish (ρ = .30 [.12, .46]) all correlated positively with HCI ($p \leq .001$), and the composite index correlated at r = .58 (95% CI [.44, .69], p < .001). Entered separately in the HCI regression, book reading (β = .32, p = .001) and Turkish friends (β = .28, p = .005) had significant coefficients, messaging fell just short (β = .20, p = .055) and news did not contribute (β = .10). Without messaging, an index of news and books remained associated with HCI (β = .41, p < .001) alongside friends (β = .36, p < .001), so the association does not depend on the interpersonal item. Messaging (ρ = −.32) and book reading (ρ = −.24) were also associated with lower HCP, and messaging with lower MAR (ρ = −.23).

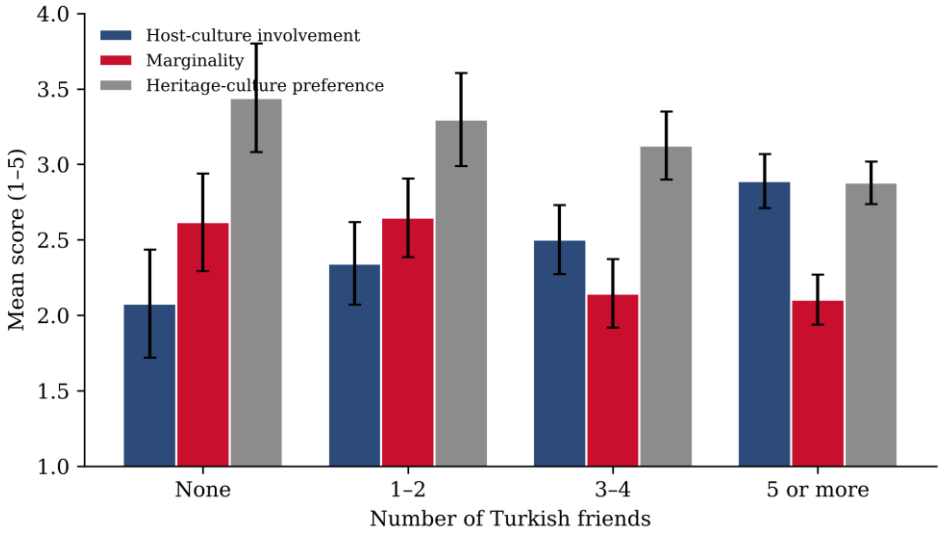
Overall, the results show that informal use was associated with HCI both bivariately and conditionally. Self-rated proficiency was associated with HCI bivariately but had a non-significant coefficient once use and friendship were in the model, and reported TÖMER attendance was not associated with HCI in either analysis.

4.4. Turkish Friendship Networks (RQ4)

The number of Turkish friends was related to all three dimensions (Figure 1). HCI increased with network size, F(3, 109) = 8.34, p < .001, η^2p = .187 (95% CI [.058, .296]), from M = 2.08 (none) to 2.89 (five or more). The 5+ group scored higher than those with none (Tukey p < .001) or one or two friends (p = .009). MAR differed by network size, F(3, 109) = 6.18, p = .001, η^2p = .145 (95% CI [.031, .251]). Respondents with no (M = 2.62) or one or two friends (M = 2.65) reported higher marginality than those with three or four (M = 2.14) or five or more (M = 2.10; Tukey p = .005–.030). HCP declined with network size, F(3, 109) = 4.64, p = .004, η^2p = .113 (95% CI [.013, .213]; Welch p = .010), from M = 3.44 (none) to 2.88 (five or more; p = .006). All three omnibus tests survived the family threshold (p = .017).

Figure 1

Mean Host-Culture Involvement, Marginality and Heritage-Culture Preference by Number of Turkish Friends



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

4.5. Demographic Differences (RQ5)

Welch t tests showed no significant differences by marital status (d = 0.05, 0.34 and 0.22 for HCI, MAR, and HCP; all $p \geq .092$) or dual citizenship (d = 0.07, 0.03 and 0.36; all $p \geq .203$), and men and women did not differ on HCI (d = 0.16) or MAR (d = 0.08). Women reported slightly higher HCP (M

= 3.25 vs. 3.00; t(102.4) = 2.03, p = .044, d = 0.39), which does not survive Bonferroni correction for the 18 tests in this family (threshold .0028). Age group (18–23, 24–29, 30–39, 40 and above), education, and English proficiency were not related to any dimension (all p ≥ .109). Occupation was related to HCP, F(2, 110) = 6.22, p = .003, η^2p = .102 (95% CI [.014, .206]); the unrounded p-value (.0028) equals the Bonferroni family threshold (.05/18 = .0028) rather than falling below it, so the result is described as borderline after correction and treated as a small, exploratory difference. Business owners (n = 16; M = 2.66) expressed a weaker relative preference for Syrian companies than academics and professionals (n = 80; M = 3.14; Tukey p = .016) and translators (n = 17; M = 3.40; p = .002).

4.6. Multivariable Associations (RQ6)

Table 2 reports the three regression models with 95% confidence intervals. The model for HCI explained 41.7% of the variance (adjusted R^2 = .372), F(8, 104) = 9.29, p < .001. The media use index had the largest coefficient (β = .48, p < .001), followed by the number of Turkish friends (β = .25, p = .004). The coefficient for age group was negative and just inside the conventional threshold (β = −.20, p = .049; B = −0.15, 95% CI [−0.30, 0.00]). Because the bivariate comparison of age groups was non-significant (p = .201), the confidence interval reaches zero, and the age categories are unevenly spaced, this coefficient is not treated as evidence of an age effect; it indicates at most that, among respondents with similar language use and friendship networks, older respondents tended to report slightly lower involvement, a pattern that requires replication. Self-rated proficiency (β = −.02, p = .809) and TÖMER attendance (β = −.03, p = .676) had non-significant conditional coefficients, which does not show that they contribute nothing in a sample of 113 with correlated predictors.

Table 2

Multiple Linear Regression Models Relating HCI, Marginality, and HCP to Background, Language, and Contact Variables (N = 113)

Predictor	HCI B [95% CI]	β	MAR B [95% CI]	β	HCP B [95% CI]	β
Gender (female = 1)	−0.07 [−0.29, 0.15]	−.05	−0.04 [−0.29, 0.20]	−.03	0.25 [0.02, 0.49]	.19*
Age group (1–4)	−0.15 [−0.30, 0.00]	−.20*	−0.09 [−0.25, 0.07]	−.13	0.09 [−0.07, 0.24]	.13
TÖMER attendance (yes = 1)	−0.05 [−0.26, 0.17]	−.03	0.03 [−0.21, 0.27]	.02	−0.12 [−0.35, 0.10]	−.09
Turkish proficiency (1–4)	−0.02 [−0.14, 0.11]	−.02	0.00 [−0.14, 0.14]	.00	0.17 [0.04, 0.31]	.27*
Dual citizenship (yes = 1)	0.22 [−0.08, 0.53]	.12	0.04 [−0.29, 0.37]	.02	0.04 [−0.28, 0.35]	.02
Married (yes = 1)	0.04 [−0.27, 0.34]	.02	−0.05 [−0.38, 0.29]	−.03	−0.18 [−0.50, 0.13]	−.13
Turkish friends (0–3)	0.16 [0.05, 0.27]	.25**	−0.15 [−0.27, −0.03]	−.26*	−0.19 [−0.30, −0.08]	−.33**
Turkish media use index (0–2)	0.69 [0.42, 0.95]	.48***	−0.18 [−0.47, 0.11]	−.14	−0.23 [−0.51, 0.05]	−.17
R^2	.417		.156		.230	
Adjusted R^2	.372		.091		.171	
F(8, 104)	9.29***		2.40*		3.88***	

Note. B = unstandardised coefficient [95% confidence interval]; β = standardised coefficient. Age group coded 1 (18–23), 2 (24–29), 3 (30–39), 4 (40 and above); Turkish proficiency 1 (beginner) to 4 (advanced); Turkish friends 0 (none) to 3 (five or more); media use index = mean of three 0–2 items. Maximum VIF = 1.80. * p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.

The model for MAR was significant but accounted for little variance (R^2 = .156, adjusted R^2 = .091, F(8, 104) = 2.40, p = .021). The only significant coefficient was the number of Turkish friends (β = −.26, p = .012; B = −0.15, 95% CI [−0.27, −0.03]). The model for HCP explained 23.0% of the variance (adjusted R^2 = .171), F(8, 104) = 3.88, p < .001. Larger friendship networks were associated with lower

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HCP (β = −.33, p = .001), higher proficiency with higher HCP (β = .27, p = .014), and women scored higher than men (β = .19, p = .034).

4.7. Sensitivity Analyses

First, excluding Item 25 left the factor structure and every regression conclusion unchanged, so the endogamy item does not drive any reported result, although its presence still affects what the Marginality score means. Second, excluding Item 29, or reassigning it to Marginality, lowered HCP α from .77 to .73 and the MAR–HCP correlation from .28 to .20 (excluded) or .26 (reassigned). The gender coefficient for HCP fell below significance, whereas the media, friendship, and proficiency coefficients were unchanged. Part of the observed association between marginality and HCP therefore reflects the shared item, and the lower values better represent the correlation between the two dimensions as distinct measures. Third, assigning Items 13 and 21 to HCI left the structure and every regression conclusion unchanged. Fourth, excluding the five items loading below .40 (Items 6, 10, 16, 19 and 25) reduced the HCI–MAR correlation from −.21 to −.07 and left the media-use coefficient for HCI, the friendship coefficient for MAR and all HCP coefficients unchanged, but the friendship coefficient for HCI fell below significance (β = .15, p = .085) and dual citizenship became nominally significant (β = .18, p = .033). The findings therefore differ in robustness: the association between media use and involvement, and the association between friendship networks and lower marginality, held across all specifications. The association between friendship networks and involvement depended on the retention of the weakly loading social items (6, 10, and 19), which describe Turkish friends, social events, and comfort around Turks and overlap in content with the friendship predictor. It is reported throughout as dependent on the item set. The gender difference in HCP depended on Item 29, and the age coefficient for HCI was borderline in the main model and non-significant bivariately.

5. Discussion

This study examined the structure and internal consistency of a 29-item Arabic-language acculturation questionnaire among 113 Syrian Arabic-speaking adults in Turkey and described how the resulting dimensions relate to language proficiency, formal instruction, informal Turkish use, friendship networks, and background characteristics. The findings are discussed in the order of the research questions.

Regarding RQ1 (factor structure), the factor solution broadly mirrors the ARSMA-II measurement model (Cuellar et al., 1995), with an HCI, a marginality dimension, and a third HCP emerging, each internally consistent. The correspondence is partial, however. Five items loaded below .40, and Items 10, 11, 12, and 29 loaded on more than one factor, so the structure is provisional. The third factor is also narrower than the heritage orientation described by the ARSMA-II and Berry (1997, 2005). Its items ask whether respondents feel understood, equally treated, and comfortable with Syrians as compared with Turks, and none asks about Syrian language, media, customs, or identity. HCP therefore measures relative comfort with Syrian company and should not be equated with heritage-culture maintenance. The distinction matters theoretically, because a respondent may prefer Syrian company in response to perceived discrimination without maintaining Syrian practices, a decoupling that the interactive acculturation model anticipates where the receiving society is perceived as unwelcoming (Bourhis et al., 1997). Two items need care in interpretation. Item 25 (Syrians should not date non-Syrians) may reflect cultural or religious norms as much as perceived exclusion, so the Marginality score blends perceived rejection with in-group boundary maintenance. Item 29 (not feeling comfortable with Turks) loaded on both HCP and Marginality and inflates the association between them.

Turning to RQ2 (relations among the dimensions), and consistent with bidimensional models (Berry, 1997; Ryder et al., 2000), involvement and heritage preference were moderately and negatively related, and marginality was only weakly related to involvement. A preference for Syrian company should therefore not be assumed to prevent integration (Berry, 2005; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Consistent with the domain-specific view (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2004; Schwartz et al., 2010), involvement was highest in the social domain and lowest in intimate and creative language use, and Arabic remained the language of home. Marginality requires a differentiated reading. Global rejection items were rarely endorsed, which tempers the picture of pervasive exclusion in some qualitative

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accounts (Kaya & Kirach, 2016), yet about one-third of respondents reported difficulty trusting members of both groups, and 14.2% averaged at or above the scale midpoint. This pattern of common specific difficulties alongside rare global rejection is in line with the social exclusion reported by Bayram Arli et al. (2026). Because Item 29 is shared, the positive relation between marginality and heritage preference should be read as modest.

For RQ3 (proficiency, instruction, and informal use), self-rated proficiency was associated with involvement bivariately but not once Turkish-language use and friendship networks were taken into account. Informal use remained associated with involvement, and reported TÖMER attendance was not associated with it in either analysis. This pattern is consistent with the socio-contextual model (Clement, 1980; Noels et al., 1996) and the culture-learning literature (Masgoret & Ward, 2006), in which language is linked to acculturation through its use in meaningful interaction. The three variables were examined with different statistics, so the results do not show that one matters more than another, and the direction of the association is undetermined: people who already feel more involved may read, message, and follow news in Turkish more often. The null result for TÖMER attendance does not show that instruction is ineffective, since instruction may be a precondition for the proficiency that makes informal use possible (Hoehne & Michalowski, 2016), and the binary measure cannot distinguish a completed course from a single term.

Regarding RQ4 (friendship networks), the number of Turkish friends was related to all three dimensions and was the only variable significantly related to marginality. The negative direction of that association is consistent with intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and with the intergroup cohesion reported among Syrian and Turkish young people (Mittal et al., 2025), and it was stable across the sensitivity analyses. The association between friendship and involvement was less stable. It fell below significance when the weakly loading social items were removed, three of which describe Turkish friends, social events, and comfort around Turks, so it partly reflects shared content between the predictor and the subscale. Neither association can be read causally, since people who feel less marginalised may be more likely to form Turkish friendships.

As for RQ5, background characteristics were only weakly related to the three dimensions. Age groups did not differ in involvement, and the negative coefficient for age in the multivariable model was borderline and is not treated as evidence of an age effect. The small gender difference in heritage preference depended on Item 29.

Regarding RQ6 (multivariable associations), when proficiency and TÖMER attendance were controlled, media use remained associated with involvement in every analysis, the association between friendship networks and involvement depended on the item set, and friendship networks remained associated with lower marginality, although the marginality model explained little variance. In the same models, proficiency was positively associated with heritage preference, which indicates that proficiency has no single relationship with acculturation. One possible reading is that high proficiency without rich contact reflects instrumental language learning alongside a socially separate life, resembling Berry's (1997, 2005) separation strategy. Another is that more proficient speakers are more exposed to the ambivalent attitudes documented in the Syrians Barometer (Erdogan, 2020, 2025). Neither was examined here.

Theoretically, the results indicate that an instrument adapted from the ARSMA-II can yield interpretable and internally consistent dimensions among Syrian Arabic speakers when marginality is measured directly as perceived exclusion, and that its heritage-related dimension should be supplemented with maintenance items before the instrument is used to classify acculturation strategies. Practically, the findings suggest that Turkish-language programmes might connect learners to Turkish-speaking social life, for example through conversation partners or community components, and that integration policies might create structured, equal-status contact between Syrians and Turkish citizens. These are proposals for future investigation, since the study evaluated no intervention. Instruction and contact are not in opposition: the data are compatible with instruction being a precondition for the informal use that accompanies involvement.

Several limitations qualify these conclusions. The sample was recruited by convenience and snowball methods, and most respondents were aged 18–29, held a university degree, and worked as academics or professionals, whereas most Syrians in Turkey have lower educational attainment, more precarious employment, and fewer Turkish-speaking networks (Shimshek, 2020). Involvement and proficiency are therefore likely to be overestimated. A sample of 113 is modest for factor analysis of 29 items, and the structure needs to be confirmed in a larger and more diverse sample, with heritage-maintenance items added. The design is cross-sectional, and all measures are self-reported, so the associations cannot be read as causal, and longitudinal and intervention studies are needed to establish whether friendships and media use foster involvement or follow from it. Several variables were measured coarsely: TÖMER attendance was binary, the media use index overlaps with the friendship measure, and the upper age categories overlapped at 40.

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Data Availability

The datasets generated and analysed during the current study are not publicly available due to the protection of participant privacy, but are available from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

Ethics Declaration

The survey was anonymous, non-interventional, and conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki. Informed consent was obtained via an opening page requiring respondents to confirm they were 18 or older and agreed to participate voluntarily, with no identifying information collected and all responses stored in a password-protected file accessible only to the author.

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Appendix A

The Questionnaire as Administered (Arabic Original with English Translations)

Part A (Table A1) contains the 13 background items and their response options; Part B (Table A2) contains the 29 acculturation items, rated on a five-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), with their subscale assignment from the exploratory factor analysis. The introductory text of the form explained that the study concerned the acculturation of Syrians towards Turkish culture, that the questionnaire had two parts, and thanked respondents for their participation.

Table A1

Part A: Background Items and Response Options

No.	Arabic wording as administered	English translation	Response options
1	الجنس	Gender	Female; Male
2	العمر	Age	Under 18; 18–23; 24–29; 30–40; 40 and above
3	هل درست في معهد تومر من قبل (مدارس لتعليم اللغة التركية)؟	Have you studied at a TÖMER institute (Turkish-language teaching centre) before?	Yes; No
4	ما هو مستواك في اللغة التركية؟	What is your level in Turkish?	Beginner; Intermediate; Upper-intermediate; Advanced
5	مستواك باللغة الإنكليزية	Your level in English	Beginner; Intermediate; Upper-intermediate; Advanced
6	ما هي مهنتك؟	What is your occupation?	Business owner; Academic/professional; Translator
7	هل تحمل جنسيتين؟	Do you hold two citizenships?	Yes; No
8	هل أنت متزوج؟	Are you married?	Yes; No
9	كم عدد الأصدقاء الأتراك لديك؟	How many Turkish friends do you have?	None; 1–2; 3–4; 5 or more
10	كم مرة تراسل أصدقاءك متحدثي اللغة التركية عبر الإنترنت؟	How often do you message your Turkish-speaking friends online?	Never; Sometimes; Always
11	كم مرة تشاهد أو تقرأ الأخبار عبر الإنترنت باللغة التركية؟	How often do you watch or read the news online in Turkish?	Never; Sometimes; Always

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No.	Arabic wording as administered	English translation	Response options
12	كم تقضي من وقتك في قراءة الكتب باللغة التركية؟	How much of your time do you spend reading books in Turkish?	Never; Sometimes; Always
13	الخلفية التعليمية	Educational background	Primary school; Middle school; High school; University; Master's; Doctorate

Note. TÖMER = Türkçe Öğretim Merkezi (university Turkish Teaching Centre). Each item was answered by selecting one option. The last two age options overlap at the value 40 as administered; they are reported in the article as 30–39 and 40 and above. The three Turkish-language use items (10–12) were scored never = 0, sometimes = 1, always = 2.

Table A2

Part B: The 29 Acculturation Items with Subscale Assignment (N = 113)

No.	Arabic wording as administered	English translation	Subscale
1	أنا أكتب باللغة التركية أفضل من لغتي العربية	I write in Turkish better than in my own language, Arabic.	HCI
2	معظم الموسيقى التي أستمع إليها مؤلفة من موسيقى تركية	Most of the music I listen to is Turkish music.	HCI
3	أنا ألقي النكت باللغة التركية و باللغة العربية	I tell jokes in both Turkish and Arabic.	HCI
4	أنا معتاد على أن أجد صعوبة في التواصل مع أي أحد سواء إن كان سوري أو تركي	I tend to have difficulty communicating with anyone, whether Syrian or Turkish.	MAR
5	عندما أكون في منزلي أنا عادة أتحدث التركية	When I am at home, I usually speak Turkish.	HCI
6	أصدقائي الأعزاء أتراك	My closest friends are Turkish.	HCI
7	أنا أستطيع أن أفكر باللغة التركية كما أفكر باللغة العربية	I can think in Turkish just as I think in Arabic.	HCI
8	أنا أشعر أحياناً بأنني غير محبوب من قبل الأتراك و العرب	I sometimes feel that I am not liked by Turks and Arabs.	MAR
9	إذا طلب مني أن أكتب شعر فأنا أفضل أن أكتبه باللغة التركية	If I were asked to write poetry, I would prefer to write it in Turkish.	HCI
10	أنا أفضل الذهاب إلى المناسبات الاجتماعية الممتلئة بالأتراك	I prefer going to social events that are full of Turks.	HCI
11	لدي أصدقاء أتراك و سوريون	I have Turkish and Syrian friends.	HCI
12	تمر عليي أوقات أشعر بها بأنه لا يضمني أحد	There are times when I feel that nobody includes me.	MAR
13	أنا أتفاهم بشكل أفضل مع الأتراك	I get along better with Turks.	HCP (R)
14	أنا أشعر بأن السوريون يعاملونني بشكل مساو أكثر من الأتراك	I feel that Syrians treat me more equally than Turks do.	HCP
15	أنا أشعر بأنه يتم تقديري من قبل الأتراك و السوريين	I feel that I am appreciated by Turks and Syrians.	MAR (R)
16	أحياناً أجد صعوبة في التواصل مع الأتراك	I sometimes have difficulty communicating with Turks.	MAR
17	أشعر بأن الشعب التركي يتفهمني أكثر من الشعب السوري	I feel that Turkish people understand me more than Syrian people do.	HCP (R)
18	أفضل الذهاب إلى موعد غرامي مع سوري على أن أذهب مع تركي	I would rather go on a date with a Syrian than with a Turk.	HCP
19	أشعر أحياناً بالراحة الشديدة حول الأتراك و السوريون	I sometimes feel very comfortable around Turks and Syrians.	HCI
20	أحياناً أجد صعوبة من أجل إنشاء الصداقات	I sometimes have difficulty making friends.	MAR
21	أجد سهولة أكبر في شرح مشاعري للأتراك على السوريون	I find it easier to explain my feelings to Turks than to Syrians.	HCP (R)
22	أشعر بإسترخاء أكبر عندما أكون مع سوري على وجودي مع تركي	I feel more relaxed when I am with a Syrian than when I am with a Turk.	HCP
23	أحياناً أشعر بأن الأتراك و السوريون لا يتقبلونني	I sometimes feel that Turks and Syrians do not accept me.	MAR
24	أشعر براحة أكبر عندما أتواصل مع أتراك	I feel more comfortable when I communicate with Turks.	HCP (R)

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No.	Arabic wording as administered	English translation	Subscale
25	لا يجب أن يواعد السوريون غير السوريون	Syrians should not date non-Syrians.	MAR
26	أحياناً أجد صعوبة بأن أثق بالأتراك و بالسوريون	I sometimes have difficulty trusting Turks and Syrians.	MAR
27	معظم أصدقائي من العمل أو المدرسة أتراك	Most of my friends from work or school are Turkish.	HCI
28	أجد بأن الأتراك و السوريون لا يستطعون أن يفهمونني	I find that Turks and Syrians cannot understand me.	MAR
29	أجد نفسي لا أشعر بالراحة عندما أكون مع أتراك	I find that I do not feel comfortable when I am with Turks.	HCP

Note. English translations are the author's. HCI = Host-Culture Involvement (11 items); MAR = Marginality (10 items); HCP = Heritage-Culture Preference (8 items; relative comfort with, or preference for, Syrian over Turkish company). (R) = reverse-scored after factor extraction and before computing the subscale mean. Eleven items are adapted from the ARSMA-II, and 18 were newly developed for this study.

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