

## Chapter 20. Attitudes of Turkish youth toward Syrian refugees in respect to youths' gender, income, education, and city: A Scale Development Study

Seray Çağla Keleş<sup>1</sup>, Tuğçe Aral<sup>2</sup>, Muazzez Yıldırım<sup>3</sup>, Ece Kurtoglu<sup>4</sup>, Ulaş Sunata<sup>5</sup>

### Introduction

Immigration due to several factors such as natural disasters, lack of employment and education opportunities, and political environment in a country has occurred in the modern world. As one of them, there has been increased migration from Syria to neighboring countries since the emergence of civil war in spring 2011. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR), more than five millions of Syrians have fled to Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq for the reason to find better living conditions, food and clean water. However, the flow of millions created a new sociological and political dynamic in the regions that received migrants. Even though Turkey is known with its multi-ethnic society, the sudden rise in the numbers of refugees and the effects of accommodating refugees in Turkey led for a spectrum of opinions towards Syrian refugees.

The emergence point of the current study is based on integrated threat theory which was suggested by Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald and Tur-Kaspa (1998). The theory has been used to analyze potential conflicts between interacting social groups. The threat is perceived especially by in-group members (Stephan et al, 1998). This theory proposes four major components of threat; realistic, symbolic, intergroup anxiety, negative stereotypes.

Realistic threat refers to “the out-group endangering the existence, political or economic power, or physical well-being of the in-group” (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). Basically, realistic threats were the threats to scarce resources such as jobs, lands (Jackson, 1993; Levine & Campbell, 1972), and threats to economy, health and social status (Sherif, 1966; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). On the other hand, according to Stephan & Stephan (1996), symbolic threats referred to the perception of

---

<sup>1</sup> Seray Çağla Keleş is student at Faculty of Economic, Administrative and Social Sciences, Bahcesehir University, Istanbul, 34353, Çırağan Cad., Osmanpaşa Mektebi Sok., No: 4-6, Beşiktaş, İstanbul, Turkey. E-mail: seraycagla.keles@stu.bahcesehir.edu.tr.

<sup>2</sup> Tuğçe Aral is student at Graduate School of Social Science and Humanities, Koç University, İstanbul, 34450, Rumelifeneri Mah., Sarıyer, İstanbul, Turkey. E-mail: tugcearal15@ku.edu.tr.

<sup>3</sup> Muazzez Yıldırım is senior Psychology undergraduate student at Faculty of Economic, Administrative and Social Sciences, Bahcesehir University, Istanbul, 34353, Çırağan Cad., Osmanpaşa Mektebi Sok., No: 4-6, Beşiktaş, İstanbul, Turkey. E-mail: muazzez.yildirim@stu.bahcesehir.edu.tr.

<sup>4</sup> Ece Kurtoglu is student at Faculty of Economic, Administrative and Social Sciences, Bahcesehir University, Istanbul, 34353, Çırağan Cad., Osmanpaşa Mektebi Sok., No: 4-6, Beşiktaş, İstanbul, Turkey. E-mail: ece.kurtoglu@stu.bahcesehir.edu.tr.

<sup>5</sup> Ulaş Sunata is Associate Professor of Sociology Department at Faculty of Economic, Administrative and Social Sciences and Founding Chair of Bahcesehir University Migration and Urban Studies (BAUMUS), Istanbul, 34353, Çırağan Cad., Osmanpaşa Mektebi Sok., No: 4-6, Beşiktaş, İstanbul, Turkey. E-mail: ulas.sunata@eas.bahcesehir.edu.tr.

differences between the groups in terms of morals, values, beliefs and norms. Moreover, experiencing to be threatened in person during social interaction with out-group members due to worrying about outcomes such as being rejected, embarrassed and ridiculed for the self is conceptualized as intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). As a last threat component, negative stereotypes, held by in-group members towards out-group members, shape the behavioral expectations of in-group from out-group, so those stereotypes serve as one of the main threat components (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990).

Results of several studies in the literature (Stephan et al., 1998; Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000) revealed that while prejudicial attitudes are measured with the emphasis of intergroup relations by realistic and symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes measure fears based on how in-group members perceive each other (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). Furthermore, realistic and symbolic threats are seemed to be better predictors than intergroup anxiety and stereotypes (Schweitzer, Perkouludis, & Krome, 2005). Thus, in this study only realistic and symbolic threats, which show the people's dependence to their social groups better, are chosen as a predictor of prejudicial attitudes.

Realistic threat derives from Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Le Vine & Campbell, 1972), which is one of the most influential theories of intergroup relations (Jackson, 1993), can be demonstrated as an explanation of attitudes toward immigrants. According to Campbell (1965), intergroup attitudes and behaviors are seemingly determined by the interest conflicts between groups. These conflicts are based on the nature and the compatibility of group goals. Positive relations are formed when group goals are compatible, whereas incompatible group goals result in conflict, negative intergroup attitudes and behaviors. This perspective is called as realistic group conflict which points out that some group conflicts are realistic because there is a real competition for scarce resources (Esses et al, 1998). This theory has some relevant premises which are; (i) when the perceived competition for resources increases between groups, intergroup threat and conflict increases, (ii) greater intergroup threat and conflict are contributed to the expression of more hostility toward the source of the threat, and (iii) when there is competition for resources, proximity and contact increase intergroup hostility instead of decreasing it (LeVine and Campbell, 1972). In addition, these premises do not require actual competition over resources. The perception of competition is sufficient in forming of conflict and intergroup hostility (Esses et al, 1998).

However, while the increased concentration of ethnic minorities causes to show more negative attitudes towards minority (Dustmann and Preston, 2001), people living in ethnically diverse areas or cities that have longer migration history show more tolerance towards refugees than people living in less diverse or less migrated areas (Valentine & McDonald, 2004). It is thought as a reflection of contact with minorities and experiencing personally plays a counteractive role in negative political and public discourse (Fetzer, 2000).

Besides group factors demonstrated above, several individual factors consisting of economic and noneconomic elements are influential on changing public attitudes towards immigration (Mayda, 2006).

First of all, the question of how gender shapes attitudes towards minorities has been answered differently based on the past researches. Even though it was stated that refugees are viewed more positively by females (Crawley, Drinkwater, Kauser, 2013), the study conducted by Murray and Marx (2013) showed no significant gender effect. Moreover, according to the study conducted by Schweitzer et al. (2005), it is concluded that 59.8% of participants scored above the midpoint on prejudicial attitudes measure. Among the male and female students, it has been indicated that male students hold more unfavorable attitudes towards refugees than female students.

Secondly, socioeconomic status, which is a multi-dimensional concept, is the indicator of a person's overall social position. Thus, income, one of the important sub-concept of the SES (Graetz, 1995), was used as a predictor of the participant's SES. In the previous studies which is conducted in 15 European countries, they have found that individuals who economically in risk situations are more prone to feel the threat of competition. This is also found to lead to have an effect on ethnic exclusion and negative attitudes (Scheepers et al., 2002). According to another study which concerns the immigration to Canada and United States, the results revealed that instrumental beliefs about economic competition with the out group is a strong predictor for the negative attitudes towards immigrants (Esses, Davidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001).

As a third factor, education level of majority demonstrates strong positive relationship in terms of predicting attitudes of majority towards minority group (Dustman and Preston, 2001; Ford, Morrell, & Heath, 2012). Findings from different studies revealed that well educated people hold certain values that reflect strong direct effect of education on positive attitudes towards refugees (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Crawley, Drinkwater, & Kauser, 2013).

Another significant individual factor, where the participants are currently living indicates in-group's prejudicial attitudes towards minority and it is explained with group conflict and intergroup contact theory as mentioned above (Le Vine & Campbell, 1972; Allport, 1954).

Since seeking for refuge or encountering with people who seek refuge is an issue experienced lifelong, therefore age is acting as a moderator in people's attitudes. According to Dustmann and Preston (2001) people who encounter with the ethnic minorities at later phase of their life are less likely to be tolerant towards them. Moreover, it is believed to be beneficial for understanding how minorities will be considered by future generations (Murray & Marx, 2013). Therefore, in this study young generation's perceptions were targeted.

This study aims to explain the attitudes towards Syrian refugees with reference to (i) gender, (ii) income level, (iii) educational background of young adults and (iv) cities where participants live. Thus, the current study was carried out to form an attitude scale and in the following it was aimed to examine current attitudes towards Syrian refugees in Turkey in respect to participants' socio-demographic variables.

Based on the literature, hypotheses of the current study as follows:

Female participants were expected to demonstrate less negative attitudes towards Syrian refugees in Turkey.

The participants with lower income level is assumed to hold more negative attitudes due to realistic threat.

People with higher education degree is assumed to have less negative attitudes due to increased accessibility of the knowledge.

Participants who live in cities with the high number of refugee population are assumed to have more positive attitudes. Additionally, when ratio of refugees to total population of city gets higher, participants who live in these particular cities are assumed to report more negative attitudes.

## **Method**

### *Participants*

Participants comprised of 638 inhabitants from 51 different cities of Turkey. Participants were recruited through social media sites such as Facebook, LinkedIn, and eksisozluk.com based on their voluntariness. In the sample, 35.1% of participants were female (N=224), and 64.9% of them were male (N=414).

The mean age of the sample was 25.6 (SD= 4.6), with ages ranging from 18 - 35. In terms of educational background, 11.1 % of participants (N=71) had high school degree, 70.4% of the participants had college degree with the highest ratio in the sample (N=449), and 18.5% of them (N=118) had master's and above. Monthly family income was also asked to participants. 18.7% (N= 119) of the participants revealed their monthly income as 1500 TL at most, 28.7% (N=183) of them reported that their income was between 1500-3000 TL, 27.6% (N=176) indicated their income as between 3000-5000 TL, and monthly family income for 25.1% (N=160) was 5000 TL and above. Participants were also asked to indicate where they live and collected data were categorised in two different ways.

### *Materials*

The Attitudes towards Syrian Refugees Scale: In order to measure attitudes of inhabitants towards refugees from Syria, a scale has been developed and used in this study as a research instrument. The questionnaire which has been developed aimed to assess two threats, *realistic and symbolic threat*, towards Syrian refugees. The scale involved 32 items with 5 point Likert scale ranging from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree". In the first page of the scale, participants were presented with informed consent to explain the aim of this study and confidentiality, in addition to get their permission for participation (See Appendix). Items were created according to *integrated threat theory* to comprehend the perceptions of citizens (Schweitzer et al., 2005). Based on Schweitzer, et al. (2005)'s theory, 16 items were created for each threats. 6 of the items were eliminated due to low item total correlation. The final form of the scale has been designed by structuring realistic, symbolic threats and reverse items systematically.

Socio-demographic questions: Participant were asked to indicate their age, gender, city, educational level and monthly income of their family.

## **Results**

### *Factor Analysis*

Before factor analysis, Barlett's test of sphericity was done to decide appropriateness of data for factor analysis and KMO (Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure

of Sampling Adequacy) test result was examined to measure adequacy of the sampling. Regarding to Barlett's test of sphericity results, the data set was determined as suitable for factor analysis ( $\chi^2(496)=14370,4$   $p<.05$ ). According to KMO test, it was decided that sphericity of the scale is high (KMO= .97).

Based on KMO and Barlett's test of sphericity tests, principal components analysis was used because the primary purpose was to identify and compute composite scores for the factors. Varimax rotation was chosen and values below .30 was suppressed while it was being conducted. Principal components analysis revealed the presence four components with eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 48.4%, 5.9%, 4.6% and 3.5% of the variance respectively.

An inspection of the scree plot revealed that one of those factors explained the most of the variability due to leveling off the scree plot. The first factor, which explained 48.4 % of the variance was preferred due to the insufficient number of primary loadings and difficulty of interpreting the subsequent factors which causes lower level of variance. Although the scale was designed to measure two threats, which were realistic threat and symbolic threat, on the basis of past studies (Schweitzer et al., 2005), the questions loaded on just one factor. With the decision of number of the dimensions, 32 items were gathered above a factor and analysis was repeated by extracting one factor.

#### *Reliability Analysis*

Reliability of 'Attitudes toward Syrian Refugees' scale was evaluated based on participation of 638 young adults in Turkey. Cronbach's Alpha item total reliability analysis was conducted. 32 items after factor analysis were put in item total reliability analysis without any reverse code to decide which items were overlapped with the predetermined reverse items. Reverse items were determined by forming the items in a way that would show positive attitudes toward Syrian refugees (ex: I do not disturb to being neighbours with Syrian refugees).

Based on the first reliability analysis, the predetermined reverse items were confirmed by the negative values on corrected item-total correlation. The second reliability analysis were done with the overlapped reverse items (Item 4, 5, 6, 9,12,15,19,21,23, 27,28, 31, and 32). According to following analysis, there were still some items valued negatively and these items were decided to be dropped (Item 1, 4, 9,12, 16, and 19), since they were not loaded as expected in the beginning of the study. Item 1, 4, and 19 were eliminated due to their double barrelled meanings which might be confusing for the participants. The item 9 and 12 were also eliminated because of their low item-total correlation. In addition, item 16 was taken out since it was expected not to be reverse however corrected item total correlation indicated negative score. Therefore, it was assumed that the meaning of the sentence was not understood correctly.

Final reliability analysis was done with reverse coded items. After the removal of the problematic items, the Cronbach's alpha of the remained 26 items scale was .95.

#### *Group Differences*

In order to examine the relationship between socio-demographic variables (i.e. sex, income level, educational background and city) and attitudes of people living in Turkey toward Syrian refugees, various analysis were carried out.

Firstly, the relationship between gender and attitudes toward Syrian refugees were investigated by independent samples t-test. The mean scores (SD) of the scale was 3.01 (SD= 0.97) for women and 3.6 (SD= 0.97) for men. Results of the analysis revealed that there was no significant difference between women and men among the young generation in terms of their attitudes toward Syrian refugees,  $t(636) = -7.54, p > 0.05$ .

Secondly, the relationship between the monthly family income of the young adults and their attitudes towards Syrian refugees were analyzed with one-way ANOVA. The mean scores (SD) of attitude scale for participants whose monthly family income is between 0-1500 TL, 1501-300 TL, 3001-5000 TL, 5000 TL and above were 3.5 (1.1), 3.47 (1.01), 3.3 (0.99), 3.3 (0.99) respectively. The results showed that there is no significant difference in attitude towards Syrian refugees for different monthly family income,  $F(3,634) = 1,17, p > .05$ .

Thirdly, the impacts of education and its effects on the attitudes of young adults towards Syrian refugees were analyzed with one-way ANOVA. The mean scores (SD) of attitude scale for participants with a high school degree was 3.65 (1.1), with a college or undergraduate degree 3.4 (0.95) and with a master's and above 2.9 (1.09). The results indicate significant difference in attitude towards Syrian refugees for different educational background  $F(2,635) = 13.35, p < .05$ . To investigate further, bonferroni corrected post hoc tests were used. The result showed that high school and undergraduate degree participants was holding significantly more negative attitudes compared to post graduate participants. However, no other comparison was found significant.

Lastly, the analysis was conducted to examine the effect of cities where the young adults live and its effect on their attitudes towards Syrian refugees. One way ANOVA analysis was used by composing two different clusters. The first cluster formed based on the refugee population in the cities. The mean scores (SD) of attitude scale for participants who live in cities where percentage of refugee population 10% and above was 3.27 (1.04), for population percentage between 3%-10% was 3.81 (0.88), for population percentage between 0.5%-3% were 3.43 (0.97), for population percentage 0.5% and below was 3.65 (0.94). According to Bonferroni corrected post hoc analysis, people who are living in the cities with 10% and above refugee population had significantly less negative attitudes than the people living in cities with refugee population between 3%-10%. This result was also significant between the cities with 10% and above refugees and the cities with 0.5% and below refugee population,  $F(4,633) = 6,18, p < .05$ .

For the second cluster which was constituted according to ratio of refugees to total population of cities, the mean scores (SD) of the scale for participants living in cities with 5% and above ratio of inhabitants and refugee population were 3.85 (0.85), for the cities which have population ratio between 0.8%-5% were 3.32 (1.03), for the ratio between 1%-0.8% were 3.68 (1.02), for the ratio of 1% and below were 3.52 (0.74). Results revealed that if the ratio of refugee population to inhabitants in a city is 5% and above, participants have significantly more negative attitudes than people living in cities with the ratio of 0.8% - 5%,  $F(5,633) = 5, p < .05$ .

## **Discussion**

The research commenced with the assumption that realistic and symbolic threats, which are significant component of integrated threat theory, play a crucial role in predicting attitudes towards Syrian refugees. The scale was designed to obtain a reliable measure to assess the approach of Turkish people to migration of Syrian refugees. An extensive research, conducted in Austria to investigate general attitudes to refugees, indicated that male participants have less favorable attitudes than females (Schweitzer et al., 2005). In contrary to these findings, any significant difference in the attitudes of male or female subjects has been found in the case of Syrian refugees locating in Turkey. However, gender ratios in this research showed an unusual distribution with its 65% of male participants contrary to the other survey studies in the literature, since it is more common to have more female participants. This might be due to distribution of our survey which is through online networking websites that have been found to have mostly men users.

Results revealed no relationship between attitudes of the sample and their income level. One possible reason might be the way income question is asked, since it was not understood clearly by participants. Another reason might be due perception of participant's income and SES, thus subjective SES might be a better predictor for attitudes rather than overall income of the participants. For the future studies, income question should be asked as specific as possible.

Even though first two hypotheses were not confirmed, the hypotheses, indicating that attitudes towards refugees were influenced by education level of the participants and cities where they live were, supported. Direction of both hypotheses was in the same way with the findings of the current study. According to results, post graduate participants showed positive attitudes compared to high school and undergraduate degree holder participants. To explain this result, the literature suggested that participants with higher education level have a tendency to be significantly less racist and value cultural diversity more. Furthermore, they might believe that host country can benefit from that immigration in different aspects (Hainmueller and Hiscox, 2007).

Regarding to city data analyzed based on two different clusters, results of the study for the first cluster revealed that when the refugee populations in the cities increases, participants tend to show positive attitudes to refugees. However, results showed a converse direction for the second cluster by indicating that lower ratio of refugee population to inhabitants in a city predicts positive attitudes towards refugees. Findings of the first cluster might be explained with Intergroup Contact Theory suggesting that in-group and out-group members who frequently have interpersonal contact in appropriate situations are prone to have less prejudicial attitudes (Allport, 1954). For the other cluster, explanation might come from Realistic Group Conflict Theory proposing that conflicting goals and competition over resources might cause hostility and negative attitudes (Le Vine & Campbell, 1972).

The present sample were comprised by youths living in Turkey, therefore, may have been a good asset for the study and for understanding the level of negative attitudes and perceived threats within the Turkish youth community clearly. Also, youth population is the one who possess cultural wealth and guides future

generations. However, this study harbors some limitation in itself. First of all, even though the scale was initially designed to measure the influence of both realistic and symbolic threats, by conducting factor analysis, it was determined that the scale measures only one of the two target subheadings. Since the participants had difficulty to distinguish threats as aimed in the beginning, it can be revealed that integrated threat theory did not work in this study properly. Secondly, data was collected online. Therefore, online surveys have both advantages and disadvantages about reaching the target sample. Even though online survey makes it easier for the researchers to reach a larger sample of people, it only creates an access to the ones who has internet connection and to the ones who actively uses social media websites. East part of Turkey is facing with the biggest part of refugee flows, however an important portion of people who are living the areas who receives immigrants in the east have no access to internet. A generalization from a limited sample to a general population needs to be treated with caution. Moreover, people are exposed to many distractions while they are taking the online surveys, thus people are not giving enough importance and attention to items on the survey. Also, online surveys open to misleading information. It is hard to be sure about given demographic information. For the demographic questions, although the cities which they live asked to them, they were not asked to specify the places by indicating whether they live in city center or in a village and how their homes look like. Also, ethnicity of the participants might be added to demographic questions for the next studies.

Another challenge of explicit attitude measures such as this survey, people's likelihood of self-censor themselves due to being concern of politically correct (Fazio & Olson, 2003). To further findings, social desirability can be also measured due to its effects on expressing attitudes towards refugees changing with political and media attention to refugee issues in different environments. Refugee crisis is fiercely rising all over the world and mostly in Europe due to asylum seekers attempts to cross border to EU countries and hoping for a safer life. Further studies might be done in many other countries, who receive refugees, to be able to make comparisons and commonalities in terms of current attitudes.

## References

- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley
- Bizman, A., & Yinon, Y. (2001). Intergroup and interpersonal threats as determinants of prejudice: The moderating role of in-group identification. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 23(3), 191-196.
- Campbell, D.T. (1965). *Ethnocentric and Other Altruistic Motives*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. pp. 283-311.
- Crawley, H., Drinkwater, S., & Kauser, R. (2013). Regional variations in attitudes towards refugees: evidence from Great Britain.
- Dustmann, C., & Preston, I. (2001). Attitudes to ethnic minorities, ethnic context and location decisions. *The Economic Journal*, 111(470), 353-373.
- Esses, V. M., Jackson, L. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (1998). Intergroup competition and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration: An instrumental model of group conflict. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54, 699-724.
- Fazio, R. H., & Olson, M. A. (2003). Implicit measures in social cognition research: Their meaning and use. *Annual review of psychology*, 54(1), 297-327.
- Fetzer, J. S. (2000). *Public attitudes toward immigration in the United States, France, and Germany*. Cambridge University Press.



- Ford, R., Morrell, G., & Heath, A. (2012). 'Fewer but better?' Public views about immigration. *British Social Attitudes: The*, 29.
- Graetz, B. (1995). Socioeconomic status in education research and policy. *Socioeconomic status and school education*, 23-51.
- Hainmueller, J., Hiscox J. M. (2007). Educated Preferences: Explaining Attitudes Toward Immigration in Europe. *International Organization*, 61, 399-442. doi:10.1017/S0020818307070142.
- Hamilton, D. L., Sherman, S. J., & Ruvolo, C. M. (1990). Stereotype- based expectancies: Effects on information processing and social behavior. *Journal of Social Issues*, 46(2), 35-60.
- Jackson, J. (1993). Realistic group conflict theory: A review and evaluation of the theoretical and empirical literature. *Psychological Record*, 43, 395-414.
- LeVine, R. A., & Campbell, D. T. (1972). *Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes, and group behavior*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Mayda, A. M. (2006). Who is against immigration? A cross-country investigation of individual attitudes toward immigrants. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 88(3), 510-530.
- Murray, K. E., & Marx, D. M. (2013). Attitudes toward unauthorized immigrants, authorized immigrants, and refugees. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19(3), 332.
- Sherif, M. (1966). *In common predicament: Social psychology of intergroup conflict and cooperation*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20(3), 409-426.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of social issues*, 41(3), 157-175.
- Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C., Schwarzwald, J., & TurKaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice towards immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29, 559 –576. doi:10.1177/0022022198294004
- Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Loving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31(2), 240-249.
- Schweitzer, R., Perkoulidis, S., Krome, S., Ludlow, C., & Ryan, M. (2005). Attitudes towards refugees: The dark side of prejudice in Australia. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 57(3), 170-179.
- Valentine, G., & McDonald, I. (2004). *Understanding prejudice: Attitudes towards minorities*. Stonewall.