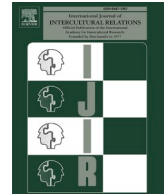




ELSEVIER

Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](https://www.sciencedirect.com)

International Journal of Intercultural Relations

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ijintrel

When those fleeing the war are blue-eyed and blond: The effects of message content and social identity on blatant dehumanization in four nations

Sami Çoksan ^{a,b,*},¹, Fatma Yaşın-Tekizoğlu ^{c,2}, Mete Sefa Uysal ^{d,3}, Lea Hartwich ^{e,4}, Joaquín Alcañiz-Colomer ^{f,5}, Steve Loughnan ^{g,6}

^a Western University, Network for Economic and Social Trends, London, ON N6A 3K7, Canada

^b Erzurum Technical University, Department of Psychology, Faculty of Letters, Erzurum 25100, Türkiye

^c Ankara Medipol University, Department of Psychology, Faculty of Administrative and Social Sciences, Ankara, Türkiye

^d University of Exeter, Department of Psychology, Faculty of Health and Life Sciences, EX4 4QG, UK

^e Osnabrück University, Institute of Psychology, Osnabrück, Germany

^f Department of Political Science and Public Law, Institute of Government and Public Policy (IGOP), Autonomous University of Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain

^g The University of Edinburgh, Department of Psychology, School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Blatant dehumanization
Dehumanization
Message content
Social identity
Ingroup similarity

ABSTRACT

Varying behaviours and attitudes towards those who experience the same devastating event are increasingly becoming the focus of criticism. Open expressions of these distinctions based on group membership, such as Kelly Cobiella's statement on NBC about refugees who fled Russia's invasion of Ukraine, "These are not refugees from Syria; these are refugees from neighbouring Ukraine", have raised the question of the social psychological antecedents of these varying attitudes. This research examines how refugees' social identity (ingroup vs. outgroup) and the given reason for their fleeing from a regional war (fear vs. human rights violations) affect the blatant dehumanization of refugees by receiving country communities in four different countries ($N_{\text{total}} = 1274$). In Study 1, we found that Turks in Türkiye showed higher dehumanization toward Syrian refugees (outgroup members compared to Turkmen refugees) and toward those portrayed as fleeing the war due to fear (vs. human rights violations). Study 2, which focused on Germans' attitudes toward Ukrainian and Afghan refugees, showed that dehumanization was negatively associated with the perception of ingroup similarity. In Study 3, with a Spanish sample, we found that ethnic outgroup refugees (Syrians) were more dehumanized than ethnic ingroup refugees (Ukrainians). Similarly, Study 4, which sampled British participants and focused on the same ingroup and outgroup, found that ethnic outgroup refugees were more dehumanized than ethnic ingroup

* Corresponding author at: Western University, Network for Economic and Social Trends, London, ON N6A 3K7, Canada.

E-mail addresses: scoksan@uwo.ca (S. Çoksan), fatma.yasin@ankaramedipol.edu.tr (F. Yaşın-Tekizoğlu), M.Uysal@exeter.ac.uk (M.S. Uysal), lea.hartwich@uni-osnabrueck.de (L. Hartwich), joaquin.alcaniz@uab.cat (J. Alcañiz-Colomer), steve.loughnan@ed.ac.uk (S. Loughnan).

¹ ORCID: 0000-0003-2942-1506

² ORCID: 0000-0002-1113-0930

³ ORCID: 0000-0002-8698-9213

⁴ ORCID: 0000-0003-4244-4606

⁵ ORCID: 0000-0002-1706-2895

⁶ ORCID: 0000-0002-4737-5120

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2025.102177>

Received 27 June 2024; Received in revised form 21 February 2025; Accepted 17 March 2025

Available online 28 March 2025

0147-1767/© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>).

refugees. We discuss the consisted findings in four countries that there is more dehumanization towards members of groups that are less similar to participants from the perspective of the social identity approach.

The Syrian civil war, the Russian occupation of Ukraine, and the Taliban coup in Afghanistan caused a massive refugee mobility around the globe (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR, 2022). We have witnessed different reactions to each major migration mobility. For instance, at the beginning of the Ukrainian refugee mobility, comments on European media explicitly highlighted the effect of perceived similarity and shared European group membership on attitudes towards refugees. For instance, NBC correspondent Kelly Cobiella explained the change in Poland, which had been hesitant to receive Syrian refugees but then welcomed Ukrainian refugees, as follows: *Just to put it bluntly, these are not refugees from Syria; these are refugees from neighbouring Ukraine. That, quite frankly, is part of it. These are Christians; they are white, they are very similar people* (MacLeod, 2022). In addition to highlighting group membership, local and international media also varied in reporting the refugees' reason for fleeing from the war. Among these reasons, one of the most frequently portrayed themes was *cowardice* and *fear* (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2016), rather than emphasizing refugees' basic human right to live in peace. These dominant representations of refugees as *coward others* may have contributed to their dehumanization (cf. Brandle & Reilly, 2019). Does refugees' group membership and their perceived reason for fleeing from war contribute to determining how they are perceived or treated? This article examines the effect of refugees' social identity and reasons for fleeing from the war on their dehumanization in four countries, namely Türkiye, Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom (UK).

Dehumanization of Refugees

Dehumanization, which is typically defined as denying humanness to others (Haslam, 2006; Haslam & Loughnan, 2014), has been a topic of focus during migrations following wars or natural disasters. Although the early studies about dehumanization suggested that it only explicitly occurs in extreme cases such as war or conflict (Opatow, 1990), research over the past several decades has provided evidence that dehumanization is an everyday intergroup process (Haslam, 2006; Haslam & Loughnan, 2014; Kteily & Landry, 2022; Leyens et al., 2000, 2007). Recent studies, including contact between newcomer refugees and host communities, have mainly focused on subtle dehumanization (Harris & Delgado Rodríguez, 2024). Subtle dehumanization refers to the implicit and often indirect ways in which outgroups are dehumanized, such as through the attribution of human-specific emotions being denied or misattributed. Subtle dehumanization has been measured through indirect methods, such as implicit attitude tests or inquiries about the emotions experienced by one group compared to another (Bain et al., 2009; Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). The aforementioned studies, including contact between newcomer refugees and receiving country communities, have mainly focused on subtle forms of dehumanization, which include the extent to which human-specific emotions are attributed to outgroups. However, during the global migration movement, we have also witnessed that refugees are overtly dehumanized (MacLeod, 2022). This type of dehumanization is called blatant dehumanization, which is the explicit denial of the full humanity of the target through overt and direct acts or statements (Kteily & Landry, 2022). Bruneau and their colleagues (2020) found that Europeans blatantly dehumanized Muslim refugees widely, and this dehumanization was related to supporting anti-refugee attitudes and behaviour. Similarly, dehumanization was found to be the strongest predictor of negative attitudes towards refugees (Esses et al., 2008).

Studies focusing on those with such dehumanization attitudes have also revealed the prevalence of dehumanizing refugee groups and the multitude of negative consequences of dehumanization. For instance, the dehumanization toward refugees is related to support for aggressive policies against refugees (Kteily & Bruneau, 2017), negative attitudes and behaviours toward them (Kteily et al., 2015), and lower willingness to help refugees (Costello & Hodson, 2011). Moreover, even in environments where discrimination is not strictly accepted, dehumanization predicts implicit prejudices toward refugees (Bruneau et al., 2020). Although a multitude of negative attitudes and behaviours towards refugees are posited to result from blatant dehumanization, a relatively limited number of works have focused on social psychological precursors of blatant dehumanization against refugees. By examining factors affecting blatant dehumanization towards refugees, we aim to contribute to filling this gap in the literature.

The representation of refugee characteristics in the media appears to play a fundamental role in the dehumanization process (Esses et al., 2013). Some studies have pointed out that the dominant representations of refugees and asylum seekers in local and international media depict them in a negative and threatening way (Brandle & Reilly, 2019; Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017) and that this has served to dehumanize these groups. In a series of studies, Esses and colleagues revealed that portrayals suggesting that immigrants spread disease, that refugee claims are often bogus, and that terrorists may gain entry to Western nations, lead to the dehumanization of refugees (Esses et al., 2008; 2021). In fact, although dehumanization toward refugees can be reduced by using media interventions (Gallardo et al., 2023), current studies (e.g., Amores & Arcila, 2019; Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2023; Martikainen & Sakki, 2021) continue to show that the media fuels dehumanization in different countries and contexts.

The attribution of fearfulness to people who are forced to continue their lives in another place due to regional and international wars, which is frequently seen in the media, makes their lives more difficult (Koçtak & Celik, 2022; Rettberg & Gajjala, 2016). Focusing on refugees escaping from war and emphasizing that they fled because they are afraid of war, and moreover, highlighting this emphasis by targeting these individuals, may set the stage for the dehumanization of these refugees by members of the receiving country's community. Representations such as fearfulness may evoke the depiction of outgroup members with animals (i.e., weasel, chicken) identified with these emotions (de Ruiter, 2023; Steuter & Wills, 2010), which may make it easier to dehumanize them. On the other hand, pejorative narratives, such as fearfulness for a group, make it easier to label groups targeted by the narratives as amoral. For

instance, [Tipler and Ruscher \(2014\)](#) argue that fear narratives for outgroups often lead to outgroups being perceived as threats. Such narratives and metaphors characterize outgroups as dangerous or harmful and often emphasize the potential of these groups to morally negatively affect or harm others. These groups are depicted as wild animals, beasts, or predators. These depictions reinforce the perception that these groups are primitive and morally weak and therefore need to be *tamed* or *controlled*. Additionally, this rhetoric of fearfulness may be associated with people's inability to do what is expected of them, especially in the context of war ([Oliver, 2017](#)), which provides a sturdy clue about the relationship between this narrative and dehumanization ([Tutkal, 2023](#)).

By contrast, framing the migration as a consequence of human rights violations may reduce the dehumanization of refugees. By emphasizing human rights, we may be able to stress the fundamental humanity of the victims of war. Based on this point, we aimed to experimentally examine to what extent both these message content (refugees flee from war because they are afraid vs. refugees run away from human rights violations) and the group memberships of refugees (ingroup vs. outgroup) differentiate blatant dehumanization against refugees among receiving country's communities in four countries.

Social Identity

The interview we presented in the introduction is actually a good example of how important the social identities of refugees may be. It is well-established by social identity theory ([Tajfel & Turner, 1979](#)) that people tend to favour ingroup members in order to increase or maintain their self-esteem ([Aberson et al., 2000](#); [Scheepers et al., 2002](#)). Our social identities arising from our group memberships are the most important shapers of our intergroup behaviour ([Pfeifer et al., 2007](#); [Van Bavel & Packer, 2021](#)). High ingroup identification, one of the fundamental indicators of social identity, is associated with greater ingroup favouritism ([Çoksan & Cingöz-Ulu, 2022](#); [Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012](#)), as well as stronger stronger negative attitudes ([Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2018](#)) and emotions toward outgroups ([Özdemir et al., 2024](#)). It is also associated with a greater perceived outgroup (refugee) threat ([Çoksan et al., 2023](#); [Falomir-Pichastor & Frederic, 2013](#)). Also, [Turner and colleagues' \(1987\)](#) self-categorization theory also points in a similar direction. The group in which people categorize themselves has an impact on their behaviour. Most of the studies focusing on this subject consider the national identities of the participants as an ingroup. From this point of view, since we argue that ingroup identification might have an effect on dehumanization, we measured it and controlled its effect in the models.

On the other hand, dual ([Tseung-Wong et al., 2019](#)) and superordinate identities ([Gaertner & Dovidio, 2012](#)) through common ingroup identities ([Curtis, 2024](#); [Gaertner et al., 1993](#)) shape people's attitudes and behaviours toward their outgroups. A superordinate identity refers to a group identity that more than one group can share at a higher level. For instance, as we conceptualize in this paper, European identity can be considered as a superordinate identity for groups with different social identities, such as Germans, French, and Italians living in Europe ([Wenzel et al., 2003](#)). Such superordinate identities include a sense of belonging to a larger, abstract category and allow for cross-group connections. In addition, superordinate identities may contribute to a more lasting sense of belonging, potentially facilitating deeper and sustained group connections ([Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000](#)). These identities might be higher-level social identities that include certain social identities, as we have stated above, or they may actually be highest-level identities (such as humanity) that potentially include almost all outgroups ([Gaertner et al., 1993](#)).

Superordinate identities influence not only individual perceptions but also broader sociopolitical structures. These identities are often strategically invoked in political discourse to shape public opinion and intergroup relations ([Gaertner et al., 2015](#)). For example, European identity has been used in the context of the European Union to foster solidarity among its member states while also justifying policies on migration and asylum. Similarly, national leaders and media narratives frequently frame superordinate identities to either promote inclusion (e.g., emphasizing shared democratic values) or reinforce exclusion (e.g., defining 'true' Europeans against perceived outsiders). Such dynamics demonstrate that superordinate identities are not neutral constructs but are actively shaped by sociopolitical forces and, in turn, shape public attitudes and policy decisions ([Risse, 2011](#); [Triandafyllidou, 2018](#)). For instance, using similar language (e.g., Ukrainian and Polish) makes attitudes toward immigrants more positive ([Bilewicz et al., 2021](#)), which may increase the likelihood that those individuals will be considered potential ingroup members. Immigrants who adopt the receiving country's culture are viewed as more valuable than other outgroup members ([Roblain et al., 2016](#)). In contexts where stereotypes about the outgroup are not clear-cut, some groups are not considered members of an outgroup, even if national identity is not shared ([Lee & Fiske, 2006](#)). Moreover, categorizing oneself in a superordinate identity with the outgroup members reduces collective actions against related outgroups ([Ufkes et al., 2016](#)). All these findings suggest that outgroups that are similar to the ingroup in various aspects (shared culture, similar language, and religion, etc.) are more likely to share a common identity by referring to the superordinate identity, it allows for recategorization as a new ingroup in some contexts. In this study, we conceptualized the ingroups and outgroups of the sample we focused on using this framework. In fact, we conceptualize Ukrainian refugees as a potential ingroup for German, Spanish, and British participants, drawing on shared superordinate identities in this paper. With a similar argument, we stated that Turkmen could be a potential ingroup for Turks. Similar conceptualizations in empirical studies in the literature (e.g., [Büyüksaraç, 2017](#); [Politi et al., 2023](#); [Wenzel et al., 2003](#)) also indicate that our conceptualization is compatible with the social identity framework. Finally, our expectation is that participants will dehumanize outgroup members more than ingroup members.

Manhood Honor Ideology

A crucial gender issue emerges when the message content is framed as fleeing from war. People may have more negative attitudes towards men who become refugees from war than towards women fleeing the war. For instance, when the outgroup member in question is a male refugee, people may more easily display their negative attitudes and behaviours towards them by referring to some aspects of masculinity ideologies ([Kukreja, 2023](#); [Markowitz & Slovic, 2020](#)). In various individual cases, it is observed that attitudes

and behaviours toward male refugees are deeply influenced by people's masculine ideologies. This may be due to the fact that male refugees - especially young ones - are perceived as more threatening than others (Amores & Arcila, 2019; Kukreja, 2023), but still, causality between variables might be bidirectional.

Additionally, in masculine honour ideology, *fighting against enemies* instead of fleeing or being afraid is highly valued. This belief system expects men to defend themselves, their family, and their belongings from threats or insults (McCartin et al., 2023; Pomerantz et al., 2024; Saucier et al., 2016). Since war is seen as a national threat, men are expected to fight to protect their country, not to flee. Men who do not follow masculine honor beliefs are viewed more negatively (Barnes et al., 2012; O'Dea et al., 2018, 2022). In one condition of the experiments in Study 1 and Study 2, a young refugee male was portrayed as fleeing the war due to fear. Similarly, in Study 3 and Study 4, a group of refugee males were also depicted fleeing the war due for the same reason. Therefore, we considered it necessary to control for this variable. In other words, we want to control for manhood honour ideology in our analyses, as the endorsement of masculine honour ideology, which supports masculine characteristics such as strength or toughness and aggressive responses to reputational threats, might affect the dehumanization of refugees fleeing the war.

The Current Study

To sum up, the current study examines the effect of group membership (ingroup vs. outgroup) and message content signalling reasons for fleeing war (fear vs. human rights violations) on blatant dehumanization toward refugees in four experiments in Türkiye, Germany, Spain, and the UK, controlling for ingroup identification and manhood honour ideology. Using a narrative about a male refugee, we examined dehumanization at the individual level in the first two experiments, which were conducted in Türkiye and Germany. The next two studies, however, used a vignette of a group of male refugees and statements containing assessments for the entire target group to test it at the group level. We hypothesized as follows:

- H1.** . Refugees whose reason for fleeing from the war is portrayed as fearfulness will be more dehumanized than those who are portrayed as fleeing from human rights violations.
- H2.** . Refugees perceived as outgroup members will be more strongly dehumanized than those viewed as ingroup members.

In addition to these two hypotheses addressing our expectations for main effects, the third hypothesis focuses on the interaction effect as follows:¹

- H3.** . Among all refugees, those perceived as outgroup members who flee the war because of fearfulness will be the most dehumanized refugees.

In addition to filling the literature gap mentioned above, the multi-country nature of our research also means that it will make a valuable contribution to the research field. To the best of our knowledge, this is one of the first empirical studies that aim to measure cross-culturally dehumanization tendencies toward different refugee groups in terms of social identities. Therefore, we believe that the findings make a robust contribution not only to the field of social identity but also to the field of intergroup relations by potentially providing answers to current questions.

Study 1

Approximately four million Syrian registered refugees (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR, 2022) are living in Türkiye, and some of them are exploited by employers as a precarious and cheap labour force (Toğral Koca, 2016; Ünlütürk-Ulutaş & Akbaş, 2020). As a result of this, the receiving country's community members may perceive symbolic and realistic threats from refugees because of the perception that refugees stole their jobs (Çoksan et al., 2023). Especially in newspapers and TV news, refugees have been made a target as the source of deepening economic problems in the country (Sunata & Yıldız, 2018). One of the common narratives used by the media was that the refugees fled their own country out of fear (Çoksan et al., 2023).

In order to convey the context of the relationship between Syrian refugees and locals more fully, it may be necessary to know local attitudes and values towards war in Türkiye. Turks in Türkiye believe that thanks to their war-making abilities, they have maintained a strong statehood tradition since the Gokturk Khaganates (Murphey, 2006). The war-supporting norm is common among people in Türkiye (Çetin, 2018; Gursel-Bilgin et al., 2023), and Turkish foreign policies are seen as related to militarization in parallel with this war-supporting norm (Mehmetcik & Çelik, 2022). Many in Türkiye expect Syrian refugees to continue fighting in their homeland, in spite of the human rights violations (Çoksan et al., 2023).

On the other hand, Turkmen are one of the Syrian refugee subgroups that immigrated to Türkiye. Unlike other Syrian refugees, Turkmen live on the Türkiye-Syria border. They speak the same language as the receiving community members and share a common history. Receiving community members perceive these group members as more similar to themselves (Safak-Ayvazoglu & Kunuroglu, 2021); hence, we used Turkmen (ingroup) and Syrian refugee (outgroup) targets to understand how the social identities of refugees and also message contents conveying reasons for fleeing war affect dehumanization in the context of refugees migrating from Syria to

¹ All method files, such as the electronic experiment file and the required sample size analyses protocol, measurements and data, are available at https://osf.io/cjkdb/?view_only=899a1b7f611149aaa23f0fd088effdd7. The analyzed sample size shows the number of participants included in the analysis after excluding those remaining from the attention question, for each research in the current study. Please see Appendix I for details.

Türkiye in Study 1.

Method

Participants and Measurements

Four hundred and seventy–nine self-identified Turkish respondent (69.5 % female) with a mean age of 21.1 ($SD=2.85$) participated in the study. Participants' religiosity score average was 60 ($SD=24.50$) out of 100 (0 =no religious belief, 100 = as religious as possible) and the average political tendency was moderate (53.27; $SD=25.40$) on the left (0) and right (100) scale.

Manipulation Task

We created vignettes to manipulate message content (fear vs. human rights) and identity (ingroup vs. outgroup). The vignettes were designed as a piece of news containing the story of a man fleeing from war. In one condition, the vignette states that a man was affected by the war in the area he lived in; the war caused him to become fearful, and then he fled the war because he was afraid. In the other condition, the vignette points to human rights as the reason why the same person fled the war in his life story, which means this vignette frames the behaviour as protecting his human rights. We manipulated the target's social identity by changing this man's identity as a Turkmen (ingroup) or Syrian (outgroup) refugee.

Blatant Dehumanization Toward Refugees

We used two different scales to measure blatant dehumanization. The first was the Ascent of a Man (AoM) diagram (Kteily et al., 2015) with the following instruction: "People can vary in how human-like they seem. Some people seem highly evolved, whereas others seem no different than lower animals. Using the image below as a guide, indicate using the 100-point sliders (0 =least evolved, 100 =most evolved) how evolved you consider the average member of each group to be." This scale measured dehumanization more clearly and distinctly. Second, we used Kteily et al.'s adapted version (2015, Study 5) of the Attribution of Animalistic Traits Scale (AATS) created by Bastian et al. (2013), which measured dehumanization slightly less blatantly than the AoM diagram. We asked participants to indicate the level of their agreement with some negative (e.g., savage) and positive adjectives (e.g., rationale) for the target person in the vignette. We reversed negative adjectives, and higher scores indicated lower dehumanization (Cronbach's $\alpha =.853$). Pearson correlation between measurements was .492, $p < .001$.

Ingroup Identification

We used the multicomponent ingroup identification scale developed by Leach et al. (2008) and adapted to Turkish by Balaban (2013) to measure participants' ingroup identification, which was one of the covariates of the current study.² It has 14 items (e.g., I feel solidarity with Turks) with 5 points, and higher scores stated greater ingroup identification (Cronbach's $\alpha =.961$).

Manhood Honor Ideology

We used the honour ideology for manhood scale developed by Barnes et al. (2012) and adapted to Turkish by Elgin (2016) to measure manhood honour ideology. It includes 16 items, measured on a 6-point Likert scale (e.g., A real man does not let others push him around). Higher scores indicate a greater endorsement of manhood ideology (Cronbach's $\alpha =.942$).

Procedure

Participants were recruited via the Psychology department webpage and snowball sampling. Participants who came to the lab for their appointment first filled out the informed consent and demographic information forms and then completed the ingroup identification scale and the manhood ideology scale. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions. After reading the relevant vignette, the participants were asked two manipulation control questions (Do you think the person whose life story you just read is similar to the people living in Turkish culture compared to other refugees?; Do you think this person is afraid of fighting according to his life story?). Then, the participants, who stated their thoughts about the person whose story they were reading under an open-ended question, filled in the dehumanization measures in a random order. Student participants received extra credits, and ₺40 (approximately 1.38 USD) was paid to non-student participants. Data were collected between November and December 2022.

Results

Pre-analyses

Two independent sample t-tests to check manipulation functionality showed that participants who saw in the vignette that the target was an ingroup member perceived the target was more similar ($M=-.56$, $SD=1.62$) to themselves compared to the other

² We presented descriptive statistics for the ingroup identification for all studies in Appendix II to provide a holistic narrative.

participants ($M=-.96$, $SD=1.70$; $t(477) = 2.66$, $p = .008$, Cohen's $d = .243$). Moreover, those who read in the vignette that the target fled the war due to human rights violations evaluated the target as more fearless ($M=-.75$, $SD=1.92$) compared to the other participants ($M=.94$, $SD=2.03$; $t(477) = 2.66$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .856$). In short, the manipulation worked. Descriptive statistics and correlations among the variables are presented in Table 1.

Main Analyses

We ran 2 two-way ANCOVA to examine the effect of the message content (fear vs. human rights violation) and social identity of the target (ingroup vs. outgroup) on two scales of dehumanization, controlling for ingroup identification, and manhood honour ideology. Manhood honor ideology ($F(1472) = 34.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .064$) and ingroup identification ($F(1472) = 4.18$, $p = .041$, $\eta^2 = .010$) were included as covariates in the model. When we controlled their significant effects, we found the main effect of both message content ($F(1472) = 24.05$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .048$) and the target's social identity ($F(1472) = 7.68$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .016$) on the AATS. No interaction effect was observed ($F(1472) = .40$, $p = .526$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$). Tukey post hoc comparisons showed that participants in the fear message condition dehumanized more ($M=4.08$, $SE=.05$) than those in the human rights violation condition ($M=4.43$, $SE=.05$). Moreover, those who read that the person fleeing the war is an outgroup member dehumanized more ($M=4.17$, $SE=.05$) than those who read that the person fleeing the war is an ingroup member ($M=4.34$, $SE=.05$). There was no difference between the condition that involves an outgroup refugee member who fled war because of fear and the other two conditions, which are an outgroup member refugee who fled war because of human rights violation and an ingroup refugee member who fled war because of fear.

We repeated the same analyses for the AoM and found a similar pattern; manhood ideology ($F(1472) = 25.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .048$) and ingroup identification ($F(1472) = 12.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .025$) have a significant effect in the model. After controlling for them, we found that the main effect of both message content ($F(1472) = 5.93$, $p = .015$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$) and the target's social identity ($F(1472) = 5.71$, $p = .017$, $\eta_p^2 = .012$) on the AoM. No interaction effect was observed ($F(1472) = .24$, $p = .625$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$). Tukey post hoc comparisons showed that participants in the fear message condition showed stronger blatant dehumanization ($M=76.00$, $SE=1.49$) than those in the human rights violation condition ($M=81.20$, $SE=1.52$). Furthermore, those who read that the person fleeing the war is an outgroup member showed stronger blatant dehumanization ($M=76.10$, $SE=1.50$) than those who read that the person fleeing the war is an ingroup member ($M=81.10$, $SE=1.51$). There was no difference between the condition that involves an outgroup refugee member who fled war because of fear and the other two conditions. In summary, the results supported the first two hypotheses, but not the third hypothesis in Türkiye. This indicates that Syrian refugees are more dehumanized than Turkmen refugees and that refugees who fled from the war due to fear of fighting are more dehumanized than those due to human rights violations in this study.

Study 2

Study 1 pointed out that message contents and social identities have a fundamental role in the blatant dehumanization toward refugees. To examine these findings in different cultural settings, we focused on Germany in Study 2. Similar to Türkiye, refugee representations in Germany were frequently featured in the media, and a significant number are framed as a negative narrative (Güner, 2019). For instance, research has shown that even university students who have received formal education on this subject may be influenced by refugee representations in the German media (Mustafa-Awad & Kirner-Ludwig, 2017). Some studies focusing on news content (e.g., Mustafa-Awad & Kirner-Ludwig, 2021) show that the dehumanization narrative is also present in the content.

Unlike the first study, we conceptualized Afghans as a relevant outgroup since at the time we collected data there was considerable speculation of refugees coming from Afghanistan to Germany after the Taliban coup. In fact, the prevalence of negative attitudes towards refugees and the values they represent is a topic that has been studied in Germany for some time. For instance, it is argued that German society has been experiencing a social polarisation in reference to refugees for the last decade. Despite the efforts of active pro-refugee groups in Germany, the discourses of right-wing populist parties seem to fuelling anti-refugee groups and narratives (Hinger et al., 2019). Moreover, after the media contents of crimes involving refugees (e.g., the Christmas attacks in Cologne), not only negative attitudes towards refugees but also physical attacks have dramatically increased in Germany (Uysal et al., 2024). Moreover,

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Pearson Correlation Coefficients among the Variables in Study 1.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.Age							
2.Religiosity	-.039						
3.Political orientation	.059	-.472**					
4.Manhood ideology	.104*	.217**	-.238***				
5.Ingroup identification	-.030	.439**	-.321***	.338***			
6.Dehumanization (AATS)	-.023	-.088	-.017	-.300	-.210		
7.Dehumanization (AoM)	-.034	-.160***	.031	-.285***	-.250***	.492***	
<i>M</i>	21.1	60.0	3.27	3.02	3.86	3.75	78.5
<i>Range</i>	18–59	0–100	–50–50	1–6	1–5	1.33–6.80	0–100
<i>SD</i>	2.85	24.5	25.4	1.12	.884	.839	24.7
<i>Cronbach's α</i>	NA	NA	NA	.942	.961	.843	NA

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. AATS: Attribution of Animalistic Traits Scale, AoM: Ascent of a Man

after such issues, initially moderate groups started to display aggressive attitudes towards refugees due to the influence of the media contents (Frey, 2020). Attitudes towards refugees, especially from Muslim-majority countries, have become even more negative with the increasing popularity of street movements such as PEGIDA and the hardening of the discourse of political parties such as AfD (Vorländer et al., 2018). In view of the growing popularity of anti-refugee parties, it is no surprise that attitudes and behaviour towards refugees in Germany today, especially those from Muslim-majority countries, have become increasingly polarized. As a conclusion, the refugee phenomenon has profound effects on social, political and cultural levels in Germany, and these effects feed social polarisation with the negative manipulative influence of right-wing populist movements.

Additionally, since there is no refugee group with a German identity, we thought that Ukrainian refugees could be considered an ingroup for German participants compared to other refugee groups. The basis of this idea was that being European and predominantly Christian, as pointed out by the superordinate identity approach (Gaertner et al., 1993), may provide a common ground for both Germans and Ukrainian refugees (Deyermond, 2022). In line with the conceptualizations of similar studies (e.g., Harth et al., 2011; Politi et al., 2023; Sinclair et al., 2024), we aimed to discover whether the fact that the people who fled *this time had blond hair and blue eyes* would have an effect (MacLeod, 2022).

Method

Participants and Measurements

Two hundred and twenty-nine self-identified Germans (78.3 % female) with a mean age of 27.2 ($SD=10.08$) participated in the study. Participants' religiosity score average was 25.1 out of 100 ($SD=27.8$), and the majority of the sample had a left-wing political leaning ($M=31.5$; $SD=19.1$). The German versions of the vignettes in the previous study were presented to the participants in the style of a news site to manipulate the content of the message and the social identity of the target. The same measurement tools as in the previous study were used for the dependent variables (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$; $r = .38$, $p < .001$). We used shortened scales consisting of 8 items of the manhood honour ideology scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .876$) and 5 items of the ingroup identification scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .751$) to measure the controlling variables in order to reduce the potential for attrition. Because of the relevance of dual identities in this context (see, Gaertner et al., 1993; Ufkes et al., 2016), we measured participants' identification with both Germans (national identity) and Europeans (superordinate ingroup identity; Cronbach's $\alpha = .824$).

Procedure

Participants were recruited via the university's participant pool. Those who volunteered to participate in the study clicked on a Qualtrics online link for the study. Participants first filled out the informed consent and demographic information forms and then completed the ingroup identification scale and the manhood ideology scale. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions. Then, participants completed the dehumanization measures in a random order. The study took an average of 15 minutes. In a prize draw, gift coupons worth 50€ (approximately 54 USD) were raffled off to two participants and 100€ (approximately 109 USD) to 1 person. Data were collected between December 2022 and January 2023.

Results

Pre-analyses

Descriptive statistics and correlations between variables are presented in Table 2. Our manipulation checks indicated that neither manipulation had the anticipated effects on the German participants. Therefore, we chose to conduct correlational analyses instead, using the manipulation check items as predictors.³

Main Analyses

First, a linear regression analysis with three covariates, which are identification with German identity, identification with European identity, and manhood honour ideology, showed that scores on the AATS were positively predicted by perceived similarity ($B=.10$, $SE=.02$, $p < .001$), and negatively predicted by the belief that the target male refugee left the war because of fear ($B=-.06$, $SE=.02$, $p = .007$).⁴ Only manhood honour ideology, among all other variables, was significantly predictive ($B=-.010$, $SE=.04$, $p = .018$).

The second linear regression analysis with the same covariates for the AoM showed that perceived similarity positively predicted dehumanization ($B=2.36$, $SE=.53$, $p < .001$); however, message content did not predict dehumanization ($B=-.31$, $SE=.53$, $p = .557$; $R^2 = .183$). In this model, only manhood honour ideology ($B=-2.40$, $SE=1.01$, $p < .001$) and identification with German identity ($B=2.62$, $SE=1.02$, $p = .011$) showed significant effects.

³ We have also found similar results using 2 two-way ANOVAs. Results are presented in Appendix III.

⁴ We would like to remind readers that a higher mean indicates lower dehumanization, which means dehumanization decreases as the perception of similarity increases or the perception that the target male fled because he is afraid of war decreases.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics and Pearson Correlation Coefficients among the Variables in Study 2.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.Age								
2.Religiosity	.141*							
3.Political orientation	.100	.234***						
4.Manhood ideology	.193**	.168*	.385***					
5.Ingroup (German) identification	-.067	.196	.299***	.203**				
6.Ingroup (European) identification	.035	.034	.012	-.061	.441***			
7.Dehumanization (AATS)	-.191**	-.106	-.371***	-.294***	-.066	.072		
8.Dehumanization (AoM)	-.019	-.243***	-.304***	-.285***	-.228***	.035	.386***	
<i>M</i>	27.3	25.4	31.7	1.85	3.29	3.70	4.06	93.6
<i>Range</i>	18–72	0–100	0–91	1–4.75	1–5	1.67–5	1.80–5.00	28–100
<i>SD</i>	10.9	27.9	19.3	.781	.707	.665	.516	11.8
<i>Cronbach's α</i>	NA	NA	NA	.877	.749	.786	.883	NA

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. AATS: Attribution of Animalistic Traits Scale, AoM: Ascent of a Man

Similar to the findings of the first study, Study 2 showed that the refugee's social identity affected dehumanization. Accordingly, there is a negative relationship between participants' perception of similarity between themselves and refugees and their dehumanization towards that refugee. In other words, participants tend to exhibit greater dehumanization towards refugees who are less similar to them. Additionally, when considered in terms of the AATS, there is a positive relationship between the participants' tendency to attribute fear as the reason for the target male refugee to flee the war and their dehumanization towards this male refugee, which means participants tend to exhibit greater dehumanization towards male refugees who they believe are fleeing war out of fear.

Study 3

We focused on the Spanish context in Study 3. As in the Turkish context in Study 1 (see, Çoksan et al., 2023), in the Spanish context, refugees are seen as a source of economic threat during periods of low social trust (Fierro & Parella, 2023). As in Germany, which we focused on in Study 2, negative attitudes and behaviours towards refugees from Muslim-majority countries are increasing in Spain as a result of the discourses of right-wing populist parties (Divita, 2023). Spanish with high right-wing populist tendencies have a more negative attitude towards civil liberties and minority rights, especially towards Muslim refugees and minorities (Guinjoan, 2023). Qualitative studies focusing on this issue in more depth (e.g., Garcia Yeste et al., 2020) also point to the recent increase in negative attitudes towards refugees in everyday life in Spain.

Depending on these previous findings, we may conclude that the first two studies clearly pointed out refugees' social identity effects on dehumanization, although manipulation did not work in Study 2. In both studies, the assessment we focused on was a male refugee; however, intergroup attitudes toward groups may differ from attitudes toward individuals (Rosenstein, 2008). Additionally, as the striking study of Azevedo et al. (2021) revealed that showing refugees in large groups can differentiate participants' dehumanization. In Study 3, where we focused on the Spanish context, unlike the first two studies, we asked participants to evaluate a refugee group rather than a target group member using a vignette depicting a group of men fleeing the war with a descriptive image. Our aim was to see whether the participants' dehumanization would differ when we conceptualized the target at the group level rather than the individual.

After the refugee mobility, narratives about refugees were frequently encountered in media content in Spain, and negative ones stood out among the narratives (Romano & Porto, 2022) as in Türkiye and Germany. For instance, Romano (2019) argues that metaphors in the Spanish media can negatively differentiate public opinion by portraying Syrian refugees as a source of threat. Spain's two most-read newspapers have demonstrated a high degree of dehumanization in their reporting on refugees, as the latter were portrayed as an economic burden (Alcaraz-Mármol & Soto-Almela, 2022). The fact that dehumanization content targeting Syrian refugees appears not only in the news but also in political narratives (Montagut & Moragas-Fernández, 2020) gives strong clues about the context of intergroup relations in Spain. Finally, similar to Study 2, we conceptualized Ukrainian refugees as an ingroup due to being Europeans with a superordinate ingroup identity and Syrian refugees as an outgroup, and we aimed to test the previous findings whether we would observe a similar finding when the target was not a refugee but a refugee group.

Method

Participants, Measurements, and Procedure

Three-hundred and eighteen self-identified Spanish undergraduate students with mean age of 25.2 ($SD=8.44$) participated in Study 3 ($M_{religiosity}=23.8$, $SD=28.4$). The average political tendency was slightly left ($M=32.7$, $SD=24.1$). The vignettes and measurements were adaptations of the previous work to the Spanish context. Measurements' Cronbach's α ranged between .790 and .902. Pearson's correlation between dehumanization scales is $r = .344$, $p < .001$. The ethno-religious ingroup members were Ukrainians, and the outgroup members were Syrian refugees, as we stated above. To measure participants' identification with Spanish identity and European identity, we used versions of the items from the previous study adapted to the Spanish context. We stated in the stories that the entire group of refugees fled because of fear of war, or human rights violations. We measured dehumanization towards the whole group

in outcomes instead of asking them to evaluate a person in the story. Data were collected through a procedure similar to Study 2. The survey was shared through a mailing list, and participants completed the survey in exchange for entering a €50 prize draw. Data were collected in February 2023.

Results

Pre-analyses

Two independent sample t-tests indicate the manipulations' functionality. Participants who read in the vignette that the target group was an ingroup perceived the target as more similar to themselves ($M=1.06$, $SD=1.54$) compared to the other participants, ($M=.36$, $SD=1.75$; $t(316) = 3.80$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .426$). Furthermore, those who read in the vignette that the target group fled the war due to human rights violations evaluated the target as fearless ($M=-1.24$, $SD=1.90$) compared to the other participants ($M=1.68$, $SD=1.89$; $t(316) = 13.7$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 1.54$). Descriptive statistics and correlations between variables are presented in Table 3.

Main Analyses

We ran a two-way ANCOVA to examine the effect of message content and social identity of the target on dehumanization controlling for identification with Spanish identity, identification with European identity, and manhood honor ideology. By controlling manhood honour ideology's ($F(1312) = 19.523$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .057$) effect, we found the main effect of the target's social identity ($F(1312) = 7.875$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .025$) on the AATS. Neither message content's main effect ($F(1312) = .003$, $p = .956$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$), nor interaction effect ($F(1312) = .482$, $p = .488$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$) were observed. Tukey post-hoc comparisons showed that Spanish participants' dehumanization toward Syrian refugees as an outgroup ($M=3.95$, $SE=.04$) was higher than that toward Ukrainian refugees as an ingroup ($M=4.11$, $SE=.04$). We repeated the same analysis for the AoM but we did not find the main effect of target's social identity ($F(1311) = .304$, $p = .582$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$) and message content ($F(1311) = 1.001$, $p = .318$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$). Also, we did not observe an interaction effect, $F(1311) = .044$, $p = .834$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$.

In summary, the results supported the second hypothesis, but not the first and third hypothesis in Spain. Similar to Study 1 and Study 2, results revealed that refugees perceived as outgroup members are more perceived as less evolved than those viewed as ingroup members. However, other variables have no effect on the dehumanization of refugees, as consistent with Study 2.

Study 4

We aimed to collect data from the UK in Study 4 to test the validity of the previous findings. It would not be wrong to state that the context in the UK is similar to the context in other countries we focused on in this study. With the rise in the popularity of right-wing groups, opposition to refugees from Muslim countries and sub-Saharan Africa, especially those perceived as culturally *distant*, has been on the rise in the UK in recent years (Peresman et al., 2023). This seems to be parallel to the increase in Islamophobia. Increased Islamophobic attitudes in British society foster a perception that Muslim refugees may pose a problem not only in terms of cultural integration but also in terms of security. This increases prejudice against Muslim refugees and, in line with our conceptualisation in our previous study, leads to their positioning as members of an outgroup, as *the other* (Abbas, 2020). As a result, recent opinion polls (e.g., Richards et al., 2023) show that a large proportion of the British public favours policies that favour a reduction in immigration.

Moreover, as in other countries, news frequently depicts refugees in the UK. For instance, Langdon (2018) reports that refugees are often marginalized in the British press, and this may be related to the use of language that emphasizes dehumanization. Dehumanizing language in the British media is often criticized for reinforcing the inhumane treatment of vulnerable groups such as Syrian refugees (Lazović, 2021). The rapid increase in such narratives and images directed at Syrian refugees raises concerns that such materials could be used to incriminate innocent outgroup members (Wilmott, 2017).

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics and Pearson Correlation Coefficients among the Variables in Study 3.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Age								
2. Religiosity	-.078							
3. Political orientation	-.020	.455***						
4. Manhood ideology	-.049	.211***	.477***					
5. Ingroup (Spanish) identification	.002	.198***	.382***	.170**				
6. Ingroup (European) identification	.013	.067	.248***	.136*	.521***			
7. Dehumanization (AATS)	.009	.059	.021	.146**	.018	.085		
8. Dehumanization (AoM)	.053	-.036	-.051	-.169**	.077	-.093	-.063	
<i>M</i>	25.2	23.8	-17.3	2.57	3.67	3.54	4.06	96.2
<i>Range</i>	18–64	0–100	-50–50	1–7.81	1–5	1.20–5	1.80–5.00	41–100
<i>SD</i>	8.44	28.4	24.1	1.35	.778	.761	.516	8.12
<i>Cronbach's α</i>	NA	NA	NA	.902	.790	.798	.863	NA

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. AATS: Attribution of Animalistic Traits Scale, AoM: Ascent of a Man

Not only the representation of refugees in the media, but also who those refugees are seems to be important in the British context. For instance, compared to the Yemenis, the British intend to help Ukrainian refugees more, both financially and morally. In addition, the British have less perceived threat from the Ukrainians, and perceived similarity has a moderating role in this relationship (Sinclair et al., 2024). Also, Bina (2023) has shown that who refugees are and how they enter the UK shapes how participants think they should be treated. Similarly, the UK has been accused of using double standards in the treatment of refugees from different regions (GT Staff Reporters, 2022). In consequence, we sought to test whether refugees' social identity and message contents that cover reasons for fleeing the war would have an effect on dehumanization in the UK. We conceptualized Ukrainian refugees as ingroup members and Syrian refugees as outgroup members, as in the previous study.

Method

Participants, Measurements, and Procedure

Two-hundred and forty-eight self-identified British Prolific workers with mean age of 39.1 (SD=12.9) participated in Study 4 (M_{religiosity}=20.1, SD=27.4). The average political tendency was left (37.6; SD=22.0). Measurements' Cronbach's α ranged between .822 and .950. Pearson's correlation between dehumanization scales was .541, $p < .001$. The vignettes and were adaptations of Study 3 to the UK context. We used versions of the items from the previous study adapted to the British context to measure participants' identification with British identity and European identity. Data were collected through a procedure similar to the previous studies. The study was announced on Prolific using a cover story through an online Qualtrics link. Participants were paid £ 1 (approximately \$1.28 USD). Data were collected in February 2023.

Results

Pre-analyses

Two independent sample t-tests showed the operability of the manipulations. Participants who read in the vignette that the target group was an ingroup perceived the target as more similar to themselves (M=.01, SD=1.71) compared to the others (M=-.84, SD=1.68; $t(246) = 3.88, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .493$). Moreover, those who read in the vignette that the target group fled the war due to human rights violations evaluated the target as fearless (M=-1.67, SD=1.64) compared to the others (M=-.46, SD=1.78; $t(246) = 5.60, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .711$). Descriptive statistics and correlations between variables are presented in Table 4.

Main Analyses

Two-way ANCOVA showed that the refugee group's social identity has a main effect on the AATS ($F(1241) = 4.70, p = .031, \eta^2_p = .019$) when manhood honour ideology ($F(1241) = 21.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = .074$), identification with European identity ($F(1241) = 6.23, p < .001, \eta^2 = .057$) and identification with British identity ($F(1241) = 3.99, p = .047, \eta^2 = .014$) were controlled for. Neither message content's main effect ($F(1241) = .022, p = .809, \eta^2_p = .001$), nor interaction effect ($F(1241) = 1.25, p = .264, \eta^2_p = .005$) were observed. Tukey post hoc comparisons showed that British participants' dehumanization toward Syrian refugees as an outgroup (M=3.76, SE=.05) was higher than that toward Ukrainian refugees as an ingroup, M= 3.96, SE=.06. We repeated the same analysis for the AoM, but we did not find the main effect of target's social identity ($F(1240) = 3.23, p = .074, \eta^2_p = .013$) and message content ($F(1240) = .010, p = .922, \eta^2_p = .001$). Also, we did not observe an interaction effect, $F(1240) = .087, p = .768, \eta^2_p = .001$. To sum up, the results supported the second hypothesis, but not the first and third hypothesis in the UK.

Table 4
Descriptive Statistics and Pearson Correlation Coefficients among the Variables in Study 4.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.Age								
2.Religiosity	.136*							
3.Political orientation	.204**	.256***						
4.Manhood ideology	-.073	.133*	.417***					
5.Ingroup (British) identification	.099	.306***	.417***	.313***				
6.Ingroup (European) identification	-.003	-.096	-.325***	-.345***	-.120			
7.Dehumanization (AATS)	-.112	-.141*	-.430***	-.409***	-.239***	.359***		
8.Dehumanization (AoM)	-.150*	-.110	-.271***	-.261***	-.260***	.199***	.541***	
M	39.1	20.1	37.60	3.42	3.49	3.04	3.87	94.2
Range	18–74	0–100	0–91	1–8.38	1.60–5	1–5	1.40–5	20–100
SD	12.90	27.4	22.0	1.68	.81	1.01	.703	13.0
Cronbach's α	NA	NA	NA	.950	.822	.908	.934	NA

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. AATS: Attribution of Animalistic Traits Scale, AoM: Ascent of a Man

General discussion

Global refugee mobilities in recent years have revealed that the representations of refugees in the media play an important role in the dehumanization of these refugees by people in receiving countries. We have focused on two of the most prominent aspects of representations: the social identity of refugees and their reasons for fleeing from war as message content. As we stated above, using a narrative about a male refugee, we examined dehumanization at the individual level in the first two experiments conducted in Türkiye and Germany. The subsequent two studies, however, used a vignette of a group of male refugees and statements containing assessments for the entire target group to test it at the group level.

In terms of the AATS, the most expectable finding to emerge from the analysis was that outgroup refugees were more blatantly dehumanized than ingroup refugees among Turks, Spanish, and British. Consistent with this, in Study 2, we found that as the perceived similarity of a refugee increases, dehumanization toward him decreases among Germans. This association of superordinate identity with lower dehumanization toward the potential ingroup is a common finding we observed in all contexts in the current study. This finding may indicate the fundamental effect of historical and cultural commonality and shared values and norms on intergroup decisions. Although it has been argued that European identity includes a pejorative perspective on separating people according to their social identities (Risse, 2010), this finding can be evaluated as a preference for the similar over the dissimilar. Based on this, it seems important for the media and policymakers to avoid framing outgroups as *other* in order not to increase negative attitudes towards these groups.

These results also support a substantial body of previous research on dehumanization, which indicates a general tendency to dehumanize outgroup members more than ingroup members (Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006; Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). Additionally, the most dehumanized groups, such as Muslims or Arabs, tend to be of lower status than those who are not, such as Europeans or Americans (Capozza et al., 2012; Kteily & Bruneau, 2017; Petsko et al., 2021). In line with this, outgroup refugee(s) in Studies 2, 3 and 4 were described as Muslims from Middle Eastern Countries, whereas ingroup refugee(s) were Christians from part of Europe. In Study 1, both in and outgroup refugees were Muslims fleeing from the Syrian war, but outgroup refugee members were Syrian refugees often classified as Arabs, which is perceived as a lower-status group in Türkiye, whereas ingroup members were Turkmen. In short, our findings clearly reveal the effect of who the refugee is on the locals' dehumanization towards him.

Regarding the effect of message content on the AATS, a male refugee escaping from the war due to his fear was more dehumanized than a male refugee fleeing the war due to human rights violations among Turks in Study 1. Similarly, the perception that the refugee flees because he is afraid of war was positively associated with the dehumanization toward him among Germans in Study 2. Historically, these two countries have hosted the most refugees in the last decade, and negative attitudes towards refugees in both countries appear to be rising dramatically in both daily life and in the political arena. These negative attitudes, combined with moral concerns towards the target refugee group, as well as attributions of negative moral identity and cowardice, observed in these samples (e.g., Çoksan et al., 2023; Uysal et al., 2024), might make the perceived threat from these refugees more realistic. This might be why such a common finding is observed in these two countries. This result also provides evidence that portrayals or message contents depicting refugees might play a distinct role in ascribing negative evaluations or attitudes toward them (Azevedo et al., 2021; Esses et al., 2013).

However, we did not observe an effect of message content on dehumanization among Spanish in Study 3 and among British in Study 4. In these countries, perceptions about refugees may be shaped less around threats. When combined with the common finding in all countries above, this finding might indicate that in these countries, who refugees are may be more decisive than why they are fleeing. In Spain and in the UK after Brexit, anti-refugee attitudes may be shaped more by identity and cultural contexts; therefore, unlike Türkiye and Germany, no relationship between variables might be observed in these two countries.

The reason why this common finding was observed among Germans and Turks but not among Spanish and British might be that the first two studies addressed the dehumanization attribution at the individual level, while the last two studies addressed it at the group level. When people gain more information about a specific person through negative narratives, they may tend to ignore that person's characteristics and humanity more. Dehumanizing groups means targeting more people, which may be less socially acceptable; thus, in cases where the message content directly targets the individual, we may observe its effect on dehumanization.

In terms of the AoM, Turks blatantly dehumanized Syrian refugees more than Turkmen refugees in Study 1. Furthermore, a refugee man described as afraid was more dehumanized than a refugee man fleeing the war because of human rights violations. On the other hand, although the perceived similarity of refugees negatively predicted dehumanization in Study 2 in Germany, the message content did not predict it. However, neither group memberships of refugees nor the message contents affected dehumanization in Study 3 in Spain and Study 4 in the UK. This pattern seems to indicate that this finding is only valid in Türkiye. Compared to the other three countries, Türkiye hosts many more refugees, and more than ninety percent of these refugees are Syrian refugees (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR, 2022), which we marked as a potential outgroup in the study. On the other hand, the same situation does not apply to Germany, Spain and the UK. Moreover, the practice of directly targeting refugees—especially Syrians—seems to be much more common in Türkiye compared to the other three countries (see, Çakal & Husnu, 2023). Although anti-refugee sentiment is on the rise in the other three countries, there seems to be practically no institution, law or self-control mechanism in Türkiye that prevents hate speech when it comes to Syrian refugees. Furthermore, hate speech against refugees appears to be quite common in many layers of society in Türkiye (see, Aldamen, 2023). In addition to these conditions, given the prevalence of the war support norm in Türkiye (Çetin, 2018; Gursel-Bilgin et al., 2023), due to this intense perceived outgroup threat (Çoksan et al., 2023), we may have observed an effect in terms of AoM, which measures a relatively more blatant dehumanization (Kteily & Landry, 2022), only in Türkiye. Past studies (e.g., Kteily et al., 2015) also show that dehumanization towards the source of threat increases during periods of intense perceived outgroup threat. In other words, the reason we observed this relationship only among Turks might be that negative attitudes and behaviors toward Syrians, whom we conceptualize as an outgroup in Türkiye, are seen as more normative

compared to behaviors toward outgroups in other Studies. Furthermore, due to the increased perceived threat, Turks might be trying to position Syrian refugees at a greater distance from their ingroup, and dehumanization of them can be seen as one of the practices of this.

Another possible reason for this common finding might be that the political tendency of German, British, and Spanish samples in this study was left-wing, unlike the Turks, whose political tendency was slightly right of the center. In accordance with the present results, previous studies have demonstrated that politically right (Petsko et al., 2021), socially dominant, and right-wing authoritarian people (Kteily et al., 2015; Lindén et al., 2016) are the most likely to dehumanize low-status groups.

Data for Study 2 were collected in the state of Thuringia, Germany. During this period, the vote ratio of Alternative for Germany (AfD), a populist right-wing party, in Thuringia was estimated to be around 30 % (Wiegel, 2023), and in the current election, it received 32.8 % of the vote, marking an increase of over nine percentage points from 2019 (Luke, 2024). The AfD's strong anti-immigration stance, along with its Eurosceptic position, has created a polarizing effect in German society, particularly in Thuringia. This widespread support for and polarization through AfD that spread Eurosceptic and anti-refugee discourse simultaneously in the region may manifest as either strong opposition to or strong support for refugees, regardless of their backgrounds. Therefore, this polarising effect of AfD might lead to our participants see the refugees in the manipulation as equally similar or dissimilar to themselves regardless of their ethnic background (see also, Dixon et al., 2017; Holloway et al., 2021). Therefore, we reported the findings of Study 2 using a correlational design.

Limitations, future directions, and conclusion

Despite the importance of the findings, our study has some limitations. First, the political view of our samples in the last three studies showed left-leaning. Also, German participants' political orientations were more homogeneously left-leaning compared to those in other samples. Due to this political positioning, participants may have either paid less attention to the vignettes or, even if they did, provided responses that aligned with their political stance rather than the content of the vignettes. While this remains a speculative explanation for why our manipulation did not work in Study 2, given the relationship between political ideology and dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2015; Petsko et al., 2021), further research should be undertaken to investigate the effects of message content and group membership of refugees on dehumanization with the sample representing both political ideologies.⁵ Another limitation of the current study relates to manhood honour ideology. Our findings provide a piece of evidence that the manhood honour ideology has an effect on the dehumanization of refugees. At this point, it is worth noting that we examined our findings only in terms of male refugees. Although the content of *escaping from war due to fear* that we focused on in this study is directly related to beliefs about masculinity, future studies can focus on the effects of narratives towards female refugee(s) in order to understand the relationships between variables in depth. In addition, our four studies do not seem to be representative in terms of gender. In particular, the data we collected from Germany consists mainly of women. Considering the finding that the manhood honour ideology is more embraced by men, future studies may aim to collect data from representative samples in terms of gender for the generalizability of our findings.

Moreover, in this study, we wanted to focus on direct findings on the dehumanization by considering ingroup identification as a covariate. However, considering ingroup identification as a moderator or mediator variable could provide new insights on dehumanization and could be valuable for theoretical extension of the findings. In this context, we think that examining whether ingroup identification plays a mediating role on dehumanization towards refugees or whether it shows moderating effects in certain cases is an important point to investigate. Furthermore, as a pre-screen question to reach our targeted participants, we asked the national and superordinate identities of the participants in the demographic information form just before the manipulation. This ordering may have acted as a self-categorization prime, subtly influencing participants' perceptions before reading the vignette. Although this is not expected to significantly alter the main findings, future studies could counterbalance the order of identity measures and the vignette presentation to minimize potential priming effects. Another limitation of this study is that the vignettes, particularly the picture elements, were not pilot tested for attractiveness or other potential confounds. Future research could address this by conducting pretests to ensure that visual elements do not unintentionally influence participant responses. Moreover, we conceptualize Ukrainian refugees as potential ingroup members for German, Spanish, and British participants. However, this classification likely depends on how strongly participants identify with a European identity. Given historical and political differences, such as post-Brexit identity shifts in the UK, European identification may vary across participants (Risse, 2010). Future studies could further explore this variability by examining the moderating role of European identity in attitudes toward Ukrainian refugees. Lastly, our study, encompassing four experimental investigations in varied cultural contexts with diverse participant samples, including students, non-students, and individuals with differing ideologies, emphasizes the need for similar studies in different countries and comparative analyses among these groups to deepen our comprehension of blatant dehumanization towards refugees.

Notwithstanding these limitations, our findings suggest that the blatant dehumanization of refugees is influenced by attributions about who is fleeing the war and is partly influenced by attributions about why they are leaving their country. The language we use to refer to refugees and the prominence of social identities may influence how local people feel about them. Considering that refugees are often negatively portrayed in the media, the current study reveals that these representations can have a significant impact on how people feel about them, how governments make decisions, and how they conduct their own lives.

⁵ We repeated the analyses by adding political orientation and religiosity as covariates to the same models to test this prediction. Political orientation had a covariate effect in some models, but the significance pattern did not change in any of the models. We present the results of the analyses in Appendix IV.

Ethics Approval

All studies were conducted after getting an institutional ethics committee approval.

Consent to Participate

We obtained informed consent from all individual participants included in the study.

Funding

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

CRedit authorship contribution statement

Yaşın-Tekizoğlu Fatma: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Supervision, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Data curation, Conceptualization. **Çoksan Sami:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Supervision, Project administration, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization. **Uysal Mete Sefa:** Writing – review & editing, Investigation, Data curation, Conceptualization. **Alcañiz-Colomer Joaquín:** Writing – review & editing, Investigation, Data curation. **Hartwich Lea:** Writing – review & editing, Investigation, Data curation. **Loughnan Steve:** Supervision, Investigation, Data curation.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest. Current research includes four tables.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Sahba Behrooz Mirahmadi for helping us with this research.

Data availability

Data is available at <http://osf.io/cjkdb/?viewonly=899a1b7f611149aaa23f0fd088effdd7>

References

- Abbas, T. (2020). Islamophobia as racialised biopolitics in the United Kingdom. *Philosophy Social Criticism*, 46(5), 497–511. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453720903468>
- Abersson, C. L., Healy, M., & Romero, V. (2000). Ingroup bias and self-esteem: A meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 4(2), 157–173. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957PSPR0402_04
- Alcaraz-Mármol, G., & Soto-Almela, J. (2022). Refugees' dehumanization in the Spanish media: A corpus-assisted study within the semantic preference framework. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 13(5), 791–817. <https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2019-0069>
- Aldamen, Y. (2023). Xenophobia and hate speech towards refugees on social media: Reinforcing causes, negative effects, defense and response mechanisms against that speech. *Societies*, 13(4), 83. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc13040083>
- Amores, J. J., & Arcila, C. (2019). Deconstructing the symbolic visual frames of refugees and migrants in the main Western European media (October). In M.Á. C. González, F. J. R. Sedano, C. F. Llamas, & F. J. García-Peñalvo (Eds.), *Proceedings of the seventh international conference on technological ecosystems for enhancing multiculturalism* (pp. 911–918). ACM. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3362789.3362896> (October).
- Azevedo, R. T., De Beukelaer, S., Jones, I. L., Safra, L., & Tsakiris, M. (2021). When the lens is too wide: The political consequences of the visual dehumanization of refugees. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 8, 115. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-021-00786-x>
- Bain, P., Park, J., Kwok, C., & Haslam, N. (2009). Attributing human uniqueness and human nature to cultural groups: Distinct forms of subtle dehumanization. *Group Processes Intergroup Relations*, 12(6), 789–805. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430209340415>
- Balaban, Ç. D. (2013). *The roles of intergroup threat, social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism in predicting Turks' prejudice toward Kurds* (Master thesis). Middle East Technical University.
- Barnes, C. D., Brown, R. P., & Osterman, L. L. (2012). Don't tread on me: Masculine honor ideology in the US and militant responses to terrorism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38(8), 1018–1029. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212443383>
- Bastian, B., Denson, T. F., & Haslam, N. (2013). The roles of dehumanization and moral outrage in retributive justice. *PLoS ONE*, 8(4), Article e61842. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0061842>
- Bilewicz, M., Skrodzka, M., Olko, J., & Lewińska, T. (2021). The double-edged sword of identification. The divergent effects of identification on acculturation stress among Ukrainian immigrants in Poland. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 83, 177–186. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2021.06.009>
- Bina, S. (2023). *Refugees (not)welcome: Is UK's being selective towards which refugees are allowed to enter its territory?* (Master thesis). The Arctic University of Norway.
- Brandle, S. M., & Reilly, J. E. (2019). Seldom, superficial, and soon gone: Television news coverage of refugees in the United States, 2006–2015. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 38(2), 159–194. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdz004>
- Bruneau, E., Szekeres, H., Kteily, N., Tropp, L. R., & Kende, A. (2020). Beyond dislike: Blatant dehumanization predicts teacher discrimination. *Group Processes Intergroup Relations*, 23(4), 560–577. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430219845462>
- Büyüksaraç, G. B. (2017). Trans-border minority activism and kin-state politics: The case of Iraqi Turkmen and Turkish interventionism. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 90(1), 17–53.
- Çakal, H., & Husnu, S. (2023). *Examining complex intergroup relations through the lens of Turkey*. Routledge Press.
- Capozza, D., Andrighetto, L., Di Bernardo, G. A., & Falvo, R. (2012). Does status affect intergroup perceptions of humanity? *Group Processes Intergroup Relations*, 15(3), 363–377. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430211426733>

- Castano, E., & Giner-Sorolla, R. (2006). Not quite human: Infrahumanization in response to collective responsibility for intergroup killing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 804–818. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.804>
- Çetin, N. (2018). Türk töresinde askerliğin yeri ve Türkiye’de askerliğe bakiş açısında meydana gelen deęişmeler [The place of military service in Turkish customs and the changes in the perspective of military service in Turkey]. *Halic University Journal of Social Sciences*, 1(1), 161–175.
- Chouliarakı, L., & Stolic, T. (2017). Rethinking media responsibility in the refugee ‘crisis’: A visual typology of European news. *Media, Culture Society*, 39(8), 1162–1177. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717726163>
- Çoksan, S., & Cingöz-Ulu, B. (2022). Group norms moderate the effect of identification on ingroup bias. *Current Psychology*, 41, 64–75. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-021-02091-x>
- Çoksan, S., Erdugan, C., & Öner-Özkın, B. (2023). Ortak öteki Suriyeli: Sosyal kimlik ve gerçekçi çatışma bağlamında Suriyeli mülteci temsili [The common other Syrian: The Syrian refugee representation in the context of social identity and realistic threat]. *Turkish Journal of Psychology*, 38(92), 103–123. <https://doi.org/10.31828/turkpsikoloji.1352225>
- Costello, K., & Hodson, G. (2011). Social dominance-based threat reactions to immigrants in need of assistance. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41(2), 220–231. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.769>
- Curtis, K. A. (2024). European identity’s effect on immigration attitudes: Testing the predictions of the common Ingroup identity model versus ingroup projection model. *Political Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12970>
- de Ruiter, A. (2023). Failing to see what matters most: Towards a better understanding of dehumanisation. *Contemporary Political Theory*, 22(2), 165–186. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41296-022-00569-2>
- Deyerdmond, R. (2022). Security, history and the boundaries of European identity after Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. *New Perspectives*, 30(3), 230–235. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2336825X221117493>
- Dixon, T., Frieß, H. J., Gray, E., Grimm, R., Hawkins, S., Helbling, M., Juan-Torres, M., Kiefer, K., Kossatz, D., Negrea, N., Schoen, A., Stavenhagen, L., Wolff, V., & Zindler, A. (2017). Attitudes towards national identity, immigration, and refugees in Germany. *More in Common*. (<https://www.humandignity.foundation/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Attitudes-towards-National-Identity-immigration-and-Refugees-in-Germany.pdf>).
- Divita, D. (2023). Radical-right populism in Spain and the strategy of chronopolitics. *Language in Society*, 52(5), 757–781. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S004740522000227>
- Elgin, V. M. (2016). *Examining honor culture in Turkey: Honor, manhood, & man-to-man response to insult* (Doctoral dissertation). Middle East Technical University.
- Esses, V. M., Medianu, S., & Sutter, A. (2021). The dehumanization and rehumanization of refugees. In E. Kronfeldner Maria (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of dehumanization* (pp. 275–291). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Esses, V. M., Medianu, S., & Lawson, A. S. (2013). Uncertainty, threat, and the role of the media in promoting the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees. *Journal of Social Issues*, 69(3), 518–536. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12027>
- Esses, V. M., Veenvliet, S., Hodson, G., & Mihic, L. (2008). Justice, morality, and the dehumanization of refugees. *Social Justice Research*, 21(1), 4–25. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-007-0058-4>
- Falomir-Pichastor, J. M., & Frederic, N. S. (2013). The dark side of heterogeneous ingroup identities: National identification, perceived threat, and prejudice against immigrants. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(1), 72–79. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2012.08.016>
- Fierro, J., & Parella, S. (2023). Social trust and support for immigrants’ social rights in Spain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 49(7), 1881–1897. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1951688>
- Frey, A. (2020). Cologne changed everything—the effect of threatening events on the frequency and distribution of intergroup conflict in Germany. *European Sociological Review*, 36(5), 684–699. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcaa007>
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). *Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model*. Psychology Press.
- Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio, P. A., Bachman, B. A., & Rust, M. C. (1993). The common ingroup identity model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 4(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14792779343000004>
- Gallardo, R. A., Moore-Berg, S. L., & Hameiri, B. (2023). Exploring different psychological processes in a media intervention that reduces dehumanization towards Muslims. *Political Psychology*, 45(1), 43–68. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12905>
- Garcia Yeste, C., Zeguari, O. E. M., Álvarez, P., & Folch, T. M. (2020). Muslim women wearing the niqab in Spain: Dialogues around discrimination, identity and freedom. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 75, 95–105. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2020.02.003>
- Gönültaş, S., & Mulvey, K. L. (2023). Does negative media representation shape adolescents’ discrimination towards Syrian refugees through threat perception and prejudice? *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 95, Article 101807. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2023.101807>
- GT Staff Reporters. (2022). *UK’s controversial refugee policies cause double standards and human rights concerns similar to the US*. GlobalTimes. (<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202204/1259776.shtml>).
- Güner, B. (2019). *The representation of refugees and migrants in the European mainstream media: The case of the United Kingdom and Germany* (Master thesis). Central European University.
- Guinjoan, M. (2023). How ideology shapes the relationship between populist attitudes and support for liberal democratic values. Evidence from Spain. *Acta Politica*, 58(2), 401–423. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41269-022-00252-9>
- Gürsel-Bilgin, G., Erden-Basaran, O., & Flinders, D. J. (2023). Turkish Pre-service teachers’ understandings of war, peace, and peace education. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 117, Article 102112. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2022.102112>
- Harris, L.T., & Delgado Rodríguez, N. (Eds.). (2024). *Special issue on dehumanization*. In current opinion in behavioral sciences. (<https://www.sciencedirect.com/special-issue/10K8FXSBF93>).
- Harth, N. S., Hornsey, M. J., & Barlow, F. K. (2011). Emotional responses to rejection of gestures of intergroup reconciliation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 37(6), 815–829. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167211400617>
- Haslam, N. (2006). Dehumanization: An integrative review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10(3), 252–264. <https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1003.4>
- Haslam, N., & Loughnan, S. (2014). Dehumanization and infrahumanization. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 65, 399–423. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010213-115045>
- Hinger, S., Daphi, P., & Stern, V. (2019). Divided reactions: Pro- and anti-migrant mobilization in Germany. In A. Rea, M. Martiniello, A. Mazzola, & B. Meuleman (Eds.), *European studies - The refugee reception crisis: Polarized opinions and mobilizations* (pp. 56–74). Brussels: Editions de l’Université libre de Bruxelles.
- Holloway, K., Mosel, I., Smart, C., Hennessey, G., Kumar, C., & Leach, A. (2021). *Public narratives and attitudes towards refugees and other migrants: German Country Profile*. ODI.
- Koytak, H. Z., & Celik, M. H. (2022). A text mining approach to determinants of attitude towards Syrian immigration in the Turkish Twittersphere. *Social Science Computer Review*, Article 08944393221117460. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08944393221117460>
- Kteily, N. S., & Landry, A. P. (2022). Dehumanization: Trends, insights, and challenges. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 26(3), 222–240. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2021.12.003>
- Kteily, N., & Bruneau, E. (2017). Backlash: The politics and real-world consequences of minority group dehumanization. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 43(1), 87–104. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167216675334>
- Kteily, N., Bruneau, E., Waytz, A., & Cotterill, S. (2015). The ascent of man: Theoretical and empirical evidence for blatant dehumanization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(5), 901–931. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000048>
- Kukreja, R. (2023). Introduction: Everyday bordering regimes and transitioning masculinities of racialized migrant men: A case study of the EU. *NORMA*, 18, 1. <https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2023.2263104>
- Langdon, N. (2018). *Empathy and othering: Framing Syria’s refugee crisis in the British press: Critical perspectives on migration in the twenty-first century*. E-International Relations Publishing. (<https://www.e-ir.info/2018/09/06/empathy-and-othering-framing-syrias-refugee-crisis-in-the-british-press/>).
- Lazović, V. (2021). Dehumanization revisited. *AAA: Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 46(2), 115–138.

- Leach, C. W., Van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L., Pennekamp, S. F., Doojse, B., ... Spears, R. (2008). Group-level self-definition and self-investment: a hierarchical (multicomponent) model of ingroup identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(1), 144–165. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.1.144>
- Lee, T. L., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Not an outgroup, not yet an ingroup: Immigrants in the stereotype content model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(6), 751–768. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.06.005>
- Leyens, J. P., Demoulin, S., Vaes, J., Gaunt, R., & Paladino, M. P. (2007). Infra-humanization: The wall of group differences. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 1(1), 139–172. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-2409.2007.00006.x>
- Leyens, J. P., Paladino, M. P., Rodríguez-Torres, R., Vaes, J., Demoulin, S., Rodríguez-Perez, A., & Gaunt, R. (2000). The emotional side of prejudice: The attribution of secondary emotions to ingroups and outgroups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 4(2), 186–197. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327957PSPR0402_06
- Lindén, M., Björklund, F., & Bäckström, M. (2016). What makes authoritarian and socially dominant people more positive to using torture in the war on terrorism? *Personality and Individual Differences*, 91, 98–101. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2015.11.058>
- Luke, S. (2024). Far-right AfD wins in Thuringia but the prospect of governing the state is low. September 16 UK in a Changing Europe (<https://ukandeu.ac.uk/far-right-afd-wins-in-thuringia-but-the-prospect-of-governing-the-state-is-low/>). September 16.
- MacLeod, A. [@AlanR.MacLeod] (2022, February, 27). The BBC - "It's very emotional for me because I see European people with blue eyes and blonde hair being killed" - Ukraine's Deputy Chief Prosecutor, David Sakvelidze [Tweet, <https://twitter.com/AlanRMacLeod/status/1497974245737050120>].
- Markowitz, D. M., & Slovic, P. (2020). Social, psychological, and demographic characteristics of dehumanization toward immigrants. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117(17), 9260–9269. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1921790117>
- Martikainen, J., & Sakkı, I. (2021). Visual (de) humanization: construction of Otherness in newspaper photographs of the refugee crisis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 44(16), 236–266. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.1965178>
- McCartin, H. R., Benemann, H. E., Norton-Baker, M., Russell, T. D., Cash, D. K., & King, A. R. (2023). Boys round here: The relationship between masculine honor ideology, aggressive behavior, race, and regional affiliation. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 38(5-6), 5305–5328. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08862605221120890>
- Mehmetcik, H., & Çelik, A. C. (2022). The militarization of Turkish foreign policy. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 24(1), 24–41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2021.1992190>
- Montagut, M., & Moragas-Fernández, C. M. (2020). The European refugee crisis discourse in the Spanish Press: Mapping humanization and dehumanization frames through metaphors. *International Journal of Communication*, 14(2020), 69–91.
- Murphey, R. (2006). *Ottoman warfare* (pp. 1500–1700). Routledge.
- Mustafa-Awad, Z., & Kirner-Ludwig, M. (2017). Arab women in news headlines during the Arab Spring: Image and perception in Germany. *Discourse Communication*, 11(5), 515–538. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481317714114>
- Mustafa-Awad, Z., & Kirner-Ludwig, M. (2021). Syrian refugees in digital news discourse: Depictions and reflections in Germany. *Discourse Communication*, 15(1), 74–97. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481320961636>
- O'Dea, C. J., Chalmers, S. T., Castro Bueno, A. M., & Saucier, D. A. (2018). Conditional aggression: Perceptions of male violence in response to threat and provocation. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 131, 132–141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2018.04.029>
- O'Dea, C. J., Rapp, S., Brand, O. R., & Greco-Henderson, D. (2022). Act like a real man! a novel examination of how socializing others to masculine honor-based norms bolsters men's reputations. *Psychology of Men Masculinities*, 23(3), 299–308. <https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000389>
- Oliver, O. A. (2017). *Dehumanization in war and combat: Rhetoric and practice* (Undergraduate research scholar thesis). Texas A&M University.
- Opatow, S. (1990). Moral exclusion and injustice: An introduction. *Journal of Social Issues*, 46, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1990.tb00268.x>
- Özdemir, F., Çakır, E., Kara, H. N., & Özkan, Ö. (2024). Etnik ve siyasi kimlikleşme ve algılanan tehdit düzeyinin Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik olumsuz tutumlarla ilişkisi [The relationship of ethnic and political identification and perceived threat level with negative attitudes towards Syrian refugees]. *Turkish Journal of Psychology*, 39(93), 1–50. <https://doi.org/10.31828/turkpsikoloji.1399928>
- Peresman, A., Carroll, R., & Bäck, H. (2023). Authoritarianism and immigration attitudes in the UK. *Political Studies*, 71(3), 616–633. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00323217211032438>
- Petsko, C. D., Lei, R. F., Kunst, J. R., Bruneau, E., & Kteily, N. (2021). Blatant dehumanization in the mind's eye: Prevalent even among those who explicitly reject it? *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 150(6), 1115–1131. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000961>
- Pfeifer, J. H., Ruble, D. N., Bachman, M. A., Alvarez, J. M., Cameron, J. A., & Fuligni, A. J. (2007). Social identities and intergroup bias in immigrant and nonimmigrant children. *Developmental Psychology*, 43(2), 496–507. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.43.2.496>
- Politi, E., Gale, J., Roblain, A., Bobowik, M., & Green, E. G. (2023). Who is willing to help Ukrainian refugees and why? The role of individual prosocial dispositions and superordinate European identity. *Journal of Community Applied Social Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2689>
- Pomerantz, A. L., Foster, S., & Bell, K. (2024). Invincible honor: Masculine honor, perceived invulnerability, and risky decision-making. *Current Psychology*, 43(6), 5282–5290. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-023-04722-x>
- Rettberg, J. W., & Gajjala, R. (2016). Terrorists or cowards: Negative portrayals of male Syrian refugees in social media. *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(1), 178–181. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2016.1120493>
- Richards, L., Fernández-Reino, M., & Blinder, S. (2023). *UK public opinion toward immigration: overall attitudes and level of concern*. The University of Oxford. (<https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/MigObs-Briefing-UK-Public-Opinion-toward-Immigration-Overall-Attitudes-and-Level-of-Concern.pdf>).
- Risse, T. (2011). *A community of Europeans?: Transnational identities and public spheres*. Cornell University Press.
- Roblain, A., Azzi, A., & Licata, L. (2016). Why do majority members prefer immigrants who adopt the host culture? The role of perceived identification with the host nation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 55, 44–54. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2016.08.001>
- Romano, M. (2019). Refugees are streaming into Europe: An image-schema analysis of the Syrian Refugee crisis in the Spanish and British press. *Complutense Journal of English Studies*, 27(1), 39–57. <https://doi.org/10.5209/cjes.64561>
- Romano, M., & Porto, M. D. (2022). Framing conflict in the Syrian refugee crisis: Multimodal representations in the Spanish and British Press. In L. Filardo-Llamas, E. Morales-López, & A. Floyd (Eds.), *Discursive approaches to sociopolitical polarization and conflict* (pp. 153–173). Routledge.
- Rosenstein, J. E. (2008). Individual threat, group threat, and racial politics: Exploring the relationship between threat and racial attitudes. *Social Science Research*, 37(4), 1130–1146. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2008.04.001>
- Safak-Ayvazoglu, A., & Kunuroglu, F. (2021). Acculturation experiences and psychological well-being of Syrian refugees attending universities in Turkey: A qualitative study. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 14(1), 96–109. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000148>
- Saucier, D. A., Stanford, A. J., Miller, S. S., Martens, A. L., Miller, A. K., Jones, T. L., ... Burns, M. D. (2016). Masculine honor beliefs: Measurement and correlates. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 94, 7–15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2015.12.049>
- Scheepers, D., Spears, R., Doojse, B., & Manstead, A. S. (2002). Integrating identity and instrumental approaches to intergroup differentiation: Different contexts, different motives. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(11), 1455–1467. <https://doi.org/10.1177/014616702237574>
- Sinclair, S., Granberg, M., & Nilsson, T. (2024). Love thy (Ukrainian) neighbour: Willingness to help refugees depends on their origin and is mediated by perceptions of similarity and threat. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 63(2), 499–517. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12691>
- Steuter, E., & Wills, D. (2010). The vermin have struck again: Dehumanizing the enemy in post 9/11 media representations. *Media, War Conflict*, 3(2), 152–167. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635210360082>
- Sunata, U., & Yıldız, E. (2018). Representation of Syrian refugees in the Turkish media. *Journal of Applied Journalism Media Studies*, 7(1), 129–151. https://doi.org/10.1386/ajms.7.1.129_1
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Thomson Brooks.
- Tipler, C., & Ruscher, J. B. (2014). Agency's role in dehumanization: Non-human metaphors of out-groups. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 8(5), 214–228. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12100>

- Toğral Koca, B. (2016). Syrian refugees in Turkey: From “guests” to “enemies”? *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 54, 55–75. <https://doi.org/10.1017/npt.2016.4>
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2018). A “refugee crisis” unfolding: “Real” events and their interpretation in media and political debates. *Journal of Immigrant Refugee Studies*, 16 (1-2), 198–216.
- Tseung-Wong, C. N., Ward, C., & Szabó, Á. (2019). Dual identification, multicultural identity styles, and intergroup evaluations: Some preliminary findings. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 72, 122–128. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.07.009>
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Basil Blackwell.
- Tutkal, S. (2023). The role of dehumanization in legitimization and delegitimation of state violence in Colombia, 1354067X231164795 *Culture Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X231164795>.
- Ufkes, E. G., Calcagno, J., Glasford, D. E., & Dovidio, J. F. (2016). Understanding how common ingroup identity undermines collective action among disadvantaged-group members. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 63, 26–35. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2015.11.006>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] (2022). *Global displacement hits another record, capping decade-long rising trend*. Retrieved November 8, 2022, from (<https://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2022/6/62a9d2b04/unhcr-global-displacement-hits-record-capping-decade-long-rising-trend.html>).
- Uysal, M. S., Hoerst, C., Stathi, S., & Kessler, T. (2024). Populism predicts sympathy for attacks against asylum seekers through national pride and moral justification of political violence. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 15(1), 70–79. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506231151759>
- Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, Ç., & Akbaş, S. (2020). The most invisible of the invisibles: Skilled Syrian women in the Turkish labor market. In L. Williams, E. Coşkun, & S. Kaşka (Eds.), *Women, migration and asylum in Turkey: Migration, diasporas and citizenship* (pp. 193–212). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Van Bavel, J. J., & Packer, D. J. (2021). *The power of us: Harnessing our shared identities to improve performance, increase cooperation, and promote social harmony*. Little, Brown Spark.
- Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2012). Social identity complexity and immigrants’ attitude toward the host nation: The intersection of ethnic and religious group identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38(9), 1165–1177. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212446164>
- Vorländer, H., Herold, M., & Schaller, S. (2018). *Pegida and new right-wing populism in Germany*. Springer.
- Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., Weber, U., & Waldzus, S. (2003). The ingroup as pars pro toto: Projection from the ingroup onto the inclusive category as a precursor to social discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(4), 461–473. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202250913>
- Wiegel, G. (2023). *A decade of right-wing radicalization*. February 6. Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (<https://www.rosalux.de/en/news/id/49924/a-decade-of-right-wing-radicalization>). February 6.
- Wilmott, A. C. (2017). The politics of photography: Visual depictions of Syrian refugees in UK online media. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 24(2), 67–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15551393.2017.1307113>
- Yitmen, Ş., & Verkuyten, M. (2018). Feelings toward refugees and non-Muslims in Turkey: The roles of national and religious identifications, and multiculturalism. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 48(2), 90–100. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12493>