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Socio-Cultural Influences on Subjective Well-Being: Evidence from Syrian Migrants in Turkey

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Abstract

Political tensions linked with immigration flows have sparked and stimulated the debate about migration and the integration of migrants to host societies. We aim to examine the participation of Syrian forced migrants in socio-cultural activities in Turkey and compare the frequency of participation with Turkish respondents. The second aim is to study the influence of participation in socio-cultural activities on subjective well-being (SWB). An interesting finding is that Syrians report higher SWB levels than Turkish respondents. Moreover, the study shows that integration and social inclusion should not be attributed solely to immigrants but should also rely on the efforts of the recipient societies since financial constraints and income disparities may potentially make it more difficult for migrants' socio-cultural participation. It is critical to explore the role of socio-cultural participation in SWB because of the belief that this facility promotes social inclusion, building more cohesive communities, which in turn improves well-being.

Keywords: Cinema and Theatrical Plays; First-Generation Immigrants; Social and Cultural Participation; Subjective Well-Being; Syrian Migrants

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Introduction

The upheaval and civil uprisings in Syria, which began in 2011, resulted in one of the greatest humanitarian crises worldwide since the Second World War. Everything has changed for Syrians who have lost their lives, their homeland, and their future. The conflict has affected neighbouring nations, especially Turkey, which shares a 911-kilometre border with Syria. Turkey, along with neighbouring countries such as Jordan and Lebanon, has received a considerable number of Syrian refugees compared to Europe, the USA, and Canada (Government of Canada, 2017; Yigit and Tatch, 2017; UNHCR, 2019).

A systematic analysis of acculturation requires an evaluation of the migration policies in the host countries, as well as the general direction and attitudes of society toward immigrants (Berry, 1997). The Turkish authorities and the Syrian refugees had mistakenly assumed in the beginning that the war would be over shortly, and that Syrians would be able to return home after a brief stay (İçduygu, 2015). According to the Temporary Protection Law (TPL) Syrian nationals, as well as stateless people and refugees from Syria, arriving in Turkey, are granted temporary protection by the Turkish government. Under normal circumstances, they are not returned to Syria unless they request to do so. Syrian refugees seeking temporary protection in Turkey shall not be punished, for instance, through administrative fines, for illegally entering the country or for irregularly staying in Turkey, as long as they are identified by Turkish authorities and seek protection, approach Turkish authorities themselves within a reasonable period and provide a valid reason for their undocumented entry in Turkey. Beneficiaries are provided with protection and assistance, including the right to remain in Turkey until a more permanent solution to their situation is found, protection against forcible returns to Syria, and access to basic rights and needs. This involves

access to education, health care, social assistance, psychological support, and labour-force participation, among others (Rygiel et al., 2016; Heinrich Böll Stiftung Foundation, 2019).

Although Assad may reclaim control of Syria, hope for the repatriation of Syrian refugees has dropped dramatically. The Turkish society has shown great resilience in adapting a large number of Syrian refugees. However, unfavourable attitudes towards refugees have become more widespread and significantly grown in the last few years. This negative trend is the result of Turkey's prolonged economic crisis, the repression of the rule of law and freedom of expression (Kınıklıoğlu, 2020). The Turkish government is increasingly focusing on integrationist programmes such as promoting employment, language skills, and vocational training. The Turkish presidency's development plan for 2019-2023 calls for strengthening the bureaucratic architecture dealing with migration, strives to facilitate refugees' social adaption and emphasises the importance of developing effective policies for refugees' economic and social integration (Batalla and Tolay, 2018; Kınıklıoğlu, 2020; Erdemir, 2022). It has begun to phase out so-called temporary education centres (TECs), where Arabic is taught, and is instead integrating Syrian children into the Turkish public school system (Batalla and Tolay, 2018; Erdemir, 2022). Refugee camps are also being depleted, with less than 1.5 per cent of Syrian refugees presently residing in them. Most Syrians now are trying to make ends meet in Turkish towns and cities, often with the support of Turkish and international groups, and receiving monthly allowances funded by the European Union and routed through the Turkish government (UNDP, 2022).

Although Turkish citizens and Syrians share common spaces in cities, they live separate lives with little contact and limited social interaction. Nonetheless, Syrian refugees' attitudes toward Turkish society are optimistic. Many Syrians do not perceive discrimination and continue to express appreciation and a desire to live in harmony with the communities in the host country. Syrian refugees recognise the Turkish government as the primary source of vital aid and are happy

being in Turkey (Erdoğan, 2019a; Kınıklıoğlu, 2020). It is critical to explore how the socio-cultural interaction between Turkish citizens and Syrians may influence their well-being and whether Turkish respondents who interact with Syrians may report higher well-being levels. We should highlight that not all socio-cultural activities explored in the study involve interaction between Turkish citizens and Syrians.

The study's primary goal is to examine the frequency with which Turkish citizens and Syrians participate in socio-cultural activities and to look into the most important characteristics positively associated with participation. The second goal is to study the link between participation and *SWB* of Syrian forced migrants and Turkish respondents measured by life satisfaction and general happiness. The motivation of the study relies on previous studies examining the role of socio-cultural participation and *SWB* in social intervention and public policies because of the belief that this facility promotes social inclusion, building more cohesive communities, which in turn improves human development and well-being (Blessi et al., 2014; Cerisola and Panzera, 2022; Giovanis, 2021, 2022). The findings also emphasise the critical role of socio-economic factors, such as education, wealth and income, in socio-cultural participation. Thus, this study shows that integration and social inclusion should not be attributed solely to immigrants but should also rely on the efforts of the recipient societies since financial constraints and income disparities may make it more difficult for the migrants' socio-cultural participation.

To the best of our knowledge, this is one of the few studies exploring the relationship between socio-cultural participation and well-being among natives and forced migrants and the first study that explores Syrian migrants in Turkey. More specifically, previous studies have examined the factors of socio-cultural integration, such as education, language skills, potential prejudice and discrimination, among others (Maliepaard et al., 2010; Wang et al., 2010; Dow, 2011; Giovanis, 2021, 2022). Furthermore, studies have explored the role of social support and cultural

participation in the well-being of migrants (Hashemi et al., 2019; Giovanis, 2021; Yıldırım et al., 2022).

However, these studies have not explored the factors of socio-cultural participation for both host citizens and migrants and have not compared the well-being of natives and forced migrants. Giovanis (2021, 2022) examined the role of cultural participation between host communities and migrants, but these studies consider regular migrants and not refugees or forced migrants. Furthermore, we focus only on the Syrian forced migrants in Turkey. Thus, exploring the role of socio-cultural participation in the improvement of migrants' well-being apart from education and labour status, among others, may provide insights into alternative channels of creating inclusive and happier communities.

Conceptual Framework

We briefly highlight the hypotheses investigated to evaluate the role and influence of participation in cultural and social activities on well-being. Also, we depict the hypotheses examining whether participation determines higher levels of Syrian migrants' well-being than Turkish respondents. Earlier studies have explored the factors of participation in “highbrow” and “lowbrow” activities (van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2013; Kottasz, 2015). These studies can provide insights about the cultural inequalities, which appears to be critical, given that many local and national governments have invested and spent effort to increase access to highbrow culture, particularly for persons from lower socio-economic classes and minorities (Feder and Katz-Gerro, 2012). The argument of exploring the factors of socio-cultural participation may provide insights to policymakers. In particular, since engagement in “highbrow” socio-cultural activities is linked to the development of competences applicable in a variety of life domains, strategies and policies

aiming at ensuring equitable access to cultural activities are likely to support the emancipation of lower socio-economic classes and diminish existing class boundaries (van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2013). Thus, we aim to explore the determinants of participation in socio-cultural activities and identify the barriers and inequalities of participation in “highbrow” activities. The first hypothesis we test is:

Hypothesis H₁: Social class expressed by the education level, wealth and employment increase participation in “highbrow” socio-cultural activities, while low socio-economic status is associated with preferences in “lowbrow” socio-cultural activities.

Hence, wealthy people are more inclined to be involved in “highbrow” activities, distinguishing their social position from the others as carriers of cultural practice. To measure wealth, we control our regressions for household income and include the education level, which is associated with higher income and wealth (Wolla and Sullivan, 2017). However, we should highlight that people belonging to the lower socio-economic status levels do not necessarily prefer “lowbrow” activities because of tastes. Still, it is likely that they also cannot afford to participate in “highbrow” activities due to financial constraints if these are related to higher costs. As we present evidence from the summary statistics in the next section, the Syrian migrants in our sample report significantly lower household income, education attainment levels, and employment rates. Hence, we could argue that due to lower wealth and education levels, Syrian forced migrants are less inclined to participate in “highbrow” activities. Previous countries have explored the socio-economic inequalities in cultural activities across countries (Katz-Gerro, 2002; van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2013) or considering natives and migrants (Paredes, 2016), but there is no study exploring the inequalities in “highbrow” activities between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens.

Few studies have explored refugees’ participation in social and cultural activities (Vougioukalou et al., 2019; Giovanis, 2021; Giovanis et al., 2021). Based on the literature, we employ indicators related to frequency of participation in cinema and theatre, attendance at

museums, historical sites and parks and frequency of watching TV (Kraaykamp and Van Eijck, 2005; Giovanis, 2021, 2022; Giovanis et al., 2021). Moreover, we introduce socio-cultural activities that involve interaction between Turkish citizens and Syrian migrants, as we discuss in more detail in the next section, such as inviting Turkish friends for a meal or joining Turkish friends in sports events (Gibbs and Block, 2017; Stone, 2018). The second hypothesis we test is:

Hypothesis H₂: Syrian forced migrants are more inclined than Turkish respondents to engage in “lowbrow” social and cultural activities, while participation in “highbrow” activities is less common for Syrians.

Following the discussion so far, the study’s first aim is to compare the frequency with which Turkish citizens and Syrians participate in social and cultural events. The second objective is to delve into the repercussions of socio-cultural engagement on well-being, specifically whether engagement in those events is more significant for the *SWB* of Syrian forced migrants. The literature on epidemiology, economics, and sociology documents the adverse effects of social exclusion and material deprivation on well-being at individual and population levels (Gilbert, 2009; Cuesta and Budría, 2014; Terraneo, 2020).

Literature has identified the factors of socio-cultural participation and investigated its role in subjective well-being (Reyes-Martínez et al., 2020; Giovanis, 2021). Toepoel (2011) finds that older adults who are socially integrated and culturally active may improve their life satisfaction. Engagement in social and cultural activities helps to improve social interactions and further enhance the *SWB* of people (Helliwell et al., 2014; Kuykendall et al., 2015; Mundet- Bolos et al., 2017; Han et al., 2019).

While there is no straightforward answer to this question, we assume that cultural participation can be similar to the expectations of older people or more educated people. For instance, we consider older people with more years of working experience who have already accomplished certain aspects and “climbed the ladder” of their career and their younger counterparts who are

still at the beginning of their career path. Older and more experienced people who earn a promotion are more inclined to experience lower positive *SWB* changes than the younger people who “climb” one more step in their career ladder. Another example can be found in the studies investigating the relationship between *SWB* and education, where there might be no differences in the life satisfaction reported between those with no qualification and with postgraduate degrees, while those in the lower and middle levels of education attainment report higher levels of *SWB*. A possible explanation is that more qualifications for those who have achieved academic standards make little difference in their life satisfaction and their quality of life per se, and they also have high aspirations and expectations about their income, employment, and life in general (Stutzer, 2004; Giovanis, 2019). The third hypothesis explored is:

Hypothesis H₃: Participation in social and cultural activities enhance the *SWB* of Turkish and Syrian people.

Previous studies investigated the aspects of social and cultural participation in *SWB* (Albanesi et al., 2007; Blessi et al., 2007; Chan et al., 2023; Cicognani et al., 2008; Giovanis, 2021; Giovanis et al., 2021; Hampshire and Matthijsse, 2010; Kuykendall et al., 2015; Toepoel, 2011; Laukka, 2007). Engagement in social and cultural activities has the potential to promote and strengthen community and social bonds, fostering harmony, and social solidarity, increases one’s network and sense of belongingness in the host society, helps to build inclusive communities that allow for the integration of people, including refugees and forced migrants (Rafnsson et al., 2015; Hashemi et al., 2019; Giovanis, 2021; Giovanis et al., 2021; Yıldırım et al., 2022).

Nevertheless, we try to contribute to the literature by exploring the influence of participation in social and cultural activities on the *SWB* of Syrian forced migrants in Turkey. Hence, we aim to explore whether Syrian migrants in Turkey who participate in various social and cultural events

are more likely to enhance their *SWB* and, thus, investigate whether this participation diminishes the possible well-being differences between Turkish citizens and Syrians.

Refugees' integration is a process that takes place over time and requires increasing exposure to the host culture. The authors acknowledge that economic and political domains of integration, such as citizenship rights and labour outcomes, are critical for promoting social inclusion and enhancing well-being among migrants. Nevertheless, research should also focus on the impact of policies on the sphere of social and cultural participation, as this can foster social inclusion, provide a space for cross-cultural dialogue, and is likely to enhance further well-being (Vougioukalou et al., 2019; Giovanis et al., 2021).

Socio-cultural participation and interaction between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens may promote a sense of belongingness and link to higher levels of *SWB* and the flourishing of refugees (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Brailovskaia et al., 2019; du Plooy et al., 2019; Yıldırım et al., 2022). As discussed earlier, indicators of social and cultural participation include attendance at cinema, theatre, museums and historical sites, and reading books (Vougioukalou et al., 2019; Hiebert and Bragg, 2020; Giovanis et al., 2021; Giovanis, 2021).

Furthermore, we include the participation of Syrian migrants in sports activities with Turkish friends. Although there are many studies investigating the role of physical recreation participation in the process of settlement and social inclusion of migrants in various Western countries (e.g., Doherty and Taylor, 2007; Frisby, 2011), only a few studies about the role of sports activities have focused solely on forced migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers (Block and Gibbs, 2017; Dukic et al., 2018; Stone, 2018; Mohammadi, 2019). Also, these studies limit their analysis to refugees, while we explore the frequency of participation and interaction in sports activities between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens and examine their role in well-being.

Interaction between migrants and host communities through sports activities and social events, such as meals, gatherings, parties and invitations to house for cooking may enable people to develop their self-esteem establish regular patterns of participation that provide a sense of stability and security and can be entertaining and joyful activities that help refugees to cope with the trauma and stress in their lives (Olliff, 2008; Northcote and Casimiro, 2009; Stack and Iwasaki, 2009; Ley and Barrio, 2019). Also, refugees being invited or inviting native friends for cooking and gatherings can facilitate social connections and networks and provide opportunities for cultural celebration, learning and development, such as cross-cultural interaction, learning and sharing (Stack and Iwasaki, 2009).

Syrian migrants may face financial constraints and potential discrimination. Nevertheless, engagement in cultural and social events can be a significant feature for connecting people with similar cultural preferences and social values and bringing people together with those with different values and perceptions, as in the case of interaction between Turkish and Syrian people. Through mutual experiences, these kinds of communication have the potential to induce empathy, compassion, understanding and respect for differences and diminish prejudice, which may positively affect *SWB* (Stone, 2018; Vougioukalou et al., 2019; Giovanis, 2021)

However, whether participation matters more for Syrians or Turkish people is unknown. In particular, even though the results may support hypothesis H₃, we cannot know beforehand whether participation improves Syrians' *SWB* more than the *SWB* levels of Turkish respondents. This may depend on hypotheses H₁ and H₂, where Syrians are more inclined to participate in “lowbrow” activities that are easier to access and, thus, more likely to positively affect their *SWB*. On the other hand, participation in “highbrow” activities may have a higher impact because of the nature of those activities. The fourth hypothesis explored in this study is:

Hypothesis H4: Syrian forced migrants who participate in cultural and social activities, improve their SWB more than Turkish people's respondents. On the other hand, the changes in the SWB will be higher for the Turkish respondents who socialise with Syrian friends.

We argue that small daily events, such as Syrians inviting their Turkish friends or socialising with them, may improve their *SWB*, even though for Turkish people, these events may not play an important role because they may have higher aspirations and expectations of their life, as we have mentioned above, that are not met. Similarly, cultural goods such as reading Turkish books and poems, singing Turkish songs and attending the cinema and Turkish theatrical plays may improve the Syrians' feeling of belonging compared to the Turkish respondents who read a book or poem written by a foreign author.

Hence, according to hypothesis H4, we expect to find higher levels of Syrian *SWB* due to socio-cultural participation, especially if the Syrian's aspirations and expectations from life are lower, which is explained by the conflict experienced before moving to Turkey. On the contrary, Turkish respondents who socialise with Syrian friends may experience higher *SWB* levels, a reduction of prejudgment, and grow a feeling of compassion, empathy and understanding.

This study contributes to literature in the following ways. First, it compares the frequency of participation in socio-cultural activities between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens. Second, it explores the role of socio-cultural activities in the *SWB* of Turkish citizens and Syrian forced migrants. Third, to the best of our knowledge, it is the first study exploring whether the *SWB* of Syrian forced migrants, due to socio-cultural participation, notes a higher change in *SWB* compared to Turkish citizens.

Methodology

To answer the study's main objectives, we estimate the system of regressions:

$$SCP_{ipc} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 M_{ipc} + \beta' \mathbf{X}_{ipc} + r_p + \theta_c + \varepsilon_{ipc} \quad (1)$$

$$SWB_{ipc} = b_0 + b_1 M_{ipc} + b_2 SCP_{ipc} + b_3 SCP_{ipc} \cdot M_{ipc} + b' \mathbf{Z}_{ipc} + l_p + \phi_c + u_{ipc} \quad (2)$$

SWB expresses the well-being outcomes for the individual i living in province p , born in province c . The province p refers to Şanlıurfa, Mardin, Adana, Mersin, Gaziantep and Hatay, as we provide more details in the data section. Province of birth c includes all the provinces in Turkey and Syria. Sets r_p and l_p are the fixed province effects of residence respectively in regressions (1) and (2), and the sets θ_p and ϕ_p are the fixed province effects of birth respectively in (1) and (2) to control for potential unobserved area characteristics. *SCP* indicates the frequency of socio-cultural activities. We include the dummy variable M , taking the value of one for the Syrian respondents and zero for the Turkish respondents.

We employ the first regression to explore whether Syrians participate more frequently compared to Turkish people, testing hypothesis H₂. We also investigate hypothesis H₁ to test whether demographics and socio-economic characteristics influence socio-cultural participation. These characteristics include sex, age, education level, household type, household income, marital, health and employment status. Regression (2) is employed to investigate hypothesis H₃ and test whether and how much participation in various social and cultural activities lifts the well-being of both Syrians and Turkish citizens. We differentiate the *SWB* regression (2) with respect to *SCP*. As we have highlighted earlier, if the respondent is a Syrian, variable M takes the value of one, and zero otherwise (Turkish respondent). Coefficient b_2 shows the association between *SWB* and the socio-cultural participation of Turkish respondents, and the sum of coefficients $b_2 + b_3$ is used for Syrians. In the next section, we describe the *SWB* outcomes the *SCP* activities explored and the control variables employed in the regressions.

The main interest in this study is the interaction term of *SCP* and *M*. This is expressed by coefficient b_3 , and we test hypothesis H₄ to investigate if socio-cultural participation raises the Syrian migrants' SWB more than Turkish citizens. Both outcomes in regressions (1)-(2) measure frequency and, thus, are ordered variables. Hence, we will estimate a simultaneous system of Ordered Probit regressions. We should emphasise that we do not report the Logit model estimates because the marginal effects are relatively close to the ordered Probit model. For the analysis, we employ the STATA software.

We should highlight that endogeneity coming from reverse causality may be present, where not only socio-cultural participation influences the *SWB*, but also happier people may participate more often. Nonetheless, we attempt to address this issue through the timing of the dependent variable, which is the *SWB*, and the socio-cultural participation where the question on the latter was set up that was preceding the *SWB*. In this case, we assume that socio-cultural participation influences *SWB*.

Data

The data were administered, conducted and collected by HIPOTEZ Research and Consultancy, a reputable research and consultancy company in Istanbul, Turkey. The survey was conducted in 6 provinces with the highest share of the Syrian population, which are Şanlıurfa, Mardin, Adana, Mersin, Gaziantep and Hatay, between October and December 2020. Provinces are selected based on the data of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) in Turkey¹. Based on the 2021 January data of DGMM, the Syrian population in Hatay, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Mersin, Adana, and Mardin are 26.6%, 21.7%, 20.3%, 12.1%, 11.2%, 10.6% respectively. Kilis is at the

¹ <https://en.goc.gov.tr/>

top of the rank order of provinces, with 98% of the Syrian population. Because of the small number of Turkish citizens living there, we did not implement the survey in Kilis to prevent biased estimates. Our sample is representative of the populations of these provinces. A considerable variation in important observable characteristics of interest has been achieved, including age, education, income, employment status, and variables related to socio-cultural participation investigated in this study. The main survey data collection method was face-to-face. The Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) formed the basis for the establishment of the sampling framework. As a sample size, 1,031 Turkish citizens and 1,067 Syrian citizens were interviewed.

We should highlight that we limit our analysis to the above-mentioned provinces for two main reasons. First, according to DGMM, the share of Syrian refugees over the population in those provinces is over 10 per cent, and it ranges between 3-5 per cent in other large provinces, such as Izmir, Istanbul and Konya. Second, Syrian refugees in the first-place entered camps in the provinces where we conducted the survey, while others moved to other provinces at a later stage. However, if we also consider those who have moved, we need to consider factors affecting their socio-cultural participation and thus, their well-being, as provinces may vary in various socio-economic and cultural characteristics. In particular, using panel data, the province-fixed effects for the non-movers could be eliminated. On the other hand, in the case of the movers, the error term will contain the difference in the province-fixed effects of the two residences, which is likely to be correlated with the difference of the socio-economic and cultural characteristics across the two locations (Giovanis, 2019). Therefore, using cross-sectional data, we limit our analysis to the provinces mentioned earlier to reduce the endogeneity coming from location differences.

In panel A of Table 1, we report the proportions of the frequency of participation in various socio-cultural activities explored in this study. As we highlighted in the introduction, it is important to examine how the interaction between Turkish citizens and Syrians may influence their well-

being. However, first, we present the participation in socio-cultural activities that do not necessarily involve an interaction between Turkish citizens and Syrians. For the attendance to the theatre, the question refers to whether Syrians attend a Turkish theatrical play. In contrast, for the Turkish respondents, the question asks how often they have attended a foreign theatrical play over the last two years. At this point, we should notice that the foreign play does not imply it is delivered in a foreign language, but it is an adapted theatrical play written by a foreigner. About the cinema, similarly to the theatre, we consider the frequency of Syrian forced migrants attending a Turkish movie, while for Turkish respondents, we ask about whether and how often they have gone to the cinema to watch a foreign movie. We should highlight that this includes both dubbed and movies played in the original language, as cinema facilities in Turkey may provide, not always, both types of movies. The third question, the frequency of visiting historical monuments, sites, parks and museums, refers to Turkish and Syrian respondents. The fourth activity explored is the frequency of watching television, and in particular, for Syrian respondents, the frequency of watching Turkish programmes, shows and series on TV, while for the Turkish respondents, the question refers to foreign TV programmes. In all cases, we observe that most respondents report zero participation, which is significantly lower for the Turkish respondents. For instance, 86.81 per cent of the Turkish sample answered that they have never attended a foreign theatrical play, while the percentage for Syrians is 95.88. Regarding cinema, 89.62 per cent of Syrian respondents have never watched a Turkish movie, significantly higher than the 59.64 per cent of Turkish respondents who have never watched a foreign film. Also, the attendance for the Turkish respondents is significantly higher, as 13.50 per cent have watched a foreign movie over the last two years eight or more times, while only 0.94 per cent of the Syrians have watched a Turkish movie.

The next section of questions refers to frequency activities directly referring to the interaction between Syrians and Turkish respondents. More specifically, the first question refers to the

frequency of a Syrian being invited from a Turkish, or the frequency for a Turkish respondent being invited by a Syrian. Similarly, the other question asks the frequency of a Turkish inviting a Syrian or a Syrian respondent inviting a Turkish citizen. While this question appears to be similar, we aim to explore whether a Syrian invited by a Turkish expresses a higher level of *SWB* compared to the case where a Syrian respondent invites a Turkish citizen. The same applies to the Turkish respondents. The other two questions show the frequency of Syrians and Turkish citizens going out for food or a drink and the frequency of organising activities such as cooking and parties. The frequency of Syrians participating in sports activities with Turkish and vice versa is the next question. The last question that involves frequency is the participation in Salah in a mosque, which is the Muslim prayer. In particular, this question asks about the frequency of the Syrians practising Salah with their Turkish friends and vice versa. In this set of variables, we observe that Syrians are more likely to participate with Turkish friends in activities related to food, drinking and picnics, are more likely to invite or be invited by Turkish friends and are more likely to practise Salah in the mosque with their Turkish friends. This can be seen by the lower proportion in the answer never. For instance, roughly 90 per cent of the Turkish sample have never been invited or never been invited by a Syrian for food or drink, while the respective percentage for the Syrians is around 61. Similarly, 88 per cent of the Turkish respondents have never gone out for a drink or food meal with their Syrian friends, while the respective percentage for the Syrian sample is significantly lower at 50.14 per cent.

The last set of variables includes binary responses on whether the Syrians have read a novel or poem written by a Turkish author or whether they know a Turkish song. Similarly, for the Turkish respondents, the questions refer to whether they have read a novel or poem written by a foreign author and whether they know a foreign song. In this case, we observe that 34.63 per cent of the Turkish sample have read at least one foreign novel, but only 7.39 per cent of the Syrians have

read a Turkish novel. We should notice that the foreign novel for the Turkish respondents does not imply that it is written in the original language or the authors' language, but most likely, which is the expected situation, the novel is translated into Turkish. On the other hand, a larger proportion of Syrians knew at least one Turkish poem or song at 17.49 per cent, compared to the 10.67 per cent of the Turkish respondents. The last question shows the proportion of Syrians having a Turkish friend, which is 52 per cent, significantly higher than the 23.67 per cent of the Turkish sample who have reported that they have a Syrian friend. Since we use ordered variables, we implement the Kruskal-Wallis chi-square test to investigate whether there are statistically significant differences in the respondents between Turkish and Syrians in the socio-cultural activities explored. In all cases, based on the *p-values*, we reject the null hypothesis, implying that the differences in the responses are statistically significant. The *t-statistic* test provides the same concluding remarks but is not reported here.

In panel B of Table 1, we report the *SWB* outcomes, expressed by life satisfaction and happiness, and the continuous control variables of annual household income and age. We present the proportions of the categorical variables in panel C. Life satisfaction and happiness are measured on a 5-point Likert scale. Happiness answers the verbal question: "How happy are you in general"? The possible answers are *very unhappy*, *unhappy*, *neither happy nor unhappy*, *happy*, and *very happy*. The variable takes values between 0 (very unhappy) and 4 (very happy). Similarly, the question for life satisfaction is: "How satisfied are you with your life"? The possible answers include *very dissatisfied*, *dissatisfied*, *neither satisfied nor dissatisfied*, *satisfied*, and *very satisfied*, taking values between 0 (very dissatisfied) and 4 (very satisfied). Interestingly, the average *SWB* for both indicators of happiness and life satisfaction is significantly lower than the Syrians' averages according to the *t-statistic* test and the *p-values*. In particular, for the Turkish respondents,

the average value of *SWB* ranges between 2.1 and 2.2, while the average *SWB* values for the Syrian sample are around 2.8.

The average age for Syrians and Turkish respondents ranges between 34-39, while the average income in the Turkish sample is significantly higher at 48,000 Turkish Liras (TL) compared to the 28,360 TL of the Syria sample. Males constitute almost 49 per cent of the sample, and the remaining 51 per cent are females, which, along with the average age, the distribution is representative of the Turkish and Syrian populations. The 47.72 per cent of the Turkish sample work, while the respective percentage for the Syrian sample is 38.17 per cent. We should notice that the non-working sample does not imply that they are unemployed. In particular, the question refers only to whether the respondents have worked in the past week for a profit, including employers and employees. This is in line with the European Union- Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC), which is followed by the TURKSTAT. However, the survey was designed to ask only this question to capture the short time of interviewing, given also the fact that some of the Syrian respondents may not have a stable working status. Furthermore, the non-working sample includes those out of the labour force, such as students, homemakers, retired and unable to work due to disability. The statistics confirm the inequalities between Turkish citizens and Syrian forced migrants regarding income and employment (Caro, 2020).

Most of the Syrians are married with a religious ceremony at 34.80 per cent, compared to the 2.23 per cent of the Turkish sample, while almost 60 per cent of the Turkish respondents are married with a civil ceremony. This is expected, as religious marriage is not recognised in Turkey². Syrians in our sample are singles at 15.72 per cent compared to Turkish respondents at 31.62 per cent. The last control variable reported in Table 1 is the education level. We observe that roughly

² https://www.allaboutturkey.com/marriage_foreigners.html

12 per cent of the Syrian sample is illiterate, almost three times higher than Turkish respondents. In the majority, both Syrians and Turkish have completed primary school respectively at 26.66 and 31.13 per cent, followed by high school at 25.80 for the Turkish respondents and secondary school for the Syrians at 25.82 per cent. Overall, we observe that a larger proportion of the Syrian sample is illiterate. More Turkish respondents have completed high school, while 15.52 of the Turkish have completed a higher education degree that involves an undergraduate or postgraduate, such as a master's or PhD diploma. The statistics reveal inequalities where Turkish people are more educated, confirming the findings from earlier studies (Bircan and Sunata. 2015).

(Insert Table 1)

Results

We report the estimates for the attendance at the cinema in Table 2. The results in column (1) confirm hypotheses H_1 and H_2 , where income and education are positively related to attendance at the cinema, while we find no differences across gender, employment status and health status. This can be expected, as restrictions to physical health, such as disability, may not hinder participation in this activity. Also, both men and women may participate at a similar frequency in the cinema, while women tend to participate less frequently in sports matches and events but more frequently in “highbrow” activities, expressed by visits to historical sites and attendance to opera and theatre (Christin, 2012). However, our results seem to not support the findings from earlier studies (Bryson, 1996; Liikkanen, 1996; Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000; Falk and Katz-Gerro, 2016; Hallmann et al., 2017) because we find that men and women report no differences in the frequency of attendance at the theatre, watching TV programmes, and visiting historical sites and museums. On the contrary, previous studies found that men are more active in lowbrow cultural activities, whereas women are more active in the sphere of highbrow culture than men (Bryson, 1996;

Liikkanen, 1996; Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000; Falk and Katz-Gerro, 2016; Hallmann et al., 2017). We reveal an insignificant association between employment status and attendance at the cinema, attributed to the fact that those who are not employed do not necessarily belong to the lower-income groups since it includes students, housewives, and retired.

The coefficient of the first regression used to analyse the first aim of the study is negative and significant, indicating that Syrians participate less frequently than their Turkish respondents, confirming hypothesis H₂. We attribute this to the fact that the Syrians in our sample report significantly lower income levels, and most of them have completed lower education qualifications, which are related to lower frequency levels of socio-cultural participation. According to the results in columns (2)-(3), which are the *SWB* regressions, we accept hypothesis H₃, that cinema attendance improves the *SWB*, only in the happiness regression, but not in the life satisfaction because the coefficient b_2 becomes insignificant. This can be explained by the fact that happiness is a transient experience that occurs spontaneously, whereas life satisfaction is a lasting sentiment derived from the achievement of lifelong objectives. Similarly, our results do not confirm hypothesis H₄, as the coefficient of main interest b_3 is also insignificant in both happiness and life satisfaction regressions.

An interesting finding is that Syrian migrants report higher levels of *SWB* than Turkish citizens, as shown by the positive and significant coefficient b_1 . This finding can be explained by the aspirations and expectations of life (Ambrosetti et al., 2021). In particular, even though the Syrians in our sample have experienced difficulties since they were forced to leave their homes and jobs, they may report higher *SWB* due to lower expectations than Turkish respondents have. This finding is consistent with the study by Erdoğan (2019a), who found that the happiness of Syrians is constantly rising. According to the Syrians-Barometer 2017, Syrians are happier due to growing networks with Syrians and Turkish citizens (Smeeke et al., 2017; Erdoğan, 2019b). Furthermore,

post-migration factors, such as language proficiency enhancement and labour market status, improve significantly refugees' well-being (Ambrosetti et al., 2021). Nevertheless, earlier studies have not compared the changes in *SWB* between host communities and migrants due to socio-cultural participation, as we aim to explore in this study.

According to the Syrians-Barometer, Turkish society is becoming increasingly concerned about the growing numbers of Syrian refugees and issues related to security, expenditures, disruptions in public services, and loss of identity (Erdoğan, 2019b). From the Syrian migrants' perspective, even though these provinces exhibit significant cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity, an increasing Syrian community in Turkey also implies a stronger Syrian identity and growing solidarity networks. Thus, the rising numbers of Syrians lead to anxiety in Turkish society. Syrians become happier because they live in areas characterised by ethnic and cultural diversity and because of growing networks (Smeekees et al., 2017; Erdoğan, 2019b; Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021; Yıldırım et al., 2022; Al-Krenawi and Bell, 2023). Previous studies show that providing positive psychological resources, such as hope, belongingness and social support, and positive perceptions of host communities towards refugees can promote enhanced life satisfaction levels (van der Boor et al., 2020; Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021; Yıldırım et al., 2022).

In both *SWB* regressions, we observe that men report lower *SWB* levels than women, which confirms the findings from previous studies (Graham and Chattopadhyay, 2013; Joshanloo and Jovanović, 2020). While our aim is not to identify the mechanisms and reasons for the lower *SWB* levels of men, unemployment is one of the factors affecting men, as in many regions across the globe. This finding suggests that, among men, work still plays a vital role in gaining social approbation (van der Meer, 2014), as evidenced by our sample of Turkish and Syrian respondents.

Household income is positively related to *SWB*, while physical health conditions present a negative association with *SWB* (Diener and Biswas-Diener, 2009; Ngamaba et al., 2017). We find

an insignificant relationship between *SWB*, age and education level. Previous studies found mixed results, such as a linear or cubic relationship (Myers, 2000; Giovanis, 2019), while other studies found a U-shaped or an inverted U-shaped relationship (Argyle, 1999; Easterlin, 2006). Nevertheless, our findings show an insignificant relationship between *SWB* and age, which can be mediated by income, gender, and the dummies of the provinces of residence and birth. Another important factor is language proficiency, which is positively related to both attendance at the cinema and well-being outcomes. Regarding education, earlier studies highlight the role of expectations, as we mentioned in the conceptual framework (Stutzer, 2004; Giovanis, 2019). For marital status, we find no differences, except for the divorced and separated, who report lower life satisfaction levels but not in happiness regression.

We should notice that in the system of regressions (1)-(2), we also include the estimated coefficients for 51 provinces of the respondents' birth in Syria or Turkey, including the six provinces in which the survey was conducted. While the estimates in the *SWB* regressions may remain similar, the estimated coefficients in the socio-cultural participation regressions may differ depending on the activity explored. Nevertheless, we do not further explore this because it is not the aim of the study.

We also control for the household type, such as whether the household is a nuclear family without a child, a nuclear family with at least one child, a single parent with a child, a nuclear family with other persons, such as grandparents, and households comprising more than one person but without a nuclear family. Overall, we find no differences across the different household types. However, as in the case of the provinces, the estimates vary in some cases, such as nuclear families without a child, and nuclear families of a single parent and at least one child are more likely to know a Turkish or foreign poem or song, while couples with at least one child are more likely to attend the Salah in a mosque with their Turkish or Syrian friend. Finally, nuclear families with

other persons and households consisting of more than one person without a nuclear family watch more frequently Turkish or foreign TV programmes, movies, series and shows.

Regarding the *SWB* regressions, we find no difference across the various types of households except for the nuclear families without a child who are more satisfied with their lives and happier than the reference category, the singles, and the other marital status categories in the 10 per cent significance level. In particular, as we found no statistically significant differences between *SWB*, age and education, nuclear families with children and households of more than one person without a nuclear family report the same *SWB* levels with the reference category, which is singles. This finding is consistent with earlier studies where couples with children report lower levels of well-being than nuclear families without a child because of the costs related to children and other factors, such as cross-national differences, the age of marriage, the number of children and the parent's employment status (Vanassche et al., 2013; Pollmann-Schult, 2014; Qian and Qian, 2015).

(Insert Table 2)

We derive similar concluding remarks from the results in Table 3 for the remaining socio-cultural activities. More precisely, we find that Syrians are less likely to engage in "highbrow" activities like going to the theatre (Panel A), visiting historical sites and museums (Panel B), and reading books and poems (Panel J), while they participate more frequently than Turkish respondents in the remaining activities, which are all considered as "lowbrow". While we found no positive relationship between *SWB* and attendance at the cinema in Table 2, the findings in Table 3 suggest that participation in most of the social and cultural activities explored advances the well-being of Syrians and Turkish citizens, confirming hypothesis H₃. An exception is practising Salah in the mosque in Panel D, going out for a drink or food in Panel G, practising

sports activities with their Syrian or Turkish friends in Panel H, and reading poems from a Turkish or foreign author or knowing Turkish and foreign songs in Panel K.

Regarding hypothesis H₄, we find that particular activities improve Syrians' well-being more than Turkish people's *SWB*. More specifically, regarding the "highbrow" activities, visits to historical sites and museums and reading books have a more critical role in Syrians' *SWB*. We find an insignificant coefficient b_3 in the "highbrow" activities of attendance at the theatre and reading poems. This finding implies that even though these activities enhance the *SWB* of Syrians and Turkish citizens, they do not lead to higher changes in Syrians' *SWB* compared to Turkish respondents.

Similarly, the coefficient b_3 is insignificant in the following activities: practising Salah in the mosque, watching Turkish and foreign TV programmes, series and movies, practising sports activities and getting out for a drink or food. On the contrary, we find that Syrians who invite or are invited by a Turkish friend, as well as having a Turkish friend, experience more positive improvements in their *SWB* than Turkish respondents. An interesting finding in Panel I is the significant and negative sign of the coefficient b_3 that implies Turkish respondents involved in the organisation of activities with Syrian friends, such as cooking, picnics and parties, are more prone to experience higher shifts in well-being than Syrians. While we cannot further explain and investigate the negative sign, those respondents, through this type of social interaction and style of communication, may have the opportunity to reduce bias, improving their attitudes toward migrants.

(Insert Table 3)

Discussion and Conclusion

We have attempted to explore the role and significance of the influence of participation in social and cultural activities exhibited in the well-being of Syrian forced migrants in Turkey. Our findings confirm the theories developed in sociology literature that wealth, income, and educational attainment define the social status and overall position of an individual in society. We found a positive association between education, income and participation in the socio-cultural events, especially the “highbrow” activities. Because of the potentially higher aspirations and expectations of the Turkish people about life, we found Syrians report higher well-being levels than Turkish citizens. While we do not employ panel data to explore the dynamics and changes in the *SWB* within individuals across time, which is one of the critical drawbacks of this study, we argue that even though Syrians had escaped the war in their country and left their homes, had lower expectations when they came to Turkey, leading to higher levels of *SWB*. This is particularly our case, where most of the Syrians in the survey, such as 80 per cent, have come to Turkey at least five years ago, and 43 per cent came to Turkey more than six years ago. Overall, the findings show that engagement in various social and cultural activities enhances the *SWB* of Turkish citizens and Syrians, apart from a few exceptions, such as attending cinema, praying at a mosque, going out for a drink or meal, knowing a foreign or a Turkish poem or song, and practising sports activities.

The findings show that Syrians are more likely to enhance their *SWB* in social activities, such as inviting their Turkish friends for food or drink at home, rather than attending the cinema or theatre. Thus, we may argue that Syrian forced migrants may prefer to interact directly with Turkish people and thus, income has an insignificant role. However, reading a novel written by a Turkish author and attending museums and historical sites have significantly improved the *SWB* of the Syrian people. Hence, not only direct social interaction with Turkish people may improve Syrians’ *SWB*, but also activities related to Turkish cultures, such as books, may influence their *SWB*. While we cannot conclude this from the data or the empirical results, attendance at the

cinema and theatre can be associated with a higher cost, such as the price of the tickets. The lack of a positive relationship between *SWB* and attendance to cinema and theatre could be attributed to the lack of advanced listening skills in the Turkish language, which can be much more challenging than the reading skills required to read a book, or the case of visiting museums and historical sites, where no language skills usually are required.

However, this study is not without major limitations. In particular, the analysis relies on a survey using cross-sectional data, implying that we do not control for unobserved heterogeneity. Moreover, we do not include the time dimension. Thus, we cannot record the same individual across time, as we would be able to with panel data. Furthermore, the results should be treated with caution since they show merely correlations, and we cannot infer causality.

Moreover, the location of Syrian forced migrants may not be random since the provinces we have collected data from share common borders with Syria. Also, natives may not choose randomly the location of residence. For instance, Turkish citizens who are more averse to Syrian refugee influxes may prefer locations with a lower Syrian population density, whereas others may prefer to migrate to and relocate to areas with a high immigration density.

As we mentioned, we attempted to solve the endogeneity issue coming from reverse causality. However, the results should be treated with caution, even though we had applied measures to reduce endogeneity. Thus, one remedy could be the use of proper instrumental variables for socio-cultural participation or propensity score matching (PSM) that considers selection bias. Nevertheless, the study aimed to introduce the role of engagement in various social and cultural activities and its link to the *SWB* of Syrian forced migrants in Turkey. Further studies may explore forced migrants in other countries.

Integration issues are often attributed solely to immigrants, but this study demonstrates that integration, social inclusion and cohesion may rely on the efforts of both immigrants and recipient

societies, as financial resources and income disparities make it more difficult to participate in various activities. In particular, the results have shown that education and income are the two most important factors of socio-cultural participation. Higher education levels improve people's employment opportunities and enhance their earnings potential (Wolla and Sullivan, 2017). Thus, education and income allow people to overcome financial constraints and participate in social and cultural activities. The results have shown the Syrian respondents report a significantly lower household income and have completed lower education levels, implying that they are less active in socio-cultural participation. As a result, potential inequality and disparities in labour and education outcomes are barriers to Syrian migrants' cultural integration. There is no easy solution to tackle the issue of integration and social cohesion. Mainstream migration policies and programmes should pay close attention to the real obstacles and gaps that exist between the natives and migrants.

Overall, policies that promote and encourage immigrants to participate and engage in social and cultural activities may advance their integration into the host societies' social norms and enhance their *SWB*. Investments in integration and social inclusion should be included in migration policies, particularly since integration is a complex, multigenerational and multifaceted process. Immigration can endow host countries with processes of integration by embracing reciprocal and shared learnings, resulting in more inclusive, secure, healthier, and happier societies.

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Table 1. Summary Statistics

Panel A: Participation in Socio-cultural Activities					
Frequency of attending a theatre to watch a Turkish play (for Syrians) and a foreign play (for Turkish)	Turkish	Syrians	Frequency of going to cinema to watch a Turkish movie (for Syrians) and a foreign movie (for Turkish)	Turkish	Syrians
Never	86.81	95.88	Never	58.64	89.62
Only Once	3.39	1.22	Only Once	2.72	3.18
2-3 times	4.66	1.96	2-3 times	11.75	4.30
4-5 times	1.94	0.56	4-5 times	9.51	1.50
6-7 times	0.78	0.19	6-7 times	3.88	0.46
8 or more times	2.42	0.19	8 or more times	13.50	0.94
Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	13.224 [0.0003]		Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	171.075 [0.000]	
Frequency of visiting a museum, public library, historical monument, park or sites.	Turkish	Syrians	Frequency of watching Turkish movies; TV series- programmes at home (for Syrians) and watching foreign language shows, programmes, series and movies (for Turkish)	Turkish	Syrians
Never	48.59	66.42	Never	30.07	34.05
At least once a week	20.86	16.46	At least once a week	38.89	40.32
Monthly	17.46	6.45	Monthly	13.19	9.26
4-5 times	9.02	6.83	4-5 times	13.29	8.98
6-7 times	3.49	3.37	6-7 times	2.42	3.09
8 or more times	0.58	0.47	8 or more times	2.14	4.30
Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	171.075 [0.000]		Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	52.144 [0.000]	
How often are you invited to a Syrian friend's house (for Turkish) or to a Turkish friend's house (for Syrians) for food or drink?	Turkish	Syrians	How often do you go out for food or drink with your Turkish friends (for Syrians) and with your Syrian friends (for Turkish)?	Turkish	Syrians
Never	89.23	61.09	Never	88.21	50.14
Once a year	1.36	1.31	Once a year	2.26	9.45
Twice a year	1.26	3.27	Twice a year	1.68	6.45
Many times a year	2.33	8.33	Many times a year	1.97	2.53
Once a month	4.36	13.38	Once a month	4.30	3.27
At least once a week	1.46	12.62	At least once a week	1.58	28.16
Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	133.995 [0.000]		Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	305.940 [0.000]	
How often do you invite a Syrian friend's house (for Turkish) or a Turkish friend's house (for Syrians) to have something to eat or drink?	Turkish	Syrians	How often do you participate in sports activities with your Syrian friends (for Turkish), or you Turkish friends (for Syrians) like playing football, basketball, table tennis, billiards and bowling)?	Turkish	Syrians
Never	89.91	61.09	Never	96.41	87.56
Once a year	1.45	1.59	Once a year	0.58	1.78
Twice a year	0.68	2.15	Twice a year	0.68	1.40
Many times a year	2.13	8.79	Many times a year	0.29	1.40
Once a month	4.27	13.84	Once a month	1.65	4.86
At least once a week	1.55	12.54	At least once a week	0.39	3.00
Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	133.995 [0.000]		Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	12.511 [0.0006]	

Table 1 (Cont.) Summary Statistics

How often do you organize meetings with your Syrian friends or Turkish friends for activities such as cooking, and parties?	Turkish	Syrians	Have you ever read a novel or a story book written by a Turkish author (for Syrians) and from a foreign author (for Turkish)?	Turkish	Syrians
Never	91.50	72.68	Yes	34.63	7.39
Once a year	1.36	5.05	No	65.37	92.61
Twice a year	2.26	4.49	Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	116.744 [0.000]	
Many times a year	1.88	7.39	Reading Turkish poems or singing Turkish Songs (for Syrians) or a foreign poem or song (for Turkish)	Turkish	Syrians
Once a month	2.52	8.33	Yes	10.67	17.40
At least once a week	0.48	2.06	No	89.33	82.60
Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	68.016 [0.000]		Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	7.129 [0.0076]	
Frequency of practicing Salah in the mosque with Turkish friends (for Syrians) and with Syrian Friends (for Turkish)	Turkish	Syrians	Do you have a Turkish (for Syrians) or Syrian (for Turkish) friend?	Turkish	Syrians
Never	84.09	62.39	Yes	23.67	52.01
Almost never	5.14	3.37	No	76.33	47.99
Less often but at least once a year	1.75	5.06	Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	126.439 [0.000]	
Less often but at least once a month	1.07	1.68			
Once a week	5.62	16.46			
Not every day but more than once a week	1.07	3.74			
Once a month	0.48	2.62			
More than once in a day	0.78	4.68			
Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	87.502 [0.000]				

Table 1 (Cont.) Summary Statistics

Panel B: Ordered and Continuous Variables						
Happiness	Average	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum		
Turkish	2.208	1.257	0	4		
Syrians	2.831	1.002	0	4		
t-statistic	- 12.578 [0.000]					
Life Satisfaction	Average	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum		
Turkish	2.128	1.297	0	4		
Syrians	2.822	0.998	0	4		
t-statistic	-13.768 [0.000]					
Age	Average	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum		
Turkish	38.992	14.766	18	75		
Syrians	34.406	12.481	18	70		
t-statistic	7.694 [0.000]					
Annual Household Income	Average	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum		
Turkish	48,060.93	37,647.63	7,200	480,000		
Syrians	28,362.05	17,112.29	0	160,000		
t-statistic	15.525 [0.000]					
Panel C: Categorical Variables						
	Gender-Male	Gender-Female	Work-Yes	Work-No		
Turkish	49.85	50.15	47.72	52.28		
Syrians	48.92	51.08	38.17	61.83		
Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	0.235 [0.6279]		14.366 [0.0002]			
Marital Status	Single	Married-Civil	Married - Religious	Separated-Divorced	Widowed	
Turkish	31.62	59.46	2.23	3.59	3.10	
Syrians	15.72	41.63	34.80	2.71	5.14	
Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	198.315 [0.0001]					
Education	Illiterate	Not illiterate but no diploma	Primary school	Secondary school	High school	Higher Education
Turkish	3.98	2.91	31.13	20.66	25.80	15.52
Syrians	12.07	6.45	26.66	25.82	18.80	10.20
Kruskal-Wallis Chi-Square Test	41.049 [0.0001]					

P-values within the brackets

Table 2. Simultaneous Ordered Probit Estimates for Frequency of Going to Cinema

	DV: Cinema	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	-1.4089*** (0.1508)	1.093*** (0.1245)	1.153*** (0.1246)
Attendance to Cinema		0.1471*** (0.0340)	-0.1354 (0.1183)
Nationality × Attendance to Cinema		-0.0054 (0.0518)	-0.0616 (0.0513)
Gender (Male)	0.1057 (0.0749)	-0.2959*** (0.0586)	-0.2831*** (0.0588)
Age	-0.0216*** (0.0036)	-0.0004 (0.0041)	-0.0004 (0.0025)
Household Income	0.1258* (0.0652)	0.2175*** (0.0503)	0.2331*** (0.0505)
Language Proficiency	0.7087*** (0.0474)	0.1398*** (0.0211)	0.1254** (0.0530)
Work (Yes)	0.1027 (0.0798)	0.0132 (0.0619)	0.0662 (0.0621)
Physical Health Problem (Yes)	-0.0286 (0.1194)	-0.2662*** (0.0756)	-0.3206*** (0.0759)
Marital Status (Reference Single)			
Married-Civil	-0.2767*** (0.0971)	-0.0464 (0.0812)	-0.0670 (0.0810)
Married -Religious	-0.2466* (0.1291)	-0.0434 (0.0954)	-0.0556 (0.0952)
Separated-Divorced	-0.1626 (0.2176)	-0.2086 (0.1667)	-0.2970* (0.1665)
Widowed	-0.0953 (0.2671)	-0.0953 (0.2670)	0.0039 (0.1646)
Household Type (Reference-Single)			
Nuclear families without a child	-0.1046 (0.2245)	0.6114* (0.3348)	0.5496* (0.3227)
Couple and at least one child	-0.1156 (0.1709)	0.2744 (0.2113)	0.2755 (0.2077)
Nuclear family of a single parent and at least one child	-0.2992 (0.2226)	-0.2688 (0.2379)	-0.2540 (0.2443)
At least one nuclear family and other persons	-0.0635 (0.1768)	0.0427 (0.2228)	0.1396 (0.2186)
Households of more than one person without nuclear family	0.0479 (0.1938)	0.2162 (0.2695)	0.2340 (0.2594)
Education Level (Reference-Illiterate)			
Not illiterate but no diploma	0.0178 (0.1606)	-0.1535 (0.1379)	-0.0889 (0.1390)
Primary school	0.2697 (0.1717)	0.0659 (0.0944)	-0.0246 (0.0998)
Secondary school	0.2012* (0.1210)	0.0072 (0.0103)	-0.0707 (0.1044)
High school	0.4654*** (0.1707)	0.1323 (0.1029)	-0.0243 (0.1096)
Higher Education	0.8045*** (0.1773)	0.1251 (0.1244)	0.0263 (0.1242)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		1,245.47 [0.000]	1,260.33 [0.000]

Robust standard errors within parentheses, P-values within the brackets, *** and * indicates significance at the 1% and 10% level.

Table 3. Simultaneous Ordered Probit Estimates for Frequency of Participation in Socio-Cultural Activities

Panel A: Attendance to Theatre	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	-0.8331*** (0.2136)	1.0510*** (0.1112)	1.0972*** (0.1116)
SCP		0.3874** (0.1770)	0.3244* (0.1805)
Nationality × SCP		0.0775 (0.0828)	0.0901 (0.0826)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		712.48 [0.000]	721.94 [0.000]
Panel B: Visits to Museums and Historical Monuments and Sites	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	-0.6474*** (0.1211)	1.1092*** (0.1159)	1.1728*** (0.1141)
SCP		0.3756*** (0.1623)	0.4081*** (0.1275)
Nationality × SCP		0.0749** (0.0356)	0.0704* (0.0414)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		935.39 [0.000]	944.83 [0.000]
Panel C: TV programmes-shows	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	0.8748*** (0.1106)	0.7013*** (0.1730)	0.8159*** (0.1793)
SCP		0.2216*** (0.0606)	0.1441** (0.0672)
Nationality × SCP		0.0018 (0.0032)	0.0103 (0.0314)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		924.38 [0.000]	928.98 [0.000]
Panel D: Practicing Salah in the mosque	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	0.9201*** (0.1328)	0.9769*** (0.1247)	1.0436*** (0.1251)
SCP		0.0641 (0.0425)	0.0417 (0.0420)
Nationality × SCP		0.0020 (0.0027)	0.0195 (0.0271)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		1,169.83 [0.000]	1,171.62 [0.000]
Panel E: Invited by a Turkish or Syrian friend for drink or food at home	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	1.2014*** (0.1387)	0.9555*** (0.1522)	1.1542*** (0.5570)
SCP		0.1264** (0.0579)	0.0073 (0.0127)
Nationality × SCP		0.0928** (0.0364)	0.0575 (0.1076)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		994.81 [0.000]	1,007.22 [0.000]

Table 3 (Cont.) Simultaneous Ordered Probit Estimates for Participation in Socio-Cultural Activities

Panel F: Invite a Turkish or Syrian friend	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	1.1263*** (0.1376)	0.8262*** (0.1522)	1.0409*** (0.1712)
SCP		0.1937*** (0.1488)	0.1505** (0.0678)
Nationality × SCP		0.0770*** (0.0341)	0.0870** (0.0382)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		974.79 [0.000]	979.51 [0.000]
Panel G: Go out for food or drink with a Turkish or Syrian friend	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	1.5145*** (0.1431)	1.0278*** (0.1311)	1.0829*** (0.1316)
SCP		0.0374 (0.0505)	0.0343 (0.0507)
Nationality × SCP		0.0188 (0.0426)	0.0268 (0.0427)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		1,145.35 [0.000]	1,151.35 [0.000]
Panel H: Participate in sports activities with a Syrian or Turkish friend	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	0.9421*** (0.1952)	1.0676*** (0.1335)	1.1298*** (0.1339)
SCP		0.0638 (0.0851)	0.0453 (0.0844)
Nationality × SCP		0.0538 (0.0624)	0.0691 (0.0622)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		759.61 [0.000]	771.43 [0.000]
Panel I: Get together with a Turkish or Syrian friend for activities such as cooking, and organising parties	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	0.8130*** (0.1521)	1.2527*** (0.1311)	1.3161*** (0.1298)
SCP		0.0391 (0.0634)	0.2916*** (0.0711)
Nationality × SCP		-0.1833*** (0.0484)	-0.2482*** (0.0508)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		858.61 [0.000]	861.56 [0.000]

Table 3 (Cont.) Simultaneous Ordered Probit Estimates for Participation in Socio-Cultural Activities

Panel J: Read books	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	-1.3806*** (0.1853)	1.0876*** (0.1212)	1.1110*** (0.1218)
SCP		1.0981*** (0.3566)	0.8504** (0.3574)
Nationality × SCP		0.4465*** (0.1512)	0.3758** (0.1521)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		1,206.93 [0.000]	1,208.42 [0.000]
Panel K: Read Poems or Know Turkish- Foreign Songs	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	-1.4089*** (0.1508)	1.093*** (0.1245)	1.153*** (0.1246)
SCP		0.0102 (0.1217)	0.1354 (0.1183)
Nationality × SCP		0.0054 (0.0518)	0.0616 (0.0513)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		930.97 [0.000]	1,260.33 [0.000]
Panel L: Having a Turkish or Syrian Friend	DV: SCP	DV: Happiness	DV: Life Satisfaction
Nationality (Syrian)	1.0602*** (0.1398)	0.8530*** (0.1561)	0.9109*** (0.1612)
SCP		1.0925*** (0.2401)	1.1422*** (0.2384)
Nationality × SCP		0.2341** (0.1037)	0.2130** (0.1024)
No. Observations		2,098	2,098
LR Chi-Square		930.97 [0.000]	936.96 [0.000]

Robust standard errors within parentheses, P-values within the brackets, ***, ** and * indicates significance at the 1%, 5% and 10% level.