SKILLED LABOUR EMIGRATION FROM TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

SKILLED LABOUR EMIGRATION FROM TURKEY

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This thesis explores the factors shaping skilled workers' emigration decisions from Turkey. It draws on qualitative research that collected primary data from 44 semi-structured interviews conducted with university graduates that either emigrated or were planning to emigrate at the time of the research, between April-May 2018. The interviewees prefer to migrate to countries where they thought they would be able to practice their basic rights and liberties. European Countries, specifically the Netherlands and England, also Canada are the most preferred places of destination. Job application is the most frequently used means of trying to start a new life abroad, followed by higher education applications, and visa applications of several kinds. This research emphasizes the interconnectivities between economic and political power and the resulting conditions underpinning emigration decisions in modern societies. Political conditions figure as important factors shaping emigration decisions from Turkey. The interviewees' perceptions about the practices of basic rights and liberties, the rule of law, religious conservatism and the quality of the education services feature as prominent grounds for emigration. Significantly, the thesis finds that skilled workers are prepared to live in more modest economic living conditions than they are accustomed to in Turkey. Findings in this thesis are compatible with those from comparative international research on skilled labour emigration which draw attention to the rising importance of political conditions.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYEDEN NİTELİKLİ İŞGÜCÜ GÖÇÜ

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Bu tez, nitelikli işgücünün Türkiye'den göç etme kararına etki eden faktörleri araştırmaktadır. Türkiye'den göç etmiş ya da göç etmeyi planlayan 44 üniversite mezunu görüşmeciyle Mayıs-Haziran 2018 tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirilen yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatların birincil datasından faydalanan nitel araştırmaya dayanmaktadır. Görüşmecilerin, temel hak ve özgürlüklerini kullanabileceklerini düşündükleri ülkelere göç etmeyi hedefledikleri görülmektedir. Özellikle Hollanda ve İngiltere gibi Avrupa ülkeleri ve Kanada en çok tercih edilen hedef ülkelerdir. Yurtdışına iş başvurusu en çok kullanılan göç etme yöntemidir, ayrıca yurtdışına yüksek eğitim başvuruları, çeşitli tipte vize başvuruları da kullanılan diğer göç etme yöntemleridir. Bu tez iktisadi ve siyasi iktidar arasındaki bağlantısallık ve bunun sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan koşulların modern toplumlardaki göç kararlarının zeminini oluşturduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Siyasi koşullar, Türkiye'den göç etme kararını etkilemede önemli bir unsur olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Görüşmecilerin, temel hak ve özgürlük uygulamaları, hukukun üstünlüğü, dini muhafazakarlık ve eğitim hizmetlerinin kalitesi gibi konulardaki algıları, Türkiye'den göç etme kararının temelini oluşturmaktadır. Bu tezin önemli bir bulgusu, nitelikli işgücünün Türkiye'de sağladığından daha mütevazi ekonomik koşullarda yaşamaya hazır olduğunu ortaya koymasıdır. Tezin bulguları, nitelikli işgücü

göçünde siyasi koşulların artan önemine değinen karşılaştımalı uluslararası araştırmalarla uyumludur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç; Nitelikli İşgücü Göçü; Yönetişim; Temel Hak ve Özgürlüklerin Korunması

Efe'nin babası, Gülden'in aşkı, arkadaşımız Erhan Okur'un güzelliklerle dolu anısına

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Recent years saw growing concerns about skilled labor migration from Turkey. In daily conversations, people talk about means they may use to emigrate from Turkey. Many of them have friends who found a job in Europe, apply for Greencard annually; or try to improve their CVs to achieve skilled migrant visas of developed countries. The phenomenon is on the news, both in national and foreign media. Even in the parliament, some deputies raise parliamentary questions about the reasons for the migration of skilled labour to several ministries.

According to Turkish Statistical Institute statistics, migration from Turkey has increased by 89% from 2016 to 2019, for people between the ages of 25 to 49, when they are most effectively employed (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2020).

The number of physicians applying for "the Certificate of Good Standing" to practise their profession abroad is rising each year. The number of migrating physicians was 59 in 2012 (Turkish Medical Association, 2022); the number rose to 802 in 2018 (Birgün, 2019); and in 2021 the number reached 1405 (Turkish Medical Association, 2022).

For other professions, no such certificate is requested, so tracing the graduates' emigration is harder. Nevertheless, a simple search over Linkedin, a professional network on the Internet, indicates the extent of skilled labour migration from Turkey evident. According to university alumni statistics on Linkedin, for the graduates after 1990[1], %15 of the METU and

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[1] METU, Boğaziçi and Bilkent are among the highest ranked universitie in Turkey, this is the reason their graduates are taken into account for this basic search. The graduates after 1990 are assumed to be active in the workforce, that they would be preferred by the international companies to be employed.

Bilkent University and %18 Bogazici University graduates work abroad. It is not uncommon for these universities with English lectures to send graduates abroad for higher studies; what is different today is that we are facing "experienced" skilled labour migration from Turkey. People with more than 5 years of experience in high-technology companies leave Turkey and start up a new life abroad.

1.1 Research Questions

This research explores the causes of skilled labor emigration from Turkey. For that purpose, it evaluates primary data collected from semi-structured interviews conducted with 44 university graduates that either emigrated or were planning to emigrate at the time of the interviews. The research inquiries about a range of determinants of immigration including the economic ones, but is primarily concerned to explore the relative significance of political reasons underlying the interviewees' decisions to emigrate. International literature on determinants of skilled labour migration emphasizes the importance of economic factors (higher wages, better living standards) in shaping migration decisions by skilled labour (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Borjas, 1989; Bauer and Zimmermann, 1998; Chriswick, 2000; Grogger and Hanson, 2011; Belot and Hatton, 2012). Although it is very hard to delineate the political and economical conditions from each other, more recent studies indicate that political conditions gained significance in shaping the migration decisions by skilled labour. Olesen (2002), Ariu & Squicciarini (2013), Hiskey et al (2014) and Ariu et al (2016) refer to how several aspects of governance issues affect the immigration decisions of the skilled labour. They refer to Kauffman's worldwide governance indicators to argue that the skilled labour leaves countries with bad governance to migrate to ones with good governance practices. Increasing authoritarianism in governance became a widespread tendency all over the world, especially after the 2008 financial crisis. Not only developing countries but also developed countries started to show illiberal tendencies, putting the practices of liberal basic rights and liberties at risk. This brought the political aspect of migration to attention in the literature.

This may be relevant for the Turkish case as well. Narratives about rising skilled labor migration from Turkey are also associated with perceptions of deterioration of political

conditions. Weakening of the protection for individual rights and liberties, erosions in the rule of law, increasing polarization around ethnic and religious identities, strengthening of the executive organs and weakening of the civil society are some of the woes voiced by the political opposition in Turkey. Turkey has been governed by a single party almost for 20 years; after many years of coalition governments. State society relations have been heavily restructured over the last decade, affecting the daily lives of the people in many ways. Social policies have changed drastically; from health reform to many and continuing changes in the education system. On the other hand, trust in the representative system has been weakening with electoral security increasingly becoming a public debate. Civil participation in the counting processes of elections has heavily increased; however, a black box remained after the votes are sent to the Supreme Committee of Elections. Meanwhile, the police oppress peaceful demonstrations heavily, terrorist attacks with many death tolls shook the society, and disorder became apparent by the attempted coup d'etat in 2016.

State of emergency conditions was in place when this research was planned. People had concerns about the predictability of their and their children's future, as well as the safety of their lives. These circumstances made this research necessary to put forth the less studied dimension of skilled labour emigration. Against this background, this thesis will explore how the migration decisions of the interviewees that participated in this research have been shaped by their perceptions of rising illiberalism in Turkey.

In Turkey, previous studies on the topic focused mostly on economic and some socio-cultural dimensions of immigration (Oğuzkan, 1971; Isığıçok, 2002; Güngör, 2003, 2008; Tansel et al. 2003; Gökbayrak, 2009). Though some studies on skilled labour emigration have noticed that the political conditions of Turkey also affect their immigration calculus (Sunata, 2002; Güngör 2003); their focus was on globalization and economic aspects of skilled labour immigration. Recent studies point to the rising brain drain from Turkey and put forward the importance of political factors (Elveren & Toksöz, 2019; Kuran, 2021), however, these didn't dwell on the political aspects. Given the widespread restructuring of state-society relations in Turkey, over the last decade; there is a dire need for exploring the impact of political factors on migration decisions.

1.2 Arguments

I argue that the political factors, in particular the interviewees' conceptions about rising illiberalism in Turkey, constitute an important element shaping their migration decisions. In some instances, interviewees' concern about rising illiberalism is so intense that they are content to live in more modest economic conditions than they afford in Turkey. This appears to be an important deviation from the findings of previous studies on the topic.

1.3 Research Methods

I combined a document-based analysis with semi-structured interviews to explore the research questions. I looked into the literature to review the migration theories, and how the skilled labour migration is approached. Then I narrowed down my search to skilled labour migration due to political factors. I also searched for articles, theses and news about skilled labour migration in Turkey through several databases, libraries and media. Primary research included semi-structured interviews with 44 university graduates.

At the beginning of this research, I planned to conduct interviews with university graduates who were thinking about emigrating from Turkey. I aimed to investigate their expectations about life and how the use of political power affects their attitudes toward emigration. However, during the development of the research, I noticed that some of the potential interviewees started to plan their emigration; and others acted on their plans and emigrated, already. To not overlook any potential patterns between the people who were planning to emigrate and who have already emigrated, I have decided to group interviewees into two of each size, one group for the Planners, and the second group for the Emigrated individuals.

The interviews were held between May 4th to June 23th 2018, in 50 days, just before the first Presidential and Parliamentary elections of 24 June 2018. This was a period when people were more politicized and could speak about politics more comfortably. Moreover, foreign exchange rates were on increase during this period, but the expected economic crisis

didn't hit yet. These two facts gave us a chance to investigate the reasons for skilled labour migration better, as the economic and political reasons could be differentiated more clearly.

1.3.1 Sample Criteria

During the recruitment, I used five criteria to limit my sample These were: a) skilled labour, b) age, c) ongoing or finalized actions about emigration, d) the time of emigration e) political activity.

I used university graduation as the main indicator of skilled labour. I included graduates of all faculties in this definition, including the faculties of engineering, natural sciences, social sciences, and art. As Turkey is a developing country still with few university graduates; being a university graduate is an important component of skilled labour.

I set an upper age limit of 50 years for interviewees, as this age spectrum was shown to be most active in terms of migration. This age range is also relevant as it ensures that interviewees are still in the workforce and have a future of employment to plan and act on.

As I am interested in the impacts of the recent political conditions on emigration decisions, I needed a cut point of the emigration timing for my interviewees. For that purpose, I decided not to include individuals who emigrated before 2010 in my sample. This is to have a clear about the emigration motives of the skilled labour during the last period of Turkish politics; as 2010 represents an important juncture in the development Justice and Development Party's rule. For the planners, I have looked for them "to make an effort" to emigrate, such as a job application, partnership, visa application, etc.

As for political activity, I decided to include politically inactive individuals in my research. Political opposition in Turkey has been under a lot of pressure in Turkey over the last decade, facing several sanctions such as job losses, losing their passports, being prosecuted or imprisoned, etc. There is already ongoing research about the experiences of this group of citizens, such as studies on Academics for Peace, or on people losing their jobs through Statutory Decrees. In my study, I have decided to focus on the politically inactive individuals, who do not voice their political stance openly through an active opponent organization; to

understand how the dissolution of liberal democratic values in Turkey affects not only the relatively fewer politically active groups but also wider masses. Also, I did not use political party support or partizanship amongst the inclusion criteria in my sample.

I didn't use means of migration as an exclusion criterion. This is because people might realize their emigration plans through various means. One might go abroad for education, and use their education status to get a job there and prolong their migration. Therefore, I didn't limit the means of migration to employment or business; but included other means such as education, voluntary work, green card applications, etc.

1.3.2 Sampling Method

I recruited the interviewees through the snowball sampling method. I reached out to my friends who are planning to emigrate, or the ones who are already emigrated, and asked whether they or their acquaintances would like to participate in this research. The interviews were held with people who accepted and also fit the sample criteria described above. One interviewee was later removed from the sample, as it became clear during the interview that he had a partizan status and emigrated to flee from imprisonment in Turkey.

As noted above, the research sample consisted of two groups of individuals. The first group is those who have already emigrated to other countries. They are called "Emigrants" through this thesis. Emigrations since 2010 have been taken as the benchmark to have a clear view of the motives of the skilled labour to emigrate during the last period of the Turkish politics. The second group of individuals is those who were still residing in Turkey but were planning to emigrate. They are called "Planners" throughout this thesis. The criterion for the planners is "to make an effort" to emigrate, such as a job application abroad, partnership agreements, visa applications, etc. Both groups consist of 22 interviewees.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with planner interviewees residing in Ankara, and video calls were held with interviewees residing outside Ankara.

At the end of the interviews, the interviewees were asked demographic questions to understand the demography of the sample. Both immigrant and planner interviewees have

similar demographic characteristics. Most interviewees have upper-middle- and middle-income levels. Their average age is 31.7 years old, with an average of 7,26 years of full-time work experience. Most have been abroad before, often for education purposes, and also for business and travel purposes. Half of the interviewees hold at least MSc degrees. Two-fifths of the interviewees are married, and one-sixth of them have children. All planners' spouses are employed in Turkey. All the emigrants' spouses were employed in Turkey. 4 of them had to quit their jobs in Turkey to leave Turkey with their spouses, and were unemployed by the time of the interviews. Most of the interviewees define themselves as Turkish. Interviewees have various religious stances, a quarter of them define themselves as atheists, while less than a quarter of them describe themselves as Sunni Muslims. Even though the interviewees are not asked about their political stance, it is understood from their responses that the sample is composed of people with progressive and secular values and voters of opposition parties. The sample did not include any supporters of the ruling party.

1.3.3 The Interview Questions

The interview questions are designed in three parts. At the end of the interviews, demographical questions are asked. Interview questions are presented in Appendix B, and demography questions are presented in Appendix C.

The first part focuses on the migration process of the interviewees. The questions are open-ended on this part, probing the interviewees to explain their reasons, motivations and ways to emigrate from Turkey. There are seven questions in this part, asking the interviewees the timing, the preferred countries and their means of emigration; the conditions they look for in their preferred countries of destination; the reasons for their decision to migrate, including political and economic conditions and finally, if there are any political reasons that make them consider emigrating from Turkey. In this part, I aimed to collect information about determinants of emigration in interviewees' own words and according to their own definitions of economic and political conditions.

The second part aims to collect more detailed information on the interviewees' perceptions of the political conditions in Turkey. Questions in this part are more structured and they

entail the researchers' definition of political conditions; that the perceptions, opinions and experiences about the use and the limits of political power in Turkey, over the period of 2010 to 2018.

I have looked for how the political dimensions of liberal democracy are indicated in the literature, compared with the properties in my mind. Taking the political conditions of Turkey into account, I have adopted Kauffman's (2009) worldwide governance indicators and set four dimensions of governance as follows: civil and political rights and liberties including the rule of law; political stability and political representation; government effectiveness and regulatory quality. These four political dimensions are ideally the fundamental features of liberal democratic regimes and are related to the liberal values in a country.

For the first dimension, the Civil and Political Rights and Liberties, the interviewees are asked their thoughts about the protection of their rights and liberties by the judiciary and the political systems, freedom of conscience, rule of law in social and political life, and democracy in Turkey. For the second dimension, political stability and political representation, the interviewees are asked about how their daily lives are affected by the political conditions in Turkey, their thoughts on the stability of politics in Turkey, and their thoughts on the regime change to the Presidency of Republic system in Turkey. For the third and fourth dimensions, Government Effectiveness and Regulatory Quality, the interviewees are asked how they evaluate the service capacity of bureaucracy in Turkey, the public services and the services of the law enforcement forces.

After having elaborated on researchers' definitions of political conditions in Turkey, in the last part of the interview, interviewees are asked whether any of the aforementioned political conditions were influential in their decision to migrate. This final question was intended to iron out the possible differences between the definitions of political conditions adopted by the researcher and interviewees. This question is asked for validation purposes, to clarify the differentiation between the political and economic motives of the interviewees.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The second chapter provides a brief survey of research on determinants of migration both globally and in Turkey. I will first present a brief literature review on skilled labour migration followed by a presentation of the conclusions of studies on skilled labour migration both in Turkey and abroad. Then I will present the theoretical explanation of rising illiberalism in the world and in Turkey after the 2008 economic crisis. I will also provide information about several governance indicators that I made use of during the planning of the interview questions.

In the third and fourth chapters, I will present the findings of this study. In Chapter three, first the sample will be introduced by providing details about the demographical information of the 44 interviewees. This chapter also covers the timing, means and motives of their migration decisions. Interviewees explain what attracts them in the destination countries, and their reasons for migration from Turkey, in their own words. Eighty percent of the interviewees decided to leave Turkey between 2013 and 2016, in the aftermath of the Gezi Parkı Events and the attempted Coup d'etat. Protection of basic rights and liberties is the most important factor shaping their migration decision. In the fourth chapter, the emphasis is on the political reasons for emigration. It entails their responses to an open-ended question about the political reasons of their migration and the semi-structured questions about the civil and political rights and liberties including the rule of law; political stability and political representation; government effectiveness and regulatory quality. Daily lives of almost all of the interviewees are affected due to the political conditions of Turkey. More than half of them also underline its effects on their psychological well-being. Almost all interviewees express they are influenced by the political factors in emigration decisions. Physical security is a major concern. The quality of education services and the rising levels of religious conservatism make them feel insecure about a future in Turkey, especially for their descendants.

In the fifth chapter, I will evaluate the findings and provide a brief conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

SKILLED LABOUR MIGRATION

Migration is never an easy decision to make. It is a life-changing decision with many dimensions to consider, and it became an often-heard subject in Turkey in recent years.

By the end of 2017, the Turkish Statistical Institute has published the number of people emigrating from Turkey for the first time. The report revealed that emigration from Turkey increased by 43% from 2017 to 2016. The report was important since no such data was available until then, and also proved that the emigration from Turkey was a fact instead of a rumour. The report released in 2020 which includes data from 2016 to 2019, shows that emigration from Turkey has increased by 86% in three years (Table 1), and %53 of it was composed of the people between ages 25-50 when people are the most effective in their life of employment.

Table 1 - Immigrants and emigrants by age group and sex, 2016-2019; Turkish Statistical Institute (2020)

	Number of Migrants from Turkey by Year				
	2016	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**	**% Increase from 2016 to 2019**
Total	177960	253640	323918	330289	86%
Age 25-49	92338	129783	176149	174600	89%
Under 15	22915	33145	41886	51467	125%

Number of Emigrants from Turkey According to Their Age
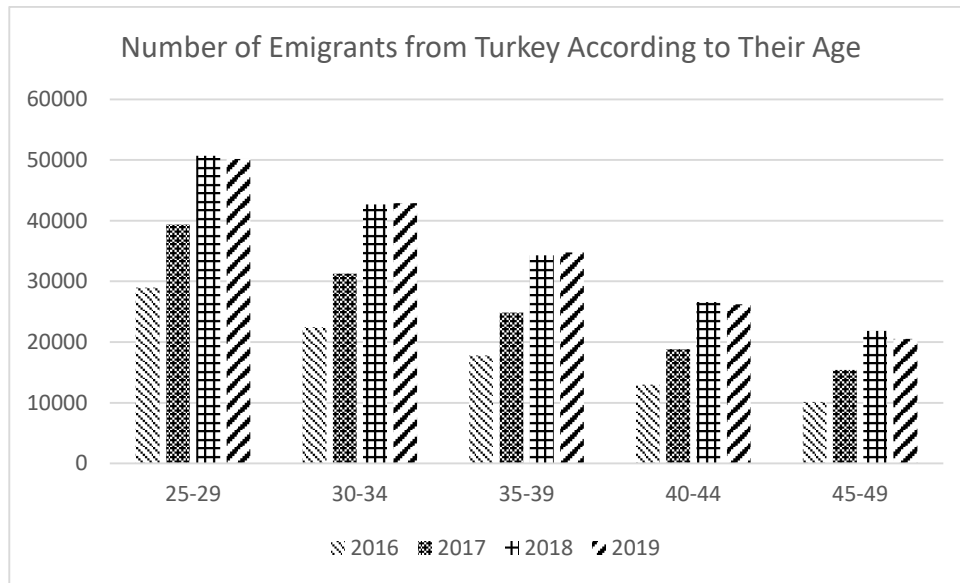
Figure 1 - Number of Emigrants from Turkey According to Their Age – Based on the Data from "Immigrants and emigrants by age group and sex, 2016-2019"; Turkish Statistical Institute (2020)

Among these migrants, people between 25-29 ages constitute the highest number of migrants, followed by the ages 30-34; 35-39; 40-44 and 45-49 in consequence (Figure 1).

No new migration reports from Turkish Statistical Institute are issued since July 2020.

In this chapter, I will briefly go over different migration theories that account for the determinants of emigration decisions. This literature is dominated by mainstream neoclassical or functionalist theories which mostly focus on economic determinants of migration (Lee, 1966; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Fei, 1961; Schiff, 1994; Todaro and Maruszko, 1987; Sjaastad; 1962). On the other hand, there is a growing prominence in the migration literature attached to political factors, such as the importance of the protection of individual rights and liberties and governance capacity and performance in the countries of origin (Olesen, 2002; Ariu & Squicciarini, 2013; Hiskey et al., 2014; Ariu et al., 2016).

I will then present an overview of the research that explored skilled labour emigration from Turkey, that touches upon both economic and political factors.

Growing prominence attached to political factors in determining migration decisions is related to the prevalence of authoritarian trends in the Global North and South. The trend appears to have been strengthened especially in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis (Yalman 2021; Boffo et al., 2019; Bruff 2014) although it existed since the onset of economic liberalization in the early 1980s. The second part of this chapter will provide an overview of these tendencies in Turkey and abroad, as well as the rival theoretical accounts that explain them.

The final part of the chapter will present the sources of the governance indicators I used to inform my questions about the determinants of migration.

2.1 Migration Theories

Though people have been migrating ever since Castles et al (2014) refer to two distinct milestones that shape the character of contemporary migration. First, the "European expansion" by the 16th century, which led to massive movements of many communities from Europe to the New Worlds; and the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century led to massive transfers of people from the countryside to cities and within and across the countries.

Castles et al (2014) note the general tendencies of the contemporary migration patterns. I will enlist the most relevant ones for our study. First, the migration is globalized, the number of countries facing both ways of migration is rising, receiving migrants from and sending migrants to a wide range of countries. Second, the dominant migration flows have changed the direction since World War 2. Europe was once sending many migrants around the world either to colonize or settle in foreign lands. Now the pattern changed and Europe is a major destination of migration. Third, the countries face migration transition; an origin country of migrants could turn to a destination country for immigration to other nations, as happens in contemporary Turkey. Fourth, the rising politicization of migration, that migration has many effects on the internal and international politics of the countries.

The earliest migration theory is provided by Ravenstein in the 1870s, as patterns based on observations in contemporary England, during the rapid industrialization period. By the

time, migration was understood to be triggered by economic reasons, mainly depending on the industrialization intensity and transportation availability (Mavroudi et al., 2016; Castels et al., 2014; Kuran, 2021).

Castells et al. (2014) group migration theories into two main paradigms, "functionalist" and "historical-structuralist" theories. Functionalist theories find a tendency towards equilibrium in the migration phenomenon, by migration serving the interests of most people and contributing to equality between societies; whereas historical-structuralist theories assert that the disequilibrium is reinforced, instead, due to the reproduction of structural inequalities such as economic and political power.

2.1.1 Functionalist -Neoclassical Theories on Migration

Push-pull models and neoclassical theories are among the functionalist theories.

By the 1960s, the functional push-pull model (Lee, 1966) is put forward, which is based on an aggregation of individual decision-making on four main areas: factors related to origin, destination, obstacles and personal life. These models are criticized since the role and interactions of the push and pull factors are not specified. (Mavroudi et al. ,2016; Castels et al., 2014).

Neoclassical theories that are put forward by the 1960s see migration through the lens of production factors allocation, that one migrates to where they would be more productive and earn higher than their own country. It views through modernization lens and considers migration as part of the development process, where the supply and demand of labour will tend towards equilibrium once the wage differentials are minimized (Castels et al. 2014; Rostow, 1960 (Modernization theory); Harris and Todaro, 1970; Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Fei, 1961; Schiff, 1994; Todaro and Maruszko, 1987).

Along with the push-pull model, neoclassical theory for migration views migration through modernization lens and considers migration as part of the development process, where the supply and demand of labour will tend towards equilibrium once the wage differentials are minimized. This approach sees the migrants as rational individuals who make decisions on

cost-benefit calculations to maximize their income (Mavroudi et al., 2016; Castels et al., 2014).

In the 1960s, human capital theory was also put forward. In human capital theory, people with knowledge and skills (iow, human capital) would invest in migration if their returns on investments would be higher than their original country (Castels et al., 2014; Sjaastad; 1962).

Both of these models are criticized since they do not take into account the human agency with aspirations and capabilities, but a passive, rational and socially isolated individual (Castels et al., 2014).

2.1.2 Historical-Structuralist Theories on Migration

Castells et al. (2014) categorise Marxist political economy, within the historical structuralist theories. Unlike the neoclassical and push and pull theories that understand migration as being driven by individual choice, historical structuralist approaches, including the dependency theory (Baeck, 1993; Frank, 1969) and world systems theory (Amin, 1974; Wallerstein, 1974; 1980; 1984) see international migration as both generated by and constitutive of the dynamics of global capitalist development. Historical structuralist theories take economic and political power as unequally distributed, and state that capitalism tends to reinforce these inequalities (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Cohen, 1987; Sassen, 1988). According to historical structuralists, individuals cannot make a free choice because they are limited by the structural forces (Castells et al., 2014; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Cohen, 1987; Sassen, 1988). They assume that the economic and political power of countries differ from each other and people have unequal access to resources. Capitalism not only generates but also reinforces these inequalities through migration, whilst the receiving countries benefit from cheaper labour, countries of origin lose the labour it raised; resulting in deepened inequality among the countries. Through the lens of dependency and world-systems theories, migration is seen to serve the developed countries economically and investmentwise to control the developing countries and make them dependent upon the developed ones (Castells et al., 2014).

By the 1970s, the "dual labour market" concept is put forward by Piore (1979), where the job market in the developed countries could be divided into two: primary labour market for the stable, well-paying and mostly unionized jobs for the skilled labour; whereas the secondary labour market is the opposite and dominated by the immigrants, women and minorities for unskilled labour. In this approach to migration, the employers in the developed countries were seen as determinants in the migration process, instead of the economic motives of the migrants. The dual market theory explains how the labour is controlled and exploited; and claims that neoliberal structuring reinforces the de-regularization of the labour markets (Mavroudi et al., 2016; Piore, 1979).

Hanieh (2019) argues that the contemporary causes leading to migration are the result of the global neoliberal restructuring, that the policies advocated by advanced economies, and international financial institutions play an important role in shaping migration, and that the migration cannot be explained only with the conditions of the origin countries. Labour migration from Turkey to Europe starting in the 1960s by the government agreements constitutes an example of this argument, as well as the recent rise of skilled labour through the visa grant of the international firms.

Regardless of their migration reasons, Hanieh (2019) argues that most migrants must sell their labour-power. Be they fled from war or found interesting job opportunities abroad, they all work for the capitalist accumulation of the receiving countries. He also refers to the potential reserve of migrants who could be turned into "immigrants" by being drawn by the dynamics of capitalism. From this perspective, Hanieh (2019) notes that migration contributes to the formation of the working classes. On the other hand, migration contributes to the formation of the capitalist classes, too. Owners of high amounts of capital receive second passports or residency rights in foreign countries so that they and their capital could move across borders freely. This form of migration is both normalized and also encouraged through "Citizenship by Investment" Programs. It is possible to buy second passports or residency rights for those who could afford high amounts of capital. Through this view, borders could be viewed as means to territorialize the social relations in a world market.

Accordingly, Hanieh (2019) underlines that migration is generated by the movement of the capital and therefore it is constitutive of capitalism on a global scale.

2.1.3 Skilled Labour Migration

Mavroudi et al. (2016) stress that migration is not solely economic, and in the contemporary capitalist world, both political structures and economic structures transform each other and shape the migration process.

Mavroudi et al (2016) exemplify skilled labour migration from the developing countries (referring to them as "Global South") to the developed countries ("Global North"). 30% of the physicians and 40% of the nurses in the British National Health Service are migrants. Similarly, the US and other European countries also recruit physicians from developing countries. Likewise, the IT Industry, especially Silicon Valley is empowered mainly by immigrant academics and scientists. Skilled labour migration is an important economic growth factor for the destination countries. Accordingly, the developed countries have favouring state policies to allow for special work permits for the labour with desired skills.

Mavroudi et al (2016) note that even though developed countries might need skilled labour, and people with the highly demanded competencies might find better-paying jobs and be mobile within developed countries on their own wish; immigrant skilled labour generally face many forms of discrimination that limit their mobility and ability to capitalize on their labour; either through immigration policies or workplace practices.

Unemployment of skilled labour in developed countries can be very high, generally due to "ethnic penalty". Ethnicity can be a discriminating factor regardless of the competencies of the skilled labour. This leads to "deskilling" of the labour, pressuring the labour to take on lower-level jobs than their competencies. Deskilling could as well occur by the migration policies that limit the employment of the trailing spouses (Mavroudi et al. 2016; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2007; Kofman, 2014; Kogan, 2011; Galarneau and Morissette, 2008).

Mainstream literature on immigration categorises immigrants into four groups, refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants or family migrants (Hiskey et al, 2014; referring to Gibney, 2004). Immigration of labour is mostly considered as migration with economic motivations. However, in practice, it is very hard to distinguish political and economical conditions from each other. Recent studies indicate that the importance of political conditions is increasing for skilled labour immigration, which may be the case in Turkey as well. Few scholars started to mention voluntary immigration due to political factors in the country of origin. Hiskey et al (2014) note that over the last 30 years, there had been an increase in the number of democracies. However, these democracies are different from each other in their governance quality and performance, such as crime and corruption rates rising, macroeconomic instabilities recurring, and basic governance services provided with persistent gaps, leading to dissatisfaction among the inhabitants. In the next section, I will review the international literature that put forward the political factors of immigration.

2.1.3.1 Governance Factors Affecting the Skilled Labour Migration

Olesen (2002) mentioned that human rights and governance problems in home country, such as corruption, freedom of speech and undeserved promotions without competencies, lead to the migration of highly skilled individuals. Even though their immigration does not correspond to the refugee criteria of UN conventions, their process of decision-making is affected by political factors. He refers to Sethi et al. (1998) to prove the bad governance argument, that even though the economic situation in their home countries does not change, reverse migration starts as the human rights practices improve. One thing to note additionally is that governments with bad governance are fine with the migration of those potential critics instead of harbouring them (Olesen, 2002).

Ariu & Squicciarini (2013) also state that corruption leads to the immigration of skilled employment from their native countries to less corrupt countries where employment opportunities correlate with their merits instead of political affiliations and nepotism. Also, foreign skilled workers would not prefer countries with corruption due to the aforementioned political factors that affect employment conditions, leading the politically corrupt counties to a prolonged loss of human capital due to unfair labour market conditions

where skills and performance are overcome by string-pulling and connections. Moreover, this kind of unfair labour market conditions would lead to decreased educational investments in the long run as it would seem meaningless for the inhabitants (Ariu & Squicciarini, 2013).

Hiskey et al. (2014) argue that an individual's perception of a political system with regards to its democratic quality and governance capacity is influential in their cognitive process about migration decisions. Backing his argument with Hirschman (1978), he states (pg.106): "Both the degree of democracy and its day-to-day performance matter for whether citizens choose to stick it out in their country or leave for another one."

Exposition to the defective political system with low democratic quality, governance capacity and performance of a political system are effective on migration decisions. Hiskey et al (2014) refer to Kauffman's governance indicators to create their measures of governance capacity: (1) perception of insecurity, (2) perception of corruption, (3) crime victimization, (4) perception of governmental efficacy and (5) satisfaction with democracy.

Ariu et al (2016) underline that the quality of institutions affects the net inflow of college-educated migrants. While skilled labour prefers to migrate to countries with good institutional quality, they also chose to emigrate from countries with low governance quality, even though the migration costs are greater. On the other hand, they indicate that the institutional quality of the destination turns out to be less determinant for the low-skilled labour net migration flow.

With regards to migrant networks, Hiskey et al (2014) note that, migrant networks are effective to reduce the cost of leaving one's country, affecting the cost-benefit analysis of a potential migrant. In Turkey, this phenomenon occurred for the low-skilled migration starting in the 1960s. For skilled labour, Ariu et al (2016) mention that skill-specific diasporas are more effective than the total diasporas when it comes to skilled labour. We haven't studied this aspect due to the size and type of our research method.

Dreher et al (2011) studied the influence of terrorism on migration among 152 countries for the period between 1976–2000. They found out that terrorism acts as a push factor from the host country for skilled labour, affecting their cost-benefit considerations; whereas the same doesn't hold for the migration of low-skilled workers.

While trying to explain the differences in performance of educated immigrants in the USA, across countries of origin, Mattoo et al (2005) note that political instability in the home countries may reduce the human capital accumulation, therefore leading to brain waste of educated immigrants in the US labour market. Also, the conflict in the home country is expected to increase the number of people with migration intentions, as the opportunity cost of staying reduces.

In the next section, I will present several studies on the skilled labour migration from Turkey that are relevant to the scope of this research.

2.1.4 Emigration of Skilled Labour from Turkey and the Governance Factors

Turkey had experienced huge emigration of unskilled workers during the 1960s, initiated by international labour agreements between Turkey and the developed host countries. There are many studies focusing on the emigration of unskilled labour from Turkey, where migrant networks and family unions played an important role in the continuation of emigration from Turkey to those countries. However, there are a few studies which focus on the emigration of skilled labour from Turkey; and they mostly focus on the economic factors of emigration. Only a few of them provide information about the governance factors. Below I present these studies and some current information about the emigration of skilled labour from Turkey.

Oğuzkan (1971) defines skilled labour as highly educated individuals who are "a large sum of investment as a result of care and education provided to them". He studied the scope and nature of Turkish brain drain as a pioneer. According to a UN document referred in Oğuzkan (1976), 830 highly qualified people migrated from Turkey to the US, Canada and France between 1962 and 1966. This is a significant flow considering the low number of university graduates in Turkey at that time. Oğuzkan rejects explaining skilled labour migration through functional theories based on supply and demand; or socio-economic inequalities among the countries. He notes that country policies for migration, political-economic relations between countries and the agents' desire for personal advancement are also important variables. For instance, after 1965, the USA changed its ethnic quota system for immigration to a priority system based on the need for selected professions and the migration pattern changed

importantly, increasing the immigration of high-level professionals, which increased the emigration of professionals from Turkey, too. As early as the 1970s, he refers to a "potential source of immigrants", referring to both the Turkish students in the US and the temporary visitors for several profession-related reasons. He notes that residing in a foreign country temporarily for professional means increases the chances of immigration since he finds out that 41% of high-qualified people once resided temporarily in their current country of immigration. This is a high percentage considering the time of the study.

His survey results reveal that the immigration of high-skilled labour was mainly caused by professional and economic concerns at that time. However, he notes that the Turkish labour market for skilled labour has inherent weaknesses, referring to the issues of government effectiveness. One of the main weaknesses was structural imbalances, such as an insufficient skill ratio of supporting personnel per profession. For instance, the number of nurses per physician was 0.17, leading to lower efficiency and morale for the physicians as they have to perform daily work that remains out of their profession. Another main weakness was the regional imbalances among the city and the rural, as well as among the regions. Additional weaknesses constituted the poor organization and administration; lack of facilities for productive work and lack of recognition of the value of their professions. Many of these issues are still valid by today.

Sunata (2002) discussed the potential immigration of high-skilled labour through the lens of the socio-cultural pressure of globalization. Referring to AUN Report 1999, she enlists four major types of terms to define high-skilled immigration. First is *brain overflow*, where the issue is the overproduction of highly educated people due to unplanned education, resulting in the unemployment of skilled labour in the home country. Second is the *brain export*, which is held deliberately by the countries. The third is *brain exchange*, which both countries in exchange are aimed to take advantage of. And fourth is *brain drain*, where political-economic criterion comes into play, and has a negative welfare effect on society. Brain drain term is used in the 1960s by England to define high-skilled immigration to the USA. Sunata (2002) assesses that immigration from Turkey should be named as brain drain due to the political-economic reasons and the net welfare effect on society. She refers to the 1969 UN Report, defining brain drain as an "abnormal form of scientific exchange between countries, by a one-way flow in favour of the most highly developed countries".

In Sunata's (2002) research, she held a survey among 178 potential brain drainers (PBD) in 2002, among senior students, graduate students and graduates of METU CENG, IE and EEE departments. She found out that even if Turkey and abroad would be equal in terms of working conditions and income received by the job (including the level of insurance), PBDs tended to emigrate from Turkey. She enlists six main reasons for potential brain drain from Turkey: (1) individual and occupational satisfaction, (2) search for a home, (3) Turkey dimension due to economic and political conditions of Turkey, (4) image of abroad, (5) discrimination and (6) value of human. Even though her thesis is not focused on the political dimension, her survey results depict political factors that are involved in one's potential immigration calculus. According to her survey results, it turns out that political factors correspond to the 9% of the reasons to migrate. Moreover, when asked about the disadvantages of Turkey, while 29,2% respond as economic/employment situation, another %29,2 respond as political conditions of Turkey. %14,6 respond as alienation from society, and %10,7 respond as the uncertainty about the future. More than %85 potential brain drainers (pbd) want to leave because they do not think that there is justice in Turkey, and also that people are not valued. More than 60% of pbds want to leave due to political and economic uncertainty in Turkey and think that educated people are wasted. Moreover, there is political and moral corruption as well. More than 50% consider the working environments as unpleasant, and that there is a violation of human rights in Turkey. More than 20% of pbds consider that there is discrimination and rising religious fundamentalism in Turkey also.

Gungor (2003) studied the return intentions of skilled Turkish migrants and students abroad. To do that, she surveyed skilled Turkish professionals and Turkish students residing abroad and received over 2000 responses from the targeted populations. She notes that until then, wage differentials had been an important factor explaining skilled migration, however she finds other reasons for non-return. For professionals, economic instability is a push factor, however, work experience in Turkey comes out as a reason for non-return. Whereas for students, both wage differentials and lifestyle preferences (also in Sunata, 2002) are push factors and a more organized and ordered life in their host country is a reason for non-return. Gungor (2003) doesn't focus on the political factors either, however, she mentions two dimensions of alienation, powerlessness and normlessness as social-political factors that affect immigration. Alienation is mentioned by one of Sunata's (2002) interviewees as

well as quoted: "Alien in the North is difficult but more preferable than being an alien in his own country".

Gungor's (2003) survey results depict political factors that shape immigration decisions of high-skilled labour. When asked the reasons for going abroad, 7,1% of professionals responded "to get away from the political environment"; and 2,5% of students responded the same way. While economic instability is a push factor with 83,7% among professionals; bureaucracy and inefficiencies are a push factor for 79,4%, political pressures and discord for 64% and lack of social security for 59% among professionals, as the biggest push factors from Turkey. Results for students are also similar. When asked for their own words for the reasons of immigration from Turkey, respondents often refer to political factors.

Both Sunata's (2002) and Gungor's (2003) research were held on the aftermath of the 2001 economic crisis in Turkey and focused on both social and economic factors of emigration, even though the political factors were embedded among the responses. Nevertheless, their findings about the political factors are relevant to our study to reveal the perception of skilled labour by the early 2000s.

As a follow-up to Güngör's study, Elveren & Toksöz (2019) held a survey in late 2015 on 200 Turkish students and professionals living abroad. Their findings reveal that political instability became the dominant push factor from Turkey from 2003 to 2015. Also, they underline the gender dimension, that among the Turkish migrants abroad, women prefer staying abroad more than men, due to the conditions in Turkey, rather than the attractiveness of the foreign countries.

Another survey is held by the European Federation of Psychiatric Trainees (EFPT) Brain Drain project. Kilic et al (2016) held an online survey among 107 psychiatry trainees in Turkey to identify their attitudes and behavior toward emigration and found out that 74% of them want to live in another country, academic conditions and inadequate training programs being the most important reasons. Since their study was published only as a bulletin, further investigation of their survey and its results was not possible.

A recent study on contemporary migration from Turkey is held in 2020 with 3.253 participants, 71,7% of them were university graduates (Kuran, 2021). Most of the

participants arrived their destination country by 2019, and almost half of them arrived between 2016 and 2020. Major reasons for migration are listed as "economic" %36.4; "political climate of the country" 30%; "lack of job opportunities" as 30.2%; "restrictions on education and development" 29.8% and "anxiety and unhappiness" 15.9%. Practices of individual rights and freedoms make them the happiest abroad, as the highest-ranked reason to stay abroad (13,8%), whilst a peaceful environment is the third-highest ranked reason (8,8%) for it. They are asked under what conditions they would consider returning back to Turkey, and majority of them responded that they would consider returning back in case political conditions change (27,1%). Though the scope of these definitions are not detailed, the study already reveals that the governance factors have an important weight on the reasons of migration from Turkey. She describes the contemporary migration pattern from Turkey as "forced-voluntary migration".

In the next section, I will review several theoretical approaches explaining rising illiberalism in the world and in Turkey.

2.2 Political Changes in the World and Turkey

As noted in the previous section, economic conditions used to be identified as the most prominent reasons of skilled migration. This is partly due to the prevalence of neoclassical theories of migration. According to those theories, migration is triggered by economic reasons. The migrants were assumed to be rational individuals who make decisions to maximize their income according to the cost-benefit calculations. Migration was even perceived as an investment to increase the income earned.

However, in practice, it is very hard to delianate economic and political factors in the decisions to migrate because of the interconnectivities of economic and political power in capitalist societies. Given the modern state's role in constituting and shaping the market and society, embedded political reasons on migration become evident. Both the regulatory role of the state on economy and the financialization practices underline that the state policies favor capital accumulation, whilst the labour is disempowered and disciplined through judicial arrangements to discourage organization; and declining income levels. Public

services are privatized and the financial responsibility on the individuals rise by day in accordance with the neoliberal policies. In Sunata's (2002) and Güngör's (2003) studies, lack of employment opportunities abroad and economic stability in Turkey come forward as main disadvantages in Turkey, however both of these factors are in fact closely related to the state's neoliberal policies.

Indeed, more recent research carried out over the last two decades emphasize political factors such as quality of democracy and governance capacity as important basis for individual decisions to migrate. These studies are critical of the typology of immigrants for neglecting the political factors in voluntary migration (Hiskey et al. 2014). Accordingly, protection of basic rights and liberties, rising corruption and crime, macroeconomic instability, insufficient public services, issues with the rule of law are important factors for voluntary migration.

Growing prominence of political factors, and greater reference by individuals and researchers is closely related to rising illiberal tendencies in politics in countries of the Global South, but also increasingly in the Global North. Poulantzas had attracted attention to this changing socio-political dynamics in Europe and the US, as early as the 1970s. He defined the new set of practices as "authoritarian statism", characterized by the rising control of state over socio-economic life, along with an erosion in the political democracy institutions and the practices of individual liberties (Poulantzas, 1978). Structural changes in the relations of production, social division of labour at both global and national levels and the resulting transformation in social classes and their relations underlie the new set of practices which Poulantzas (1978) named as authoritarian statism.

According to Poulantzas (1978), the evolution of the government regime to authoritarian statism is a response to the crisis, which paradoxically is also produced by the economic role of the state. In this form, the role and the power of the Parliament declines and the executive is strengthened, leading to the decline of the rule of law and social regulation. Importantly, Poulantzas (1978) emphasizes that authoritarian statism is an ordinary rather than an exceptional form of bourgeois democracy. It is underlined that both liberal democracy and authoritarian statism are ordinary forms of state (Poulantzas, 1978; Poulantzas, 2012 in Oğuz, 2016: 89). Whilst in liberal democracy different social classes are represented through

the Parliament; in authoritarian statism, the Government becomes more powerful against the Parliament.

2.2.1 Response to Crisis in Neoliberalism

Prominence of governance patterns Poulantzas associated with authoritarian statism, such as centralization of decision-making structures, strengthening of the role of executive organs visa a vis the legislative organs, erosion of the supremacy of the rule of law, restrictions on individual rights and liberties, spread globally in both the South and North. Rising dominance of neoliberal policies and the subsequent outcomes of the 2008 financial crisis were important triggers in the process.

2008 financial crisis led to many social, economic and humanitarian crises in the capitalist countries (Yalman, 2021). Although the neoliberal rhetoric claims state should not intervene into the economy, the regulatory role of the state and the financialization practices contradict with this argument (Cerny, 2008; Fine, 2010; Boffo et al., 2019). Simultaneously, political sphere for collective actions shrinks under neoliberalism, and the individuals become defenseless against the practices of neoliberal policies (Boffo et al., 2019). After 2008 global financial crisis, neoliberalism intensified its social repression by taking the responsibility of the financial crisis from the financial institutions and burdening the responsibility on the individuals. The real incomes fell, welfare spending is lowered, public services are privatized, etc. (Bruff 2014). Legitimacy of neoliberal democracy became increasingly problematic. Meanwhile in many countries, far-right leaders with illiberal tendencies have been gaining the support of the masses through their populist discourses. Boffo et al. (2019) claim that neoliberal democracies fail under these internal conflicts. He notes that the regimes of the liberal democratic countries which apply neoliberal policies are transforming into illiberal ones, with charismatic right-wing leaders in the front and the masses support them. In order to keep the neoliberal states free from from social or political conflict, many changes are made on the judiciary and the constitutions (Bruff, 2014; Boffo et al., 2019).

Labour regime followed during the comtemporary period is part of the continuation of the neoliberal transformation since 1980s; and the labour disempowerment is the outcome of this shift (Oğuz, 2012; Pınar, 2012). Labour is devalued, exploitation of workers rose, working relations are worsened and lead to dispossession (Pınar, 2021 referring to Boukalas, 2015). Through labour disempowerment that is backed by judicial arrangements (Boffo et al., 2019), the policy requests of the capital owners from the state could be achieved (Oğuz, 2012; Bryan, 1995); in consequence, the workers are disciplined (Boffo et al., 2019). Boffo et al. (2019) underlines that in contemporary period, even the skilled workers face precarity in formal workplaces, facing overwork against the risk of losing their jobs or being underpaid. Though the skilled labour used to enjoy higher incomes, now they are concerned not to be able to provide their children similar economic conditions. Unfortunately, and as a consequence, the urge in the society to change the daily conditions as well as to take collective action has very much narrowed. Expression of dissent is restrained; and people feel disempowered and are not inspired for policy alternatives (Boffo et al., 2019).

2.2.2 Different Approaches to Explain Rising Illiberalism

Since the 1990s, declining democracy practices in the world were being described as democratic breakdowns, flaws of democracy, or through country-specific issues related to democratization (Diamond, 2015; Fukuyama, 2015) by the mainstream approach. For developing countries, the main stream approaches explain the decline in democratic practices through lack of institutionalization of democracy (Zakaria 1997; Fukuyama, 2015; Plattner, 2016); for developed countries they were related to economic issues with declining status of middle classes and immigration from countries of war or from developing countries (Galston, 2018; Diamond, 2018).

According to this view, the rise of support for the right-wing parties in the Global North is explained as a result of the rise of economic inequality, shrinking middle-class under the globalized economy; waves of immigration to developed countries which affect the job market, the sense of public safety in the receiving countries (Galston, 2018; Diamond, 2018); and finally, the feelings of resentment towards the highly-educated people (Galston, 2018). These middle-class groups constitute the support base of the right-wing extremist

movements (Galston, 2018; Diamond, 2018). However, those movements are fed by populism and they debate on the liberal principles, including the rule of law, freedom of media and the rights of the minorities (Galston, 2018). It would be worthy to note Galston's (2018) description of populism, that populism assumes uniformity to be better than diversity; and the characteristics of some social groups as better than the others. Accordingly, it feeds constant battle against some enemies and the forces that represent them. It is a threat to the rights of minorities, and enables populist leaders to oversee rule of law, leading towards autocracy. It might undermine the freedom of media, damage the constitutional courts, intensify the political power and marginalize groups of people according to their ethnicity, religion or origin (Galston, 2018).

Additionally, it is noted that fair elections, political pluralism, civic space for opposition and dissent have declined considerably between 2005 and 2015 in some regimes (Diamond, 2015). Accordingly, out of 13 of the 25 democratic breakdowns since the year 2000 were due to the power abuse and deterioration of the democratic institutions by the democratically elected governors. Diamond (2015) refers to Levitsky and Way (2010), that democracy might not be failing in some countries with lowering freedom levels; however, it might be that these regimes were in fact "authoritarian regimes" where the governments seem to be elected through not-so competitive elections. This approach suggests viewing contemporary period through the lens of authoritarianism, instead of democracy. Competitive authoritarianism (Levitsky & Way, 2010) explains rising authoritarian tendencies in democratic regimes through repression of the government over the opposition. In this approach, rising repression of the state is underlined, however its relationship with the capital accumulation is disregarded (Oğuz, 2016).

Some Marxist approaches relate the rising repression of the state and capital accumulation in the contemporary phase and describe this form as "authoritarian neoliberalism"; where states become authoritarian in order to maintain neoliberal system of accumulation; as a response to the legitimation crisis of neoliberalism (Bruff 2014, Boffo et al., 2019, Yalman 2021). In this form of rule, the individuals become defenseless against the practices of neoliberal policies. The state uses repression along with nationalist discourses and coervice practices (Bruff 2014, Boffo et al., 2019, Yalman 2021). Labour becomes dispossessed and

exposed to exploitation, with worsening working conditions (Boffo et al., 2019; Oğuz, 2012; Pınar, 2021).

Additionally, shift towards extraordinary forms of state are also discussed. Oğuz (2016) refers to Poulantzas (2012), to describe the similarities of the occurences in Turkey and how Poulantzas defined the differences of the extraordinary forms of state than the ordinary ones; such as the suspension of the elections; transformation to a state of police force from a state of law; rising physical violence; and the transformation of the functions of the state apparatuses. In extraordinary state forms, coercive state apparatus becomes autonomous, and also the functions of the apparatuses and their internal relations change. Coercive state apparatus could take the form of the Army, or civil administration, police force, or religious institutions, etc. The form of the extraordinary state is dependent on the historical conjuncture and the political crises it responds to (Poulantzas 2012; Oğuz 2016).

These varying approaches all reflect upon the rise of illiberalism around the world, both in the Global North and South. As noted by Poulantzas (1978), since the 1980s, the state's control over socio-economic life has increased; decision-making structures are centralized and the Executive became strengthened against the Parliementary in order to uphold the neoliberal system of accumulation.

In the next section, I will explore the changing state-society relations in Turkey in the context of neoliberal restructuring.

2.2.3 Political Changes in Turkey

Turkey's changing political dynamics has been debated in several international reports based on governance indicators. It is defined as "Not Free" (FH, 2019); as "electoral autocracy" (V-Dem 2022), and as "challenged by autocratic tendencies" (IDEA's, 2017).

Controversial elections, declining protection fundamental rights and freedoms, increased power of the police force, lack of independence of the judiciary, loss of separation of powers and centralization of power have been subjects of debate (FH, 2019; FH, 2022; V-Dem 2018; V-Dem 2022; IDEA's 2017); , especially since 2010 Referandum for the Constitutional

Amendment. Many scholars relate recent practices in Turkey to the efforts to implement neoliberalization and interpret them as continuation of the course of events started in the aftermath of 1980 Coup, (Babacan et al., 2021; Bedirhanoğlu, 2021; Yalman, 2021; Oğuz, 2012).

In this section, I review the some of changes in Turkish politics since 2010 to indicate their possible impacts on the decisions of the interviewees that participated in this study. I will also provide a glimpse of the major events since the 1980s in order to emphasize their continuity.

Turkey experienced a violent military coup in September 1980, and afterwards changed its economic policies from import oriented to export oriented policies to be integrate with the international market through the implementation of neoliberal economic policies (Oğuz, 2012). Accordingly, state intervention to the economy was supposed to be minimalized by restructuring the state to a regulatory role. However, the state's role in the economy did not decrease as prescribed, instead, state started to have increasing influence on the direction of the capital accumulation. The latest leap on this rising influence occured by the passage to the Presidential System of Government in 2018.

Following the years of the 1980 Coup, Turkey faced political instability, deterioration in the economy and civil unrest for years. Constitution is changed in 1982, indiviual rights and liberties became restricted, the power of the state expanded and religious education became obliged. Arbitrariness in decision-making process, including the distribution of favors and priviliges as practices of nepotism have been observed since the 1980s, only going worse each decade (Arat & Pamuk, 2019). Oğuz (2016) adds that the intervention of the government to the economy also changed. Different from earlier governments who favoured the transfer of the capital to their allies; over the last decades, reward-punishment approach is applied to capital owners according to their affiliation with the ruling party.

Results of the 2010 referandum for Constitutional amendments increased the control of Parliament, therefore the Government, over the Army and the Judiciary (Bedirhanoğlu et al., 2020; Oğuz, 2012). 2010 Amendments to the Constitution restricted the judiciary to supervise the government activities. Without the judiciary check, privatization of the state

companies, capital accumulation by dispossession of the state assets, gained pace. Constitutional amendments included change on the composition of the High Committee of Judges and Prosecutors, as well as their election procedure (Alemdar, 2020). The new constitution whilst empowered the Executive, whilst disempowering the Judiciary. Accordingly, erosion of the rule of law gradually increased (Oğuz, 2012; Çamuroğlu Çığ & Çığ, 2021). Therefore, 2010 constitutes a mark for the rising illiberal practices in Turkey in our study. After 2014, changes in the structure of judiciary accelerated so much that the judiciary progressively became under the control of the Government (Oğuz, 2016).

Legal changes were introduced in the use of coercive power. Following the refusal of EU constitution in 2005, the government started moving away from its democratic and consolidating discourse which had been useful for its success on 2002 General Elections. In 2005, the government changed Turkish Penal Code to empower the police force, and in 2006, "Counterterrorism Law" are issued, in line with the "preventive security approach". In 2007, "Police Powers and Duties Law" was changed. The broad concept of terrorism defined in these amendments were criticized for their potential to criminalize any activity of the opposition including legitimate protests or expression (Babacan et al, 2021; Kıvılcım, 2021). By 2015, police force was even equipped with the judiciary functions via the Law for "Internal Security Package". Babacan et al (2021) note that these led to the use of "discretionary powers" by the police, resulting with impunity. In parallel, internal hierarchy of the police force and army have started to change, which became evident after the attempted coup d'Etat at 2016. These changes point to the transformation from the state of law to the rule of law (Oğuz, 2016).

2013 Gezi Events raised questions on the legitimacy of the government (Bedirhanoğlu et al., 2020). Millions of people from several opposition groups have protested against the government in almost all cities in Turkey. Thousands of several protests took place for three months in the 2013 Summer. Peacefully started protests were confronted with unproportional force used by the police. During the events, more than 3 thousand protestors are taken into custody. Five protestors died during the protests, including teenagers; as well as thousands wounded (Odatv4, 2013). Many people are arrested, taken into custody and

prosecuted. Some major trials of the Gezi Events ended of with very heavy sentences against the opposition (NTV, 2022).

Elections were deeply contested. June 2015 elections were suspended after the leading governing party lost parliamentary supremacy, mainly due to the crossing of the election threshold happened by a pro-Kurdish party for the first time. On the following months, government could not be formed. The President of the Republic authorized only the president of the leading party, but not the presidents of the parties in opposition (Birgün, 2015). This is followed by violent terrorist attacks both in the Sout-East of Turkey (Suruç Massacre on July 20, 2015) and in Ankara (Gar Explosion in Sıhhiye on October 10, 2015); and coercive repression in South-East cities (OHCHR, 2017). Investigation proposals for the terrorist attacks were rejected in the Parliement (GazeteDuvar, 2021). Following these developments, the renewed elections on November 2015 resulted differently in favour of the leading party. On 2016 July, a Coup D'etat has been attempted and suppressed, resulting in death of 251 civilians (Cumhuriyet, 2021). Afterwards the failed Coup D'etat, Turkey has been governed through decrees having the force of law between 2016 and 2018 (Bedirhanoğlu et al., 2020). Also, during this time, a leader of a political party in the Parliement, a candidate for the Presidency, was arrested. Many members of the parliament in opposition face intimidation, accusations and charges.

With respect to the restrictions on the individual rights and freedoms, freedom of expression had been the major problematic area. Over the last decade, an increasing number of journalists were imprisoned, taken into custody, punished with fine or sued due to their expressions. Some of the journalists are physically attacked, or received threats. Many internet websites or social media accounts have been suspended. Accordingly, self-censorship became a tool to protect oneself (Çamuroğlu Çığ & Çığ, 2021). Many amendments were made on the Internet Laws, too. Even international social media websites (Youtube, Twitter) were banned, in addition to an open collaboration free encyclopedia (Wikipedia). In addition to journalists, ordinary citizens faced increasing amount of charges due to their expressions on the social media (Esen & Gümüşçü, 2016).

Increased societal polarization has also been reported (Erdoğan, 2017). Accordingly, social distance, perception of moral superiority and political intolerance among the supporters of

different political parties are on the rise in Turkey. Not only among communities, but also there is increased partisan polarization among traditional and social media. Terms such as `echo chamber` and `the spiral of silence` are referred to note that people in Turkey voice their opinions where they feel they would be supported but keep silent when they feel they are in minority.

With respect to the disempowerment of labour that occurred gradually since the 1980s, the number of labour strikes have been minimal since 1996. Number of strikes have fallen by 85% on the period 2001-2015 in comparison to the period 1985-2000 (Kıvılcım, 2021). The government discourse is against the strikes and on the side of the capital owners (Pınar, 2021). Many strikes have been postponed over the recent decade (Kıvılcım, 2021). Coercive action is taken against the strikes, varying from through police interventions to legal trials. Recent major examples include Metal Industrtry strikes in 2015 and workers of the İstanbul Airport in 2018; where many workers have been taken into custody, had long pre-trial detention and especially the strike leaders received prison sentences (Kıvılcım, 2021). On the other hand, medical workers with the physicians on the fore have been on strike over the first half of 2022. They demanded improvement on wages, legal protection from physical violence against medical workers, treatment of Covid-19 as an occupational illness, improvement of the structure of the state-health provision, including the amelioration of the minutes dedicated to the patients (from 5 minutes to 20 minutes) and the performance system (Cumhuriyet, 2022). Violence against the medical personel is a vital issue, many doctors and nurses are being attacked by the relatives on the patients, but remain released pending trials. Also, the political discourse against the physicians has been marginalizing, that the President has recently declared they wouldn't mind if the doctors leave the country (Timeturk, 2022), referring to the rise of the physician migration.

Privatization did not only occur on state assets, but also for the provision of public services. Education, healthcare and insurance (in lieu of social security) are the fundamental public services where the state policies are changed to encourage the use of private services by providing financial aids.

Frequent changes in the education system (TCMBS, 2022), both the structure of the primary education, and the curriculum, in terms of increasing number of classes about religion and

the removal of evolution from it, made the citizens question the quality of scientific education provided in state schools. Number of "İmam-Hatip high schools", where religious education is provided to the students, has risen (Evrensel, 2020). On the other hand, the number of students who cannot provide a correct answer to any of the questions in the central examinations made the quality of the education debateable (Evrensel, 2019). Additionally, recent years have witnessed scandals about the University Entrance Examinations, where it was revealed that the questions and answers were leaked to some congregation networks (Evrensel, 2020).

Healthcare services are transformed through the financial support of WorldBank, and presented as Reform in Health Policy. Accordingly, provision of health services is heavily restructured and privatization of the healthcare services are encouraged. On the other hand, violence against healthcare professionals raised heavily over the recent years. Number of white codes almost tripled from from 2020 to 2021; and 84% of the physicians state that they have been victim of occupational violence (TMA, 2022).

Laws for social security have also changed. Labour is obliged to make personal investment for their future by being automatically included into the Private Pension Schemes (TCMBS, 2022), which are supported by the state incentives. On the other hand, spendings made through the social security accounts of the state has ben debated over the recent decade. The most recent of them is the allocation of the unemployment funds. Incentives provided to the private companies through the unemployment funds turned out to be much higher than the amount distributed to the unemployed workers (Birgün, 2021).

With respect to economic instability, Turkish currency is following a path of devaluation over the last decade, however it is considerably devalued over the last few years. There had been debateable interventions to the value of the currency, financially harming the individual investors and adding up to the macroeconomic instability. From November 8th 2021 to December 19th, TL lost %72 of its value against USD. 1 USD was 9,69TL in the former, and 16.66 TL in the latter. Then an unexpected intervention followed, 1 USD was 10,99TL in 5 days. However, it rose again to 13.29 TL in another 6 days; still rising. By the time of the interviewees made for this thesis, in 2018 May-June, 1 USD was within the band of 4,35-4.75TL. Over the last 4 years, Turkish Lira lost its value by almost 300% against USD. While

TL became 72% devaluated against USD between November and December 2021; December 2021 Montly Consumer Price Index is announced as only %13,58 (TCMB, 2022). Difference in the real inflation rate and the announced rate is being debated, for instance, TCMB announced Yearly Consumer Price Index for April 2022 as %69,97; whereas ENAG, a Turkey based research group on inflation, reports that the real inflation rate for the same period is 156,86 % (ENAG, 2022).

Oğuz (2012) notes that the structural transformation of the political sphere in Turkey is closely related with the dynamics of the capital accumulation. She explains that by the 1980s, the restructuring of the state became a must in order to administrate the tensions between the labour, national capital and international capital; and it has been implemented through three main mechanisms. First, the political inclusion is narrowed by the introduction of 10% election threshold, resulting in a more uniform political sphere. Second, decision-making rights on economic policies are transferred to the Council of Ministers from the Parliament; empowering the Executive against the law-making Parliament. Third, many additional internal structural changes are implemented in the Executive for the administration of economic policies, in order to be aligned with the changing trends of global capital accumulation. The passage to the Presidential System of Government in 2018 marks a leap on the restructuring of the state (Bedirhanoğlu, 2021), where the decision-making process is centralized to the highest level, and evidently disempowering the Parliament.

These changes in the Turkish politics over the last decade involve rising illiberal tendencies. Roots of these changes go back to the 1980 Coup D'etat and the neoliberalization of Turkish economy and politics. Centralization of power, loss of control of judiciary over the government practices, controversial elections, restrictions on the liberties, disciplining of the labour, and transformation of the the public services are few instances of how the state-society relations are restructured through neoliberal policies. How these changes are percieved by the skilled labour is important for our research.

The interviews for this research have been conducted on 2018 June, and therefore they aren't very much clouded by the macroeconomic instabilities Turkey faced especially due to striking devaluation of Turkish Lira during late 2021.

In the next section, I will review some governance indicators, I utilized during preparation of interview questions.

2.3 Governance Indicators

Drawing on diverse factors triggering migration summarized in this section, in my interviews I included a range of economic and political factors to probe my interviewees' decisions to migrate. As noted earlier, it is difficult to differentiate the economic and political factors. To maintain comparability with the previous studies done, I used the dimensions of the governance indicators used by recent scholars emphasizing the rising significance of political factors.

Hiskey et al (2014) and Ariu et al (2016) refer to Kauffman's (2009) six governance measures in their studies. Kauffman et al (2009) define governance as "the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised". It includes the government selection process; government monitoring and replacement; government capacity to effectively design and administer policies; and the citizens' and the state's appreciation for the institutions which govern social and economic interchanges between them. Respective governance measures are as follows: (1) Voice and Accountability, (2) Political Stability and Absence of Violence, (3) Government Effectiveness, (4) Regulatory Quality, (5) Rule of Law, and (6) Control of Corruption. These measures are used to articulate the perception of both public and private sectors, non-government organizations and many citizens about the governance.

Freedom House also provides two main governance measures, Political Rights and Civil Liberties. The governance measure of `Political Rights ` has sub-indicators as follows: (1) electoral process, (2) political pluralism and participation and (3) functioning of government. The other governance measure, "Civil Liberties" has the following sub-indicators (1) freedom of expression and belief, (2) associational and organizational rights, (3) rule of law and (4) personal autonomy and individual rights. According to these measures, status of the countries are scaled as "Free", "Partly Free" and "Not Free". Turkey is measured as "Not Free" since 2017; and its score was defined to be in "free-fall" since 2014.

FH 2019 Report, which overviews 2018 events in relevance to the timing of this study's interviews, signifies the problematic of freedom of expression in Turkey, that there had been more than 20,000 investigations and 6,000 prosecutions only in 2017 for "insulting the President" in Turkey. It is noted in FH Country Overview for Turkey that, by the approval of constitutional changes in 2017, the President can rule by decree, and is able to appoint officials and judges who were supposed to be independent. Therefore, the key checks on executive power cannot function independently anymore. Uneven playing field for the election process, especially due to media bias in favor of the ruling government is also underlined. On 2022 report, key issues for 2021 are enlisted as the assignment of political allies as rector a top-ranking university; acceptance of a case to shut down the second-largest opposition party; withdrawal from İstanbul Convention, an international treaty to fight gender violence; and the political imprisonment for Gezi Events.

Another indicator set is provided by Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project. They measure many different attributes of democracy with the aim to understand democratization (and autocratization) by using seven principles of democratic ideals: "electoral", "liberal", "majoritarian", "consensual", "participatory", "deliberative", and "egalitarian" and also their component indices. V-Dem 2022 Report presents a worldwide rise of dictatorships in the world, and note that the signs reflecting autocratization might be changing. They enlist rising violence (especially through Coup d'etat), rising polarization among countries and dissemination of misinformation through government as the signs of autocratization. Turkey is listed among the top autocratizing countries driven by anti-pluralist parties, and that the autocratization process is claimed to have started by 2006. Their measures have classified Turkey as "electoral autocracy" since 2013; whilst it was classified as "electoral democracy" before. With electoral autocracy, they refer to countries where elections are held and people have some political and civil rights; however, having these rights lose meaning due to the repression of the government, censorship and intimidation.

In 2018 Report, in relevance to the timing of this study's interviews clean elections, freedom of expression and alternative sources of information, rule of law, legislative constraints on the executive, egalitarian component and deliberative components are found to be the negatively impacted areas in Turkey. It is noted on the report that, democracy is deteriorating in Turkey so fast that Turkey's governing regime is turning into a dictatorship.

There is widespread attack on core democratic instutations and freedoms. Freedom of expression, quality of public debate, freedom of association, and other liberal components of democracy are on backslide. More, they underline that the elections are less free and fair in Turkey by 2017, than in 2007. The report reveals that power distribution and equality of civil liberties and social group equality have declined seriously after 2012 in Turkey, in line with an increase in exclusionary politics. Also, there had been an increase in detention of people who criticize Islam and the AKP Government; and also increasingly harsh repression of social minorities including the Kurds. It is also reported that healthcare equality seriously declined in Turkey. By 2022, highlighted issues for Turkey are lack of pluralism; disrespect to the minority rights; accusal of the political opponents; and acceptance of political violence; all driven by the ruling party.

International IDEA's 2017 Report, Global State of Democracy, compares the countries' democratic governance paths from 2005 to 2015, through the following dimensions: Representative Government, Fundamental Rights, Checks on Government, Impartial Administration and Participatory Engagement. For Turkey, it is reported that democracy is challenged by extremism, populist leadership and autocratic tendencies from 2005 to 2015. Dimension of Representative Goverment has subattributes of clean elections, inclusive suffrage, free political parties and elected goverment. In Turkey, representative government dimension is found to be in decline. Subattributes of dimension Fundamental Rights include access to justice, civil liberties, social rights and equality; and there is a considerable regression in Fundamental Rights in Turkey. There is also a decrease in checks on government in Turkey, which dimension has subattributes of effective parliament, judicial independence and media integrity. Also, control of the executive is gradually undermined, reminding the rule in the 1980s. Recalling the news headlines, they provide examples such as "RTE's concentration of power, appointment of loyal supporters in the courts and public sector media, mass detention of critics and dismissal of critical public employees (including many university professors)". Subattributes of impartial administration are predictable enforcement and absence of corruption; and a significant decline on this dimension in Turkey is reported, too. Finally, dimension of participatory engagement has subnational elections, direct democracy, electoral participation and civil society participation; and in Turkey there is decreased civil society participation and a shrinking space of civil society. It

is additionally reported that there is an erosion of democratic rights, problematic social cohesion due to ethnic, religious and secterian mobilization; and violent conflict and repression of minorities.

Freedom House, Varieties of Democracy (V-DEM) Institute and International IDEA Institute for Democracy and Electoral Asistance are all pro-democracy organizations, aiming to support democratization in the world. Their recent annual reports reflect rising authoritarianism in the world, noting that the world is a democratic decline since 2006. Above, I extracted their measures and reflections on Turkey to depict the political conditions during when the interviews of this study took place.

In this study, I have utilized from abovementioned indicators and adopted Kauffman et al. (2009)'s measures to reflect the perception of the interviewees on the liberal democracy practices in Turkey as follows: civil and political rights and liberties including the rule of law; political stability and political representation; government effectiveness and regulatory quality.

In the next chapter, I will introduce the research sample. Information about their demography, and the timing, means and motives of their emigration decisions will be detailed.

CHAPTER 3

MEANS AND MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION

3.1 Demography Information of the Sample

Details about the demography of the sample will be presented in this section.

3.1.1 Gender

Gender composition of the sample is 21 male and 23 female. There were 11 females and 11 males in the Planner group, and 12 females and 10 males in the Emigrant group. The interviwees are not selected based on their gender and the equal composition is formed by chance. However, this equal composition reveals the gender dimension of skilled labour migration.

3.1.2 Age

Average age of the interviewees is 31.7 (planners 31.3; emigrants 32). 19 of the interviewees are between 25 and 30 (11 planners and 8 emigrants), 18 of them are between 30 and 35 (7 planners and 11 emigrants), 5 of them are between 35 and 40 (3 planners, 2 emigrants), and 1 each are between 40 and 45 (1 planner) and 45 and 50 (1 emigrant).

3.1.3 Residence

All interviewees reside in urban areas. All the emigrated interviewees live in countries with higher humanity index than Turkey.

14 planner interviewees live in Ankara, 5 in İstanbul and 3 in Konya. 11 emigrated interviewees used to live in Ankara before departure, and 11 of them used to live in İstanbul. At the time of interviews, 17 of the emigrant interviewees live in European Union countries, while 2 of them live in Australia and 1 each in USA, Canada and Japan.

3.1.4 Previous Experience Abroad

Most of the interviewees have been abroad before, significantly for education purposes, and also for business and travel purposes.

41 interviewees had been to the countries they planned emigrate or emigrated before (20 planners and 21 emigrants), and only 3 of them had not been in any foreign country before. 37 of them had been abroad for education purposes (18 planners and 19 emigrants), 23 of them had job experience abroad (13 planners and 7 emigrants), and 17 of them had been abroad for travel purposes (10 planners and 7 emigrants).

3.1.5 Timing of Emigration

15 of the emigrant interviewees emigrated after 2015 (4 in 2016, 8 in 2017 and 3 in 2018), 2 in 2014 and 1 each in 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2015.

3.1.6 Education Status

All of the interviewees have their BSc degrees from urban, established, elite and mostly public universities in Turkey. Almost half of the interviewees have MSc or PhD degrees.

About half of the interviewees have their BSc degree from Middle East Technical University. The writer of this thesis is also from METU, and this high density of METU BScs is due to the usage of snowball sampling method. The other half have their BSc degrees from various reputable universities. In numbers, 24 interviewees have their BSc degrees from METU (11 planners, 13 emigrants), 4 of them from Hacettepe University (2 planners, 2 emigrants), 3 from Ankara University (3 planners), 3 from Gazi University (2 planners, 1 emigrant), 2

Bilkent University (1 planner, 1 emigrant), 2 University of Bosphorus (2 emigrants), 2 Yıldız Teknik University (1 planner, 1 emigrant), 1 İstanbul Technical University (planner), 1 İstanbul University (emigrant), 1 Marmara University (emigrant) and 1 Kırıkkale University (planner). 25 of the interviewees are graduated from Engineering Faculties, 6 of them from Economics and Administration, 4 from Architecture, 2 each from Medicine, Fundamental Sciences, Foreign Literature, and Humanities; 1 from Fine Arts.

21 of the interviewees hold MSc degrees (9 planners and 12 emigrants). 5 of them have their degrees abroad (1 planner and 4 emigrants). 7 of the interviewees are currently MSc students, 5 in Turkey and 2 abroad.

6 of the interviewees hold PhD degrees (4 planners, 2 emigrants), 3 of them received this degree in Turkey (3 planners) and 3 abroad (1 planner, 2 emigrants). 5 of them are PhD students, 3 in Turkey (2 planners, 1 emigrants) and 2 abroad (emigrants).

3.1.7 Employment Status

Most interviewees are employed.

38 of the interviewees are employed at the time of interview (19 planners, 19 emigrants). 3 of them are unemployed (2 planners, 1 emigrants), 2 of them are students (1 planner, 1 emigrant) and 1 of them is a voluntary worker abroad.

1 planner interviewee is unemployed since s/he couldn't find a job that matches her skills and qualifications in Turkey while another resigned from her job since her unpaid leave request was not accepted by her managers, which she calls was a part of mobbing she had been experiencing. 1 emigrated interviewee is unemployed abroad, a trailing spouse. She quitted her job in Turkey in order to leave Turkey along with her spouse who found a job abroad.

3.1.8 Job Experience in Turkey

Average full-time work experience is 7,26 years among interviewees.

6 interviewees did not have any full-time job experience in Turkey (2 planners, 4 emigrant). 1 planner is unemployed, the other is student. 4 emigrant interviewees were students in Turkey, who went abroad for study purposes.

8 interviewees had up to 3 years of job experience in Turkey (3 planners, 5 emigrants), 12 of them had 3 to 6 years of work experience in Turkey (5 planners, 7 emigrants), 9 of them had 6 to 9 years (6 planners, 3 emigrants), 6 of them had 9 to 12 years (6 planners, 3 emigrants), 2 of them had 12 to 15 years (1 planner, 1 emigrant) and one of them had 28 years of job experience in Turkey (1 emigrant). Average full-time work experience is 7,26 years among the interviewees who had a full-time job in Turkey.

Planners with full time work experience have an average of 7,5 years of work experience, while the emigrants have an average of 7 years of work experience.

3.1.9 Income Level

Most of the interviewees define their income level as upper middle or middle.

38 interviewees had full time job experience in Turkey (20 planners, 18 emigrants). Among them, 25 interviewees described their income level as upper-middle (13 planners, 12 emigrants), 8 of them as middle (6 planners, 2 emigrants), 3 of them middle-lower (1 planner, 2 emigrants) and 1 each upper and lower (emigrant).

5 interviewees are/were students in Turkey (1 planner, 4 emigrants). 4 of them lived by family support (1 planner, 3 emigrants), and 1 emigrant interviewee made a living by giving private classes, described his income level as "low". 1 planner interviewee was working in temporary jobs and described her income level as "in need of help".

3.1.10 Marital Status and Information about Children and Spouses

60% of the interviewees are single, 40% of them are married. All of the spouses were employed in Turkey. 15% of the interviewees have children.

27 interviewees are single (14 planners, 13 emigrants), 17 interviewees are married (8 planners, 9 emigrants). 7 interviewees who are married have children, 4 of them are of planners' and 3 of them are of emigrants'. None of the single interviwees have children. All the spouses hold at least a BSc degrees. 6 of them have only BSc degrees (3 planners, 3 emigrants), 8 of them have MSc degrees (4 planners, 4 emigrants) and 3 of them have PhD degrees (1 planners, 2 emigrants).

All the planners' spouses are employed in Turkey. All the trailing spouses were employed in Turkey. 4 of the trailing spouses became unemployed after emigration. They had to quit their jobs in Turkey in order to leave with their spouses, and were unemployed by the time of the interviews.

3.1.11 Ethnic Identity

Most of the interviewees describe their ethnicity as Turkish, yet there are those who do not any ethnicity to define themselves. There are a few interviewees from minority groups.

33 interviewees describe their ethnicity as Turkish or "Türkiyeli" (19 planners, 14 emigrants). 7 of them do not describe themselves with an ethnicity (3 planners, 4 emigrants), among them, 2 of the emigrant interviewees tell that their origin is Arabic or Zaza, but they do not describe themselves with those identities. There is 1 each emigrant interviewee self describing as "Bosnia origined Turk", "a mixture of Turkish and Kurdish", Kurdish and "Çerkes". Kurdish interviewee notes that s/he was not raised with her Kurdish identity. 1 interviewee who did not describe his identity stated that "It was sunni-Turkish until two years ago, now I don't care at all", referring to trial of coup d'etat as a milestone.

3.1.12   Religious and Cultural Identities

Interviewees have various religious identities.

13 interviewees identify themselves as atheists (4 planners, 9 emigrants), 10 of them do not identify their religious thoughts (6 planners, 4 emigrants), 10 of them are Sunni (7 planners, 3 emigrants), and 6 of them express that thet do not belong to any religion (3 planners, 3 emigrants), 3 of them are agnostic (2 planners, 1 emigrant), 1 of them is deist (emigrant) and 1 emigrant interviewee doesn't want to share his religious thoughts.

When asked about their religious identity, 5 interviewees expressed several religious identities, but noted that they have "Alevi" cultural identity (1 planner, 4 emigrants).

3.1.13   Political Stance

Political party support or partisanship was not used as a criterion during recruitment. Even though the interviewees are not asked about their political stance, it is understood from their responses that the sample is composed of secular, progressive, and mostly voters of opposition political parties. There is no supporter of the ruling party in my sample.

3.1.14   Parental Information

Mothers of the interviewees have various education backgrounds. Education levels of the mothers are quite similar in both groups, and even though mothers with higher education are higher in number, there are also many mothers with only primary school graduation. 22 of the mothers have higher education, 18 of them having BSc degrees (9 planner, 9 emigrants), 3 of them MSc degrees (2 planners, 1 emigrant) and 1 of a planners' mother having a PhD degree. 8 mothers are graduated from high school (3 planners, 5 emigrants), mothers of 2 planner interviewees are graduated from secondary school, 11 mothers are graduated from primary school (5 planners, 6 emigrants) and mother of an emigrant interviewee do not have any school education.

With regards to the education level of the mothers of the women interviewees, 12 mothers have higher education, 10 of them having BSc degrees (4 planners, 6 emigrants) and 2 of them having MSc degrees (planners). 3 of the mothers are graduated from high school, 1 from secondary school (planners), 6 from primary school (4 planners, 2 emigrants) and 1 mother of an emigrant interviewee had not received any school education.

Most of the fathers of the interviewees have higher education. 27 of the fathers have higher education level (14 planners, 13 emigrants), 2 of them have associate degrees (1 planner, 1 emigrant), 16 of them have BSc degrees (7 planners, 9 emigrants), 5 of them have MSc degrees (3 planners, 2 emigrants) and 4 of them have PhD degrees (3 planners, 1 emigrant). 9 fathers are high school graduates (5 planners, 4 emigrants), 3 fathers secondary school graduates (1 planner, 2 emigrants), 4 fathers primary school graduates (2 planners, 2 emigrants) and 1 father have not received any school education (planner).

More than half of the mothers and all the fathers had paid jobs.

18 of the mothers are housewives (8 planners, 10 emigrants), 13 of the mothers are employed (7 planners, 6 emigrants), 12 of the mothers are retired (6 planners, 6 emigrants) and 1 mother of a planner is unemployed.

23 of the fathers are employed (12 planners, 11 emigrants) and 21 of the fathers are retired (10 planners, 11 migrateds). Education levels of the fathers in both groups are very similar.

3.2 Means and Motives for Migration

This chapter presents information about the interviewees' emigration means and motives, derived from their responses to open-ended questions. They are asked when they first started considering emigration, the destinations they planned and the means they used to realize their emigration plans. Then, they are asked about the factors attracting them in the potential destination countries, and also the reasons why they consider emigrating. With these open-ended questions asked in this section, I aimed to figure out the interviewees' emigration reasons in their own words.

2013 and 2016 stand out as important junctures that shaped most interviewees emigration decisions. Most of the planner interviewees decided to emigrate by 2016, in the aftermath of the attempted coup and terrorist attacks. On the other hand, most of the emigrated interviewees decided by 2013, in the aftermath of Gezi Parkı Events. European Countries, specifically Netherlands and England, also Canada are the most preferred places of destination. Job application is the most frequently used means of trying to start a new life abroad, followed by higher education applications.

Political factors, in particular protection of basic rights and liberties, emerge as the most important factor considered in emigration decision. They do not feel safe about their lives; so much that the interviewees do not look for an improvement in their economic situation, instead, risk to afford a decrease in their financial situation.

They would like to keep and build up on their professions and skills in destination countries of through having a paid job in their professions, whilst living in a "civilized" society, where people respect each others' rights and enjoy access to resources for educational and intellectual development.

Many of them complain about the lack of protection of basic rights and liberties. They are especially concerned about their right to physical security that they do not feel they are adequately guarded against any kind of attack, and are concerned about the safety of their lives. Several forms of political violence, such as the explosions with many death tolls, violence during the attempted coup d'etat and the Gezi Events are frequently mentioned, as well as the physical violence they come across in daily life. Lack of protection of labour rights, the extent to which the labour is treated fairly, in terms of pay, recognition, and remuneration is mentioned by a quarter of the interviewees as a factor to consider emigration. They are especially disturbed by the lack of respect for labour, and complain that their labour is not recognized by their employers. Moreover, they do not have work-life balance to enjoy outside their work routine, neither. Government effectiveness is another important factor leading the interviewees consider emigration; according to them, the state institutions do not perform their main duties properly while ensuring accountability, transparency and impartiality in their operations. They do not think that the social functions provided by the state are of an acceptable standard; and education services stand out as the

most emphasized function causing concern, especially for their existing or prospective children.

Through this and the following chapters, I will use quotations from the interviews and abbreviations in the Tables and Figures. Accordingly, "M" stands for the interviewer, myself. "P" stands for the Planner Interviewees, and "G" for the emigrant interviewees. There are 22 planner interviewees, and each of them are represented by "P#": A numeric number from 1 to 22, followed by "P" character. Likewise, emigrant interviewees are represented by "G#".

3.3 Timing of the Emigration Decision

The interviewees decided to emigrate from Turkey in various years, yet both 2016 and 2013 stand out. Most of the planner interviewees decided to emigrate by 2016, in the aftermath of both the attempted coup and terrorist attacks. On the other hand, most of the emigrated interviewees decided by 2013, in the aftermath of Gezi Parkı Events (Figure 2).

On average, the planner interviwees started thinking about migration 2.6 years before the time of the interview, by October-November 2015; whereas the emigrated interviewees started thinking about emigration 4 years before the time of the interview, by May-June 2014.
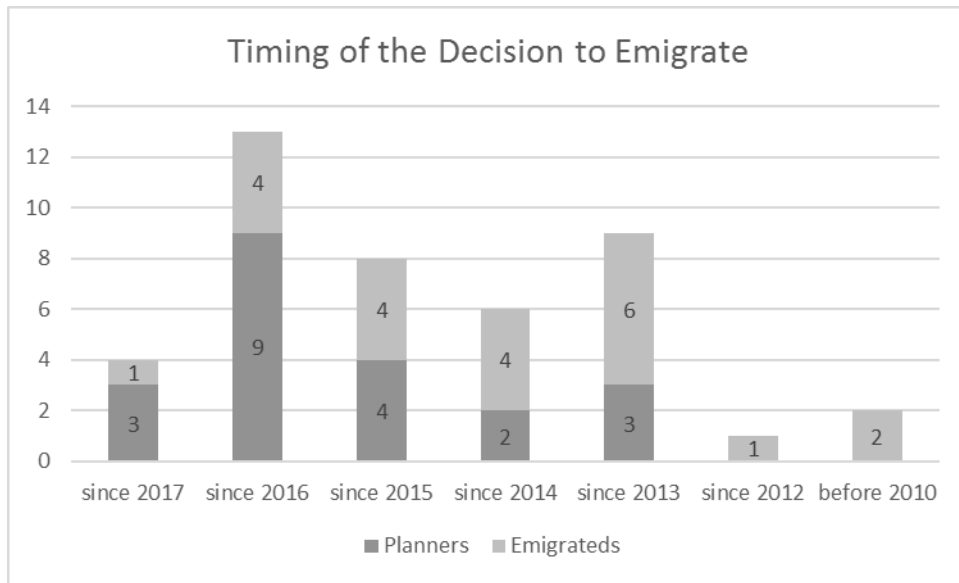
Figure 2 - Timing of the Decision to Emigrate

7 of them noted that they have always thought about emigrating from Turkey (1 planner, 6 emigrants); another 7 of them also stated the same, but adding that they always thought about if on a temporary scale, yet only recently they have a residential purpose (4 planners, 4 emigrants).

> M: Have you ever considered leaving Turkey and settling in another country?
> P6: I have been considering this every day since 2015.
> M: Every day?
> P6: Yes.
> M: Did anything significant happen in 2015?
> P6: Actually no, but I went abroad for the first time to learn a foreign language. And, I had the chance to observe the living conditions of people of my age. I thought that it was difficult to reach those living conditions in my own country. That is why I wanted to explore more and in fact, I wanted to visit abroad more frequently after 2016.
> M: Is there anything special with 2016?
> P6: I was living in Ankara and several explosions occurred. Therefore I was not able to follow my daily routine without concern. Previously, we were able to attend press gatherings in Kızılay but after the incidents, we became even more concerned about whether we should meet in Kızılay with our friends after work. That is to say, I was feeling uncomfortable for not being able to have a regular social life and being stuck in a daily commute.

M: When did you think about moving to another country for the first time?
G11 (emigrated in 2015): In 2004, when I volunteered in France as a member of the UNESCO volunteer team.
M: Did anything specific happen that drove you to apply for Ankara Convention?
G11: We actually decided that raising a kid in Turkey did not seem logical after what happened during Gezi Protests.

3.4 Target Countries

European Countries, especially Netherlands and England, and Canada are the most preferred places of destination (Table 2).

The USA and "Scandinavian Countries" are the most preferred second choices as the country of destination for the interviewees (5 interviewees each) (Table 3).

USA and England are the most preferred third choices as the country of destination for the interviewees (4 interviewees each) (Table 4).

The USA is the most frequently mentioned country of preferred destination for the interviewees (15 interviewees), followed by England (14 interviewees), Germany and the Netherlands (11 interviewees each). "European Countries", "Scandinavian Countries", and Canada are also mentioned by many interviewees (9 each). Both planners and emigrated interviewees have similar preferences (Table 5).

Table 2 - First Choice for the Country of Destination

First Choice for the Country of Destination	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
European Countries	6	2	4
Netherlands	6	5	1
England	5	1	4
Canada	4	2	2
USA	3	3	0
Germany	3	2	1
Spain	3	0	3
France	2	1	1
Italy	2	1	1
Australia	2	1	1

Table 2 – Cont'd

First Choice for the Country of Destination	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Scandinavian Countries	2	1	1
New Zealand	1	1	0
Middle and North Europe	1	1	0
Switzerland	1	0	1
Countries with less than 5 million inhabitants	1	1	
Greece	1	0	1
West Europe	1	0	1

Table 3 - Second Choice for the Country of Destination

Second Choice for the Country of Destination	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
USA	5	2	3
Scandinavian Countries	5	3	2
Canada	4	4	0
England	4	3	1
Germany	4	1	3
Netherlands	3	0	3
Spain	2	1	1
Australia	2	0	2
European Countries	1	1	0
France	1	0	1
New Zealand	1	0	1
Gulf Region	1	1	0
Eastern Europe	1	0	1

Table 4 - Third Choice for the Country of Destination

Third Choice for the Country of Destination	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
USA	4	2	2
England	4	2	2

Table 4 – Cont'd

Third Choice for the Country of Destination	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Germany	3	1	2
Belgium	2	1	1
European Countries	1	1	0
France	1	0	1
Netherlands	1	0	1
Gulf Region	1	1	0
Australia	1	0	1
Switzerland	1	1	0
Scandinavian Countries	1	1	0
Japan	1	0	1
Greece	1	0	1

Table 5 - Preferred Countries of Migration

Preferred Countries of Migration / # of times mentioned	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
USA	15	8	7
England	14	7	7
Germany	11	4	7
Netherlands	11	6	5
European Countries	9	5	4
Canada	9	7	2
Scandinavian Countries	9	6	3
France	5	2	3
Spain	5	1	4
Australia	5	1	4
Switzerland	3	1	2
New Zealand	2	1	1
Italy	2	1	1
Gulf Region	2	2	0
Belgium	2	1	1
Japan	2	0	2
Greece	2	0	2
Middle and North Europe	1	1	0
Countries that do not ask for a visa for Turkish citizens	1	1	0

Table 5 – Cont'd

Preferred Countries of Migration / # of times mentioned	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Countries with less than 5 million inhabitants	1	1	0
Ireland	1	0	1
Russia	1	0	1
Eastern Europe	1	0	1
West Europe	1	0	1

Most of the countries mentioned by the interviewees as a destination are in Europe (77 times), followed by North America (24 times), Oceania (7 times) and Asia (5 times) (Table 6).

Table 6 - Preferred Continents of Migration

Preferred Continents of Migration	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Europe	77	35	42
North America	24	15	9
Oceania	7	2	5
Asia	5	2	0

3.5 Means of Emigration

I asked the interviewees all the means they tried in order to leave Turkey, and whether they worked to effectuate their emigration or not.

Job application is the most frequently used means of trying to start a new life abroad, 33 over 44 interviewees applied for jobs abroad. It is followed by applications for higher education (12 interviewees) and visa applications of several kinds (10 interviewees). Skilled immigrant visa applications (5 interviewees) to Australia, Canada and Sweden; and also Greencard applications (5 interviewees) to the USA stand out. On the other hand, even a tourist visa application (1 interviewee) is tried out. Both planner and emigrated interviewees

used these means to leave Turkey. Yet, in my sample only emigrated interviewees tried out applying to International Agreements (5 interviewees), in specific Ankara Agreement as a means to start a living in England; and also to the voluntary work in EU-funded projects (2 interviewees) (Table 7).

Table 7 - Attempted Means of Migration

Attempted Means of Migration[2]	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Job Application	**33**	**20**	**13**
Education	**12**	**5**	**7**
Visa application	**10**	**6**	**4**
*Skilled immigrant visa application	5	1	4
*Greencard application	5	4	1
*Tourist Visa Application	1	1	0
International Agreements (Ankara Antlasmasi)	**5**	**0**	**5**
Voluntary Work Application	**2**	**0**	**2**

One in three interviewees made more than one type of application to start a new life abroad (Table 8). For instance, one interviewee has applied for voluntary work, higher education and also jobs abroad in order to start a new life in the destination countries.

Table 8 - Number of Types of Applications

Number of Types of Applications	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
1 type	28	14	14
2 types	13	7	6
3 types	3	1	2

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[2] With regards to the interviewees who left Turkey following their spouses; I considered them as household and intergrated their spouses' applications into the list.

M: Which countries did you consider in this period?

G11: New Zealand, Japan and England. My husband received job offers from New Zealand and Japan. But we decided on England as it provided the opportunity to settle in and become a citizen.

M: Did you have any other attempts apart from job applications or establishing a business, such as applying for Greencard, etc?

G11: No. We went to England 7 years ago for a language school which was after the 2008 crisis. But we did not have the intention of settling. We merely tested whether we could live abroad or not we lived there for about a year. We lived in London, England. At least we decided that we loved England... After that, we returned to Turkey to gain more professional experience which was very crucial for further application because the process is highly demanding. You literally start from scratch as you are a foreigner that is why the stronger your background is the higher your chance is. After doing that, my husband had interviews with employers from Japan and New Zealand. We received an offer from Japan but as there was no chance of getting citizenship for neither us nor our child, we decided to live in England. New Zealand was just too far. It would be difficult for our families to visit us. That is why we focused on Ankara Convention. Or, I could give birth in the US. I was going to give birth in US. . Then we would stay in the US and our child could be a US citizen. But Ministry of Education made a regulatory amendment which meant that our child would have education issues in Turkey if born in the US. That is why we came to England after living there for a while.

M: Have you ever attempted to plan to live in another country?

P8: I did. I applied for several vacancies. But I received no feedback. I was rejected by one of my master's applications and I am still waiting to hear from the others. I also applied for a Green card and I couldn't get a US visa. I couldn't get the visa due to my green card application.

Most of the emigrant interviewees effectuated their emigration through employment (6 interviewees) and education (5 interviewees). Some of them founded a business through the use of international agreements (Ankara Agreement) (2 interviewees), some applied for qualified immigrant visas (2 interviewees) and some of them left by means of voluntary working programs and stayed abroad afterwards (2 interviewees). Leaving with tourist visas and making use of their EU passport (by being born in Bulgaria) are also used as means by 1 person, each. There are also interviewees who quit their jobs in Turkey in order to follow their spouses'(3 interviewees) who either found a job, founded a business through the Ankara Agreement or went for educational purposes (PhD degree); even though the

interviewees would be unemployed at the destination country by the time of their migration (Table 9).

During the conversations, it turned out that the means some of them used to leave Turkey were no longer their current practice in the countries they reside in. Also, some of them already left the first country they emigrated from Turkey, to start a new life in another foreign country.

Table 9 - Emigrants – Means of Emigration from Turkey

Emigrants – Means of Emigration from Turkey	Number of Emigrants
Found a job	6
Higher Education	5
Spouse-related (Trailer Spouse)	3
Founded a business (Ankara Agreement)	2
Voluntary Working	2
Qualified Immigrant Visa	2
Tourist Visa	1
EU Passport	1
TOTAL	22

M: How did you settle in the country you are living in now? How did you go there?

G21: I was already thinking to leave Turkey, and to be frank, I had been thinking about where I could live and looking for options quite a lot. I came to Barcelona as a tourist. It was either 2011 or 2012 I guess. I liked Barcelona very much and thought that it was easy to live in and we had similarities. Previously, my only abroad experience was in Germany for a year. I didn't have any other long-term abroad experience other than that. Later on, I resigned from my job in Istanbul and came to Canary Island as a volunteer. There is this European Union Voluntary Service program called AGH in Turkish. I did not have any savings and I just packed and left for that 9-month-long project. Following that, I thought I could do a master's program while I already had a break in my career, so that I would increase my chances to stay in Europe if I complete a master's degree. Then, I left Canary Islands 3 months in advance and moved into Barcelona and started my master's program there. At the same time, I found an internship program and started working as an intern. Afterwards, the company I worked as an intern hired me after the internship ended, and I stayed.

3.6 Reasons of Emigration

3.6.1 Preface for Coding

In the following questions, the interviewees are asked about the conditions they look for in their preferred countries of destination and the reasons that make them consider emigrating. The issues they brought up in their responses included many factors, some of them referring to patterns.

I coded the responses of the interviewees to each question by deducing the factors they mentioned. I grouped the factors which referred to a similar concept, while still keeping the sub-factors and issues that add up to the sub-factors as branches of the concept. Afterwards, following the patterns of the concepts, I categorized them into four main dimensions: Political Conditions, Working Conditions, Economic Conditions and Living Conditions.

Based on the meanings defined by the interviewees, I developed the following definitions. I define political conditions as the state of affairs shaped by the practices of government policies or related to the conduct of the government. The economic conditions are related to the macroeconomic state of affairs; such as the business environment determining the available job opportunities and also the value of the monetary resources necessary for one to sustain their life. The working conditions are related to factors affecting labour in the workplace, such as working hours, physical environment, remuneration, etc. The living conditions are related to the conduct of daily life in society and the environment one lives in. I formed mutually exclusive groups and coded each factor mentioned in the interviewees' responses to one of the groups formed.

To clarify the coding process and also emphasize the importance of the frequency of the factors mentioned, I will give an example. For instance, the "Protection of Basic Rights and Liberties" concept falls under Political Conditions. With regards to the reasons for emigration from Turkey, this concept covers the following factors mentioned by the interviewees such as "Right to Physical Security" , "Freedom of Choice", etc. I grouped the sub-factors such as "Freedom from Violence" and "Freedom of Private Property" under the factor "Right to Physical Security".

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During the interviews, some of the interviewees provided few details about their emigration decision, that their responses included a few factors. However, some interviewees provided detailed responses. These detailed responses both referred to many factors of a single concept and also sub-factors as well. Therefore, while presenting the factors the interviewees considered; I decided not only to provide the number of the interviewees who reflect their opinion about a singular factor, concept or condition; but also the frequency of those factors, concepts and conditions mentioned by the interviewees.

Following upon the previous example about the "Right to Physical Security", its sub-factor "Freedom from Violence" is mentioned by 18 interviewees. Under this sub-factor, issues about "Freedom from Political Violence" are mentioned by 14 interviewees; issues about "Freedom from Physical Violence" are mentioned by 8 interviewees" and issues about "Freedom from Sexual Harassment" are mentioned about 2 interviewees". The Sum of these issues under the "Freedom from Violence" add up to 24. These data reveal that the "Freedom from Violence" sub-factor is mentioned by 18 interviewees, however, the issues that this sub-factor covers are referred to 24 times. This means that some interviewees provided several exclusive "issues" about this sub-factor, raising the frequency of this sub-factor. The same holds for the factors, concepts and conditions.

I will present these information as follows: Sub-Factor (Number of Interviewees mentioned the Sub-Factor; Sum of the Issues about that Sub-Factor). Following this example, the information will be presented as Freedom from Physical Violence (18 interviewees, 24 times).

In case the sub-factor (or factor and concept) do not cover any exclusive issues, then the information will be presented as follows: Sub-Factor (Number of the Interviewees mentioned the Sub Factor). The example above includes a subfactor with no exclusive issues, it will be presented as Freedom of Private Property (1 interviewee).

Given this information, in the next section, I will start by presenting information about the factors that attract the interviewees to the destination countries and continue with their reasons for migration from Turkey. I will include quotations from the interviews to reflect their point of view with their own words.

3.6.2 Conditions in the Destination Countries

Interviewees consider the Protection of Rights and Liberties amongst the most important concepts while choosing where to live. They are attracted to countries where they would have freedom of choice, equal opportunity, freedom from violence, gender equality and freedom of speech. They would like to keep and build up on their professions and skills in the countries of destinations by having a paid job in their own professions, whilst living in a civilized society, where people respect each others' rights and enjoy access to resources for educational and intellectual development. On the other hand, they rarely refer to the economic conditions. They are content with making a living through their current professional skills, and would be comfortable with better protection of labour rights, where the labour is given its due share of recognition, renumeration, and respect in decent working conditions.

3.6.2.1 Protection of Basic Rights and Liberties

The most important factor of attraction for the interviewees is the Protection of Basic Rights and Liberties by the authorities of the target countries (25 interviewees, 47 times). They choose countries where they would have freedom of choice, equal opportunity, freedom from violence, gender equality and freedom of speech. Freedom of Choice (17 interviewees) is the most important factor for the interviewees, they would like to live in a society free from any form of suppression or interference so that the individuals are free to make their decisions according to their preferences, ideas and identities. It is followed by Equal Opportunity (14 interviewees), the extent to which receiving countries provide similar conditions to incoming immigrants and their own residents to participate in economic and social spheres. Other rights of attraction are as follows: Freedom from violence (8 interviewees), the right to be adequately guarded against any kind of attack and the right to survive; gender equality (6 interviewees), the equality between women and men, in particular, the extent to which women feel independent enough to go out alone at night, and wear what they like without having to consider others' opinions and actions; and the

freedom of speech (2), the extent to which people feel free to express their opinions to each other (Table 10).

> P9: In general I have a set of countries in my mind. Some of them are prominent compared to others. The reason for some being prominent is that they have better human rights standards and their development index is relatively higher. That is why I am attracted by Northern European Countries and Canada. ... But there are other factors for my preference. These countries have better figures in sustainability, human rights, women's rights and education level. Their economic future and cultural structures seem more secure. Therefore I can say that I am more into the countries which are more predictable and safe. That is why the United States of America is down at the bottom of my list. That is it.

> G3: I considered for safety; I mean the safety of life. For example the lower rate of crime. I also paid attention to the education level of the people. I checked how free they are living. I did not pay attention to the money.

> P12: I am not planning to go to Germany as I consider them to be a little fascist. I am looking for a place where I will not be discriminated.

> G16: In general, quality of life is important for me. It's not only the economy of the country, what is more important are things like security, and tolerance. And also the country's perspective against foreigners, that was also a factor for me.

> P18: ... Of course freedom, political setting, I mean it is very tempting to live in a country where I wouldn't doubt whether a bomb will explode while passing by a street or whether a man will come and hurt me. That is why I always think about living in Western countries.

> P11: ... My motive is now that I want to live in a place which is calmer, where I am not afraid of walking freely in the street and where I am not discriminated just because I came from another country. Even more, basically, I want to live in a place where I can freely sit in a bar and do not care about the size of my skirt. I want to live in a place with people like me and in fact where I could feel more free.

3.6.2.2 Possibilities of Skill Transfer

Possibilities of skill transfer (25 interviewees) are also important for interviewees so that they would keep and also build up on their professions and skills in the target countries, especially by having a job in their own professions (14 interviewees) and being able to speak the language of the country of destination (11 interviewees). While neoclassical theories consider the immigration of the high skilled labour through the lens of economic conditions,

that they would look for better wages than what is available in their original country, or would flee due to unemployment during an economic crisis; our interviewees state that it is sufficient for them to be able to make a living by having a paid job (11 interviewees) in the target countries. Their motive is not to ameliorate their financial condition, but to sustain themselves (Table 10).

> P12: Job is important. I want to find a job and I want it to be a decent one. I want something in line with the one I already do now. ...

> P19: To be honest, I did not research the wage levels. But it was stated in everything I read that if you were a physician you would not have financial troubles. That information was sufficient for me. I don't want to have financial troubles, apart from that I didn't research the wage levels. My Swedish tutor is also Turkish. He/She told me that do not go to Sweden to be rich. You cannot get rich here you can get richer in Turkey. However, he also said that I would not have a money shortage. What matters most for me is the living conditions. And the most important thing and my biggest motivation is to do my ideal job which is being a doctor there and being able to effectively work. You can never be sure about that but it seemed more possible. I understood it when I went there, that place was more suitable to practice medicine the way I had in my mind.

3.6.2.3 Improvement in Living Conditions

They would like to live in a civilized society (20 interviewees), where people respect each others' rights and enjoy access to resources for educational and intellectual development. They also would like to improve their quality of life (12 interviewees), by having time left from work and easy access to recreational and cultural activities (Table 10).

> G2: I can say two things, work-life balance and humanitarian development index. Apart from that rent expenses or average pay were not my priorities. These are important criteria but I don't think happiness is based on these. That is why I paid more attention to the people around me and the balance of my life. Because I am a relaxed person, I mean I do sports, I listen to music, I read, I spare my time for myself. The time I spared for myself was frequently interrupted in Turkey. There was always something back in my mind and getting out of that pressure felt really well.

3.6.2.4 Public Services and Future Generations

The public services available in the target country (11 interviewees), that the quality, and standards of provision as well as the financing sources (private vs public) of educational, health care and public transportation services in the target country is also an important factor of attraction for the interviewees. They also look for opportunities for future generations (7 interviewees), the extent to which the target countries provide equitable and accessible services and opportunities for the emigrants' existing or prospective descendants while exercising their basic rights and liberties (Table 10).

> G6: First of all, I was expecting respect for the individuals. I was looking for countries where respect for individuals is a matter of priority. Besides, I wanted to provide a good education for our child. These two factors were the most important for us. As England provided free education, it became an important factor in our decision-making process. The child can receive education until university which is free of charge, and the education is also qualified. It is also obvious that many people from different countries can live happily in England. Is there no problem here? Of course there are. There are 70 million people here and it has its own problems such as burglary and other problems. But in general, people are happy that is what I can say. When you hop on to public transport, people welcome you with a smile. When you are shopping in a supermarket, people say welcome and goodbye with a warm smile. These things can seem minor but to me, this is the fundamental acts leading to whole life.

> G11: The education level that we could provide for our child was the most important factor for us to decide. People who grow up here can get scientific and logical education. I could have moved to Dubai but the education there was not scientific, I mean you have to send your child to private schools like in Turkey. Schools in Japan, New Zealand, England and Germany have more scientific education systems compared to the one in Turkey. The chance for kids to achieve something is higher. The life perspective of the children is very different. The life perspectives of people living here are quite different from ours. That is what we cared about the most. How could we provide a bright future for our child? Life here is safe. Despite the fact that discrimination against foreigners is on the rise due to the increase in right-wing politics everywhere, so every country has some issues, but here children don't go to schools with guns like in the United States. I mean we considered these issues the most. Our prospect was based on our children, instead of us. The places where our child would have a secure future and receive a good education.

> P2: Let me say the education, health and social rights my children are going to receive. Frankly speaking, I don't want to send my children to private schools in any part of the world. Or I don't want to live in a place where I would be obliged to pay

for private health insurance. I would like to be in a place where I would have the standard social rights as everyone. As long as I could achieve this both in terms of pay and social status, I would go to any place indeed. I mean I prioritize Europe because I have a perception that they are better at these issues than us.

3.6.2.5 Impact of the Economic Conditions

The interviewees focus on political, working and living conditions, listed in the order of importance. The majority of them underline that they do not consider emigration to improve their present economic conditions.

> P11: I no longer raise the bar to find a white-collar job, and have a stable income and insurance. It is I believe that every second I spend in this country is harmful to my life. The daily routine I have to keep in this country to make a little money costs me a lot already. I mean there are the psychological fatigue, social anxiety and insecurity I feel when I go out, etc. That is why I am now looking for a visa-free country. I am not looking for a job now. I am thinking that I should go somewhere first and ease my mind to think about what to do. What do I want? What kind of job am I looking for? What will make me happy and can I do it there? I am thinking these kinds of things and reach conclusion with trial and error. Being able to earn an income is surely important but I do not have a concern about starting to work right away.

The interviewees rarely speak of economic conditions (6 interviewees, 6 times) as factors of attraction. For those interviewees, economic conditions are not their single or major concern but accompany their considerations about the political, working or living conditions in the target country.

> G13: First of all, the welfare level of the country was very important. Beyond that, the level of development of human rights, the importance of the individual, equality of the individuals and the working conditions in that country, and alike, were the general reasons.

> G20: The feature of the two countries we considered was "the level of development". The definition of this is the advancement of democracy; comfort and the welfare level of the people living there. It is hard to tell something apart from that. Besides, I do not know a third country where a skilled migration visa is available rather than Australia and Canada. Therefore, these two countries are the only ones where I could consider living in without finding a job. We did not have many chances.

P5: First of all the profile of the people is important I guess. I thought that things go as planned there. Here everything is unplanned and inefficient. Especially the comfort people living in there had… Simply, I don't want to worry about going out at night time, here we are thinking about it. And of course the working conditions. In here we are both working hard and getting slammed. This can also happen there but at least your money will be valuable, it will not be in a ratio of 1 to 5. At least I would not worry about going on a holiday. I thought I would be more comfortable in terms of money…

3.6.2.6 Overview of the Conditions of Attraction

Political conditions stand out with the highest number of repeated factors. They are mentioned by 31 interviewees and 74 times. Working conditions follow, mentioned by 28 interviewees and 51 times. Living conditions are mentioned by 29 interviewees and 38 times and economic conditions are mentioned by 6 people and only 6 times (Table 10).

3.6.2.6.1 Political Conditions

Planner interviewees mentioned more factors that refer to the political conditions (47 times) than the emigrated interviewees (27 times); especially about the protection of basic rights and liberties (Table 10).

In addition to the aforementioned political factors, the protection of basic rights and liberties, public services and opportunities for future generations; the interviewees also mentioned secular culture (4 interviewees); that they would like to live in a society, where the religion or religious values shared by certain sections of the society do not restrict constrain liberties of others; and good governance (3 interviewees), that they look for bureaucracies and the governments to be impartial and uncorrupt (Table 10).

3.6.2.6.2 Working Conditions

Apart from the aforementioned factors, the possibilities of skill transfer and the ability to make a living, some of the interviewees are attracted to the protection of labour rights (8 interviewees), the existence of decent working conditions where the labour is given its due share of recognition, remuneration, and respect. Some of them look for professional work practices (5 interviewees), where the organization of work processes are planned, efficient, effective and especially not arbitrary (Table 10).

One interviewee noted that s/he looked for countries where everyone had a high income level, and also the rate of unemployment was low; which factors indicate the expectation of social justice.

Only one interviewee mentioned that s/he considers the possibility of higher earnings abroad, yet noted that this criterion is only valid for the Gulf region.

3.6.2.6.3 Living Conditions

Related to the living conditions, the emphasis of the interviewees is on the extent of civilization and the quality of life considerations in the target country. Yet, few interviewees also mentioned cultural proximity as an attraction for the Mediterranean countries (2 interviewees), and preference for the EU member countries (1 interviewee) (Table 10).

3.6.2.6.4 Economic Conditions

6 interviewees referred to the economic conditions, in addition to their considerations about the political, working or living conditions in the target country (Table 10).

3 emigrant interviewees noted that they looked for good economic prospects for the target country, in addition to a good humanity development level. They look for the target country to have both economic security and stability; and also a good humanity development index. 3 planner interviewees consider the purchasing power parity of the target country's

currency, and that the extent and range of goods and services that they achieve would increase in the target countries (Table 10).

Table 10 - Attracting Factors in the Destination Countries

Attracting Factors in the Destination Countries	Total Frequency	Planners Frequency	Emigrants Frequency	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Political Conditions	**74**	**47**	**27**	**31**	**18**	**13**
Protection of Basic Rights and Liberties	47	28	19	25	16	9
Freedom of Choice	17	11	6	17	11	6
Equal Opportunity	14	9	5	13	8	5
Approach to Immigrants, Inclusive Societies	13	8	5	13	8	5
Equal Opportunity for Employment	1	1	0	1	1	0
Freedom from Violence	8	4	4	8	4	4
Gender Equality	6	3	3	6	3	3
Freedom of Expression / Speech	2	1	1	2	1	1
Social Services	11	6	5	11	6	5
Opportunities for Future Generations	7	4	3	7	4	3
Secular Culture	4	3	1	4	3	1
Good Governance	3	2	1	3	2	1
Working Conditions	**54**	**25**	**29**	**28**	**16**	**12**
Possibilities for Skill Transfer	25	11	14	20	10	10
Professional Skills Transfer	14	5	9	14	5	9
Language Skills Transfer	11	6	5	11	6	5

Table 10 – Cont'd

Attracting Factors in the Destination Countries	Total Frequency	Planners Frequency	Emigrants Frequency	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Ability to Make a Living	11	4	7	11	4	7
Protection of Labour Rights	8	3	5	8	3	5
Professional Work Practices	5	3	2	5	3	2
Higher Wages for Oneself	1	1	0	1	1	0
Higher Wages for Everyone	1	0	1	1	0	1
Living Conditions	**38**	**16**	**22**	**30**	**14**	**16**
Improvement in the Quality of Life	33	16	17	29	14	15
Extent of Civilization	24	10	14	24	10	14
Availability and accessibility of recreational and cultural activities	9	6	3	9	6	3
Cultural Proximity – Mediterranean	2	0	2	2	0	2
EU member country	1	0	1	1	0	1
Economic Conditions	**6**	**3**	**3**	**6**	**3**	**3**
Good Economic Prospects for the Country of Destination	3	0	3	3	0	3
Purchasing Power Parity of the Target Country's Currency	3	3	0	3	3	0

3.6.3 Reasons of Emigration

Protection of basic rights and liberties is not only the most important factor of attraction to destination countries, but the lack of it is also the most important factor making the interviewees consider emigrating from Turkey. More than half of the interviewees complain

about the lack of protection of basic rights and liberties. They are especially concerned about physical security, that they do not feel they are adequately guarded against any kind of attack and are concerned about the safety of their lives. Several forms of political violence, such as the explosions with many death tolls, violence during the attempted coup d'etat and the Gezi Events are frequently mentioned, as well as the physical violence they come across in daily life. Lack of protection of labour rights, the extent to which the labour is treated fairly, in terms of pay, recognition, and remuneration is mentioned by a quarter of the interviewees as a factor to consider emigration. They are especially disturbed by the lack of respect for labour and complain that their labour is not recognized by their employers. Moreover, they do not have a work-life balance to enjoy outside their work routine, either. Government effectiveness is another important factor leading the interviewees to consider emigration; according to them, the state institutions do not perform their main duties properly while ensuring accountability, transparency and impartiality in their operations. They do not think that the social functions provided by the state are of an acceptable standard; and education services stand out as the most emphasized function causing concern, especially for their existing or prospective children.

3.6.3.1 Lack of Protection of Basic Rights and Liberties

The most important factor making the interviewees consider emigrating from Turkey is their conception of the lack of protection of their basic rights and liberties (25 interviewees, 51 times). In specific, they refer to the lack of their right to physical security, freedom of choice, gender equality, the rule of law, freedom of speech and minority rights (Table 11).

Interviewees are especially concerned about their right to physical security (18 interviewees, 25 times), the right to maintain their possessions and be adequately guarded against any kind of attack and the right to survive. They expressed their fear of being subject to several forms of violence (18 interviewees, 24 times); some of them even state that they think that their freedom of life is endangered in Turkey. They spoke of political and physical violence, and also sexual harassment. Political violence (14 interviewees) is very frequently mentioned, that they do not feel safe about their right to maintain physical, emotional and financial security and integrity during changes in political power and struggles; referring to

the police violence during Gezi Events, explosions with many death tolls, and several forms of violence both during and after the attempted coup d'etat. The risk of being subject to physical violence in daily life (8 interviewees) and sexual harassment (2 interviewees) also make them consider another country to live in (Table 11).

> G2: You know in 2016, a coup attempt is experienced in Turkey. I was working at that time. Then, I was thinking that the current political situation in our country would cause rising repression. I was thinking that after the coup attempt, there would be a civilian coup and I was not wrong. We are still in a state of emergency, right? The political situation was one of the reasons for me. 2016 was an extraordinary year. We also experienced big terrorist attacks. Not only the coup but attacks happened almost once every two weeks. I suppose 25 attacks occurred in 52 weeks, am I right? Once I decided to count each attack in every province one by one. . And it was almost once every two weeks. This was an important factor for me. We are already working too hard. We are not making enough money. When we go abroad, we spend almost everything. And also terror attacks were concerning me. I was fed up with the same news every day. These two issues were my reasons.

> G3: First of all I did not feel safe, especially as a woman. Secondly, I realized that I did not have financial safety, and realized that my ownings could be expropriated from me at any time. This caused anxiety. However, in other countries, working people are always secure about their future. The right one deserved cannot be revoked. This factor has changed in Turkey. This was an important reason for me. I witnessed that some people were fired due to their political views, and they also lost their social security possessions. This situation evolved into something bigger. Decree-laws were used for different purposes. At first, people were just jailed. It started with people being arrested based on political views… and this caused anxiety.

> P11: …I moved my house to an area in the middle of embassies, doesn't it make sense? Sure it is arguable…. July 15th was quite striking for a lot of people. For me, it was long before that day, how many bombs exploded? I was in the middle of all. I survived the attacks by 5 minutes or 10 minutes. I was near those areas affected. Those who lost their lives or who got injured were just like me. I was lucky and they were not. I lost my feeling of security after July 15. Actually, it was long gone from us. The explosion near the train station was alone a breaking point for me.

The lack of freedom of choice (7 interviewees), that the lack of freedom from any form of suppression or interference so that the individuals are free to make their decisions according to their preferences, ideas and identities; and the lack of freedom of expression (4 interviewees), the extent to which people feel free to express their opinions to each other, are push factors, especially for the planner interviewees. Gender inequality (7 interviewees), the equality between women and men, both in terms of recognition and also the extent to which women feel independent enough to go out alone at night, and wear what they like

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without having to consider others' opinions and actions; the lack of rule of law (5 interviewees), especially the lack of independence or effectiveness of the judiciary, and the lack of the protection of minority rights (3 interviewees), the extent to which individuals who are members of a different race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, etc. are treated equally, are also the breaches of rights the interviewees brought up (Table 11).

> P14: ...Freedom looks like the first thing to think about but actually it was not the main case for me. For me, it was very concerning to see that the law did not exist anymore. My property and my life matter just like my parents. Even though we say we don't care about our possessions, we actually spent a whole life on these possessions in order to secure our future. Therefore not having security about my life and my property due to loss of law is one of the reasons. One other factor is the quality of education our child would receive. It is possible that our child will have an education even worse than ours. In order to give our child the education we received, we will have to spend a lot of money which will potentially decrease our living standards here. Another reason, lack of political stability also affects the economy. We are aware of it. Indeed we lost our hope, that is the main reason. The deterioration of rule of law, education, and basic rights destroyed our hopes for future.

> G18: It is that society is very polarized now. It is about the raised tension in the politics in this country. I am Alevi but I do not define myself as a religious person. But this is how people label you. You are defined by it. During the period that we had terrorist attacks, I was afraid that they will attack us just because I am Alevi. They will come to this house and do harm to us. I had anxiety about going outside that it was dangerous for me, I was very concerned that would understand that I am Alevi and attack me. I guess it is created by the current tension in politics. I think this is a reflection.

> P18: For example, when I was living in Italy, I was able to go out around 11 pm and do walking. My sole purpose was to do a walk and get fresh air. It has been 3 years since I came back. Since then, I have never gone out here at night time. This is what I want to say about freedom. There is freedom of expression, there is freedom of the press, these are different terms but what I say is that I simply do not even have the freedom to walk alone at night times. I fear that if I go to the Ulus neighbourhood with a short and an anklet, someone will disturb me or even attack me just for this. I am afraid of my own safety. I do not know if this insecurity is caused by the current political atmosphere or something relevant to our culture. I am not sure about that.

3.6.3.2 Lack of Protection of Labour Rights and Work-Life Balance

The interviewees are also discontent about the lack of protection of their labour rights in Turkey (12 interviewees, 23 times), the extent to which the labour is treated fairly, in terms

of pay, recognition and remuneration. They underline the lack of respect for labour (8 interviewees), that their labour is not recognized by their employers. They also complained about inadequate work (5 interviewees), noncompliance with the number of hours and the functions described in the job description or lack of a proper job description; lack of meritocratic appointment and promotion rules (5 interviewees), a predetermined schedule of promotional advancement; inadequate pay (4 interviewees), noncompliance with the job and the wage level; and the lack of a decent work environment, the inadequate physical conditions in the work environment (1 interviewee) (Table 11).

> P12: There is a big uncertainty in our future. This is scary. I was unemployed for 9 months. It is not that I was picky on jobs, I just couldn't find a job. I do not know what I would have been doing If my company did not call me back for work. What is annoying is that you have to be accepting to work as a slave in order not to be unemployed. For example, I was having interviews for jobs both in Turkey and the Netherlands. In interviews with the Netherlands, they thank me many times for choosing them. In Turkey, HR officers are arrogant. They behave like they are doing a favor to you just by inviting you to an interview despite having high-level references from even the companies themselves. This is the reason, that working conditions are almost like slavery. And you do not know what is expecting you in the future. You don't know whether the money will protect you or not.

> P19: Being unable to execute my profession as I want to. There are many things that I do not find appropriate here. There is this idea here that things will get better in time. Yes, there is an improvement in the working conditions of the physicians. When you become an assistant you are not as a slave as you were as an intern. We slept in very bad places. Even animals would not stay there. You work 48 hours and you do not get paid. You do not realize how bad your conditions are, and what kind of a living condition it is... In fact, the working conditions for interns and assistants are the same. The only difference is that you get paid when you become an assistant, but still it is a little amount. Professors take you as a slave. They want you to carry their belongings, they want you to babysit their patients' many ridiculous requests like this. Then I became an attending. They said things will get better. Yes, it did indeed. My income improved, and duty hours were better, but the working conditions never got better to a level that I desired. That is to say, occupational factors are very important. I started to be even more disturbed over the time, as a woman as well. Especially in Konya I had troubles. But it is pretty similar in all parts of Turkey. Being a woman is a difficulty here. You feel it. It became evident in time. At first, this was not one of my concerns but it is now. I got married but I do not want a child right now. It is very hard to have one in this country. I don't want my child to be grown up in here. I think that if I ever will have a child it should not be here. My child should not bear these conditions. I remember my childhood. During the time I was preparing for the graduate school exams, I was in depression and I got sick. Those were terrible times. I was a hardworking student. I had the first place in high school. I was able to attend Faculty of Medicine of Hacettepe University even

when I was in second grade in high school. But then I became sick in exam period I couldn't make it. I attended Ankara University. I don't want my kid to go through the same things. I don't want my child to have stress. Stress is everywhere; it is in traffic, it is everywhere, it is a part of our life.

Moreover, they do not have work-life balance to enjoy outside their work routine, neither (9 interviewees). Loss of Work-Life Balance is disturbing for some of the interviewees, that the interviewees have long working hours and do not have adequate resources to regenerate and recreate themselves (Table 11).

G1: In Turkey, working conditions are over-demanding both in my working place and in others. There are many things such as working hours, leaves, attitudes of managers; these are really bad in here. My friends working abroad are content especially about their working conditions. They say they have good relations and working hours are just fine, taking leaves is not an issue. These are the issues that concerned me.

3.6.3.3 Problems with Government Effectiveness

Another political factor that stands out is the Lack of Goverment Effectiveness (15 interviewees, 18 times), that the state institutions are not believed to perform their main duties properly. I have considered the issues related to the service capacity (12 interviewees, 14 times), and the regulatory capacity (4 interviewees) , under the factor of government effectiveness. Many of the interviewees do not trust the service capacity of the state, the extent to which main social functions provided by the state are of an acceptable standard to those who are interviewed. Whilst education (9 interviewees), health (3 interviewees) and public transportation (2 interviewees) services are mentioned, the quality and content of the education services is the most important pushing factor for the interviewees (Table 11).

Some of the interviewees complained about the regulatory capacity, the extent to which state institutions fulfill their functions respecting the rule of law, ensuring accountability, transparency and impartiality in its operations (Table 11).

P13: If we are going to have a child in the future, he/she wouldn't have a good education like we did have. We were lucky, you and I, received good education from public school but our children do not have that chance. They will have to go to private schools, it not, it is not likely that they will receive a good education. Or I

may have to send them to schools abroad. These factors affect my planning of future.

3.6.3.4 Social Intolerance and Division

There are interviewees who reflected their fear about the rising levels of Religious Conservatism (9 interviewees), that the religious doctrine would be imposed on their own lifestyles and affect their jobs. There are also some interviewees who do not feel comfortable in Turkey due to the increased polarization (9 interviewees) and politicization (9 interviewees) of the society. They think that there is a growing division within the society about the basic values guiding the conduct of daily life and distribution of resources. They think that the distribution of resources is especially affected by the growing influence of partisanship in the conduct of daily and public life (Table 11).

M: What were the factors that made you feel like settling in another country?

G12: I guess lack of hope and uncertainty about the future. I mean would I be able to build a life in Turkey, do I have a future. From my perspective, I didn't ever want to end up like the people who had advanced in their careers. I didn't envy having an office and projects such and such. The quality of the projects in my field deteriorated. The people you work with, the projects, there are a lot of things out of your control and you feel that the current politics affect your professional life as well. That really bothered me.

M: What kind of matters in your work place caused you to lose your hope?

G12: I mean the quality of the work was really bad. All are the same projects. I am one of the lucky ones working in a better office compared to others, people around me from METU, etc. The thing is that portfolio of rich customer changed dramatically. The new rich customer were from a certain group. Those people made extreme promises to other "certain" people in order to ingratiate themselves. As an architect you don't know how to respond to the expectations of these people. They started to request absurd things in terms of work. For example in the last project I worked for, we made a sale office. You know these big housing projects. In order to sell it you create a sale office where you can show the customer the project and the details. In this project they asked us to build a prayer room inside this small sale office. We did it. Then they said it is too small. We made it bigger. Then it got bigger. In the end half of the office area was a praying room. Then they said this praying is far behind and we must do it more visible. This is just an example that I am telling. Then we put the praying room in front and the sale office was simply designed around the praying room. This is just an example. If it is requested by the customer you do it. This is normal. But when your work is changed constantly by some certain

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people according to some certain concerns, it really bothers you. You find yourself doing something that you do not desire. In the end I am only an employee. The managers are dealing with far worse situations. So I couldn't set professional ideals here. I couldn't even dream about my profession and future.

3.6.3.5 Concerns about the Future Generations

Some of the interviewees are considerate about the welfare of their existing or prospective children (8 interviewees). They do not think that the next generations will be able to have equitable and accessible services of an acceptable standard; nor will they be able to exercise their basic rights and liberties in Turkey (Table 11).

P9: The reasons are numberless. But in general the political atmosphere. Political atmosphere affects the society, culture, everything. The past of Turkey is not really bright in terms of political atmosphere. For nearly a century, we are constantly killing each other; there is nothing else that we do. Everyone wants to shape society according to his or her desires. For the last 15-16 years this situation has worsened. That is why I feel anxiety about the future. I have concerns due to political rivalry and situations around the region, the effects of the relationships between the neighbor countries. The future of the country is seriously uncertain. You never know whether there will be a war or not. Maybe there will be a civil war or a reverse revolution just like it happened in Iran. There is always a financial crisis once every five years, always a fear of unemployment. I am not concerned about myself but I have a child. I don't want my child to go through these challenges. I want my child to have a secure future and I am trying to provide my child an environment where he/she can build a secure future.

3.6.3.6 Powerlessness and Alienation

Some of them feel ineffective and powerless (8 interviewees) in the daily course of their lives, they feel helpless for not being able to change, affect or control the uncomfortable situations they happen to be in. Some of them feel alienated from the society (8 interviewees), they have a growing sense of non-belongingness to the values, rituals, ways of life in the society in which they live in (Table 11).

P12: ...You wouldn't be able to say a word even if one day you wake up and see that they had changed the entire world....

P16: ...The main reason is that I am not able to fight against struggles in here in my current condition...

P21: I feel that my personal space is getting smaller in Turkey. In the past, I did not care about the politicians or governments that rule the country. I didn't care about the political economy, the elected person could apply the politics he wanted to and it wouldn't matter to me. But my daily life became much more limited. There are now fewer places where I can go. I feel I am stuck in a tiny place. My daily life activities have decreased. The things I could be able to talk about… That is what forced me out of Turkey. I think now that I have been working in the same place for years. I am living in the same house in the same neighborhood and there are cafes that I visit all the time. It seems good. I can live in my comfort zone but it is getting smaller every day. My partner is also fine with this situation but I feel that I am not able to do the things I want to. I started to question this. Why am I pressuring myself, why cannot I do the things I wanted to, why am I forced to live in this small circle? This question bothers me a lot.

G22: The fact that central government goes out to say "I decide and do" to do anything is bothering me. I guess it was in 2011, there was a referendum and the separation of powers became damaged. It got even worse since then. We are now ruled by a single person. And there is no supervision on many things. The independence of the judiciary has also got damage. We cannot see any form of accountability right now. Someone can get away with anything that they do wrong. You can govern a big country just by a hatred discourse. This is scary indeed. The last factor is that people started to depart from the reality. The reality is now quite delusional and has nothing to do with the outer world. The most important for the current situation is the policy of the government and their heroic expressions. The number of people who you can reasonably speak to is decreasing in Turkey. Such a society has little chance to connect with science and culture. You cannot reach to anyone now. There are many obstacles between people now and most of them are mental obstacles. They are imprisoned mentally and they cannot relate with the reality. You cannot say a word and when you speak about the real things no one really hear you. Saying this alone can be considered as an act of terror. This is really scary. A society disconnected from the reality.

3.6.3.7 Overview of the Conditions and the Other Factors

Political conditions (37 interviewees, 136 times) and the working conditions (19 interviewees, 42 times) constitute the majority of the reasons for emigration (Table 11).

Responses to this question reveal that one's immigration calculus is affected by several conditions, instead of a single set of factors. Most of the interviwees mentioned more than one condition (19 emigrant, 12 planner interviewees), referring to distinctive factors that

are conceptually related to different conditions. For instance, an interviewee who is disturbed by the lack of protection of labour rights, also mentiones about the quality of education services and the welfare of their future generations; reflecting that he considered both working and political condition in his immigration calculus. On the other hand, 11 interviewees mentioned solely the political conditions as reasons to emigrate; while 2 interviewees mentioned solely living conditions, and 1 each interviewee mentioned only the working and economic conditions.

3.6.7.2.1 Political Condititons

It turns out that interviewees are concerned with the political conditions in Turkey, so much that 37 of 44 interviewees mentioned at least one political factor among their reasons of emigration. In total, the interviewees mentioned several political factors 136 times. This is striking because the next highest set of conditions mentioned are working conditions, which are mentioned by 19 interviewees and only 42 times. Moreover, a quarter of the interviewees mentioned solely the political conditions as their reasons to emigrate.

In addition to the aforementioned political factors, some of the interviewees state that they lost hope from a future in Turkey (6 interviewees), that their expectations for a happy, safe and successful future in Turkey declined. Political instabilities and uncertainties, both the imbalance in the conduct of the government and public policies, and also the unforeseeability of the acts of the government are a push factor for few of them (4 interviewees). Centralization of the political power, that the growing concentration of executive, legislative and judiciary powers in a single organ, is voiced as a push factor for by 3 interviewees. Social injustice, the existance and growth of inequalities in society; and also the obligatory military service are uttered by 1 interviewees, each.

> P7: Political repression and uncertainty. These are most important factors for me. I do not follow news channels anymore. I am trying not to follow current affairs and trying to focus on my own life. In fact, this is a sort of escape because we can no longer afford caring about these. I am doing this as I believe we are not in a place to change what is going on in political life and also in international relations with different countries. But these things have effect on our lives. I try to avoid from this. In society, there is reactionary rising. It has impact in all parts of your life. One man

decides everything on your behalf. This seems a dictatorship actually. Indeed, we can see that individual rights and social rights are now in danger and they are not fully implemented. This is one of the main reasons.

G10: If I have to express it with one sentence it would be that I lost my hope about our country. Besides, polarization in the country bothered me a lot. I spent 2.5 years in Istanbul and I fed up with seeing upset people everywhere. I was thinking that one half of the country hated the other half. But I did not hate anyone. I was saying to myself that I had no problem with them. One day, I was using the Subway and it was full of people coming from AKP rally. I realized that I hate people. I felt terrible. Why did I feel that way? It was very crowded and people were wearing hats and scarves of the party. I did not belong to that place. The places I felt I belonged were METU campus or my neighborhood. When I went to Kızılay I felt uncomfortable especially recently. Of course the recent terror attacks affected my feelings. I moved to Istanbul in September 2015. If I had stayed in Ankara, I would be affected by the terrorist attack happened in front of train station in Ankara. I moved to Istanbul and I got depression. Then similar attacks happened in Istanbul. Now I feel more comfortable here. I know that such things would not happen here. It may happen actually but I am not nervous about it.

3.6.7.2.2 Working Conditions

Working conditions are expressed by 19 interviewees as reasons to emigrate, and the factors related to the working conditions are mentioned by 42 times. Only 1 interviewee mentioned solely working conditions as reason to emigrate (Table 11).

In addition to previously mentioned factors, few interviewees mentioned their wage level considerations (3), that the availability of better wages for the same job abroad is making them consider emigrating from Turkey (Table 11).

P13: One thing to start is that a person with my qualifications makes more money than in Turkey. Consultancy business in Turkey requires longer working hours. That includes weekends and night times. This is less in Europe. But in US it is even more. Europe has a better level of living standards. I believe that I can have a more balanced life in there. These are the two reasons that push me out. Another factor was political situation. Currently we are not in a bad position but when I think about the future, I believe Turkey is missing a big opportunity over the last ten years. I believe this would have bad repercussions in the future.

M: What sort of opportunities?

> P13: The thing is that we are not really producing anything especially in technological fields. Surely there are still some opportunities but the quality of education is worsening. If we decide to have kids in the future, they will not have a good education. We had good education from public schools but they may not have such an opportunity. They will have to go to private schools, otherwise qualified education is very hard to provide. Or I will have to send them to a school in another country. These factors affect my planning of future.

3.6.7.2.3 Living Conditions

Living conditions are mentioned by 19 interviewees, 27 times. Only 2 interviewees mentioned solely living conditions as reasons to emigrate (Table 11).

Lack of opportunities for self-development (6 interviewees), the unavailability of an educational and/or intellectual environment for oneself, is a push factor for some of the interviewees. There are three issues that only emigrant interviewees mentioned: Stresful Life in İstanbul (5 interviewees), time spent in traffic (4 interviewees), and aggressiveness and intolerance of the society in daily life (4 interviewees). This may be explained in two ways. First, the emigrant interviewees may have realized those factors once these circumstances are no longer in their daily lives; second, the planner interviewees got used to living in these circumstances and do not realize that these factors contribute to their emigration plans (Table 11).

> G9: I am working so hard to live the life I want. I mean what I want is not a luxury life. I want to bike to my work place and have chance to do yoga. I want to have easy transportation and cheaper services. I work in an art gallery and I do not have enough income to provide for yoga and transportation. I want a fresher air and live in a place near the coastline. I want to live in a place within the nature. This is the life I want to have and I do not have access to such a life in Turkey, in Istanbul.

3.6.7.2.4 Economic Conditions

Economic conditions are reflected as economic insecurity and instability; they are mentioned by 15 interviewees, 28 times. Only 1 interviewee mentioned solely economic conditions as reason to emigrate (Table 11).

Some facets of economic insecurity and instability are mentioned, "economic uncertainties" standing out the most (6 interviewees). The interviewees find the sustainability and the continuity of the economic policies unpredictable, and have considerations about their consequences for working conditions and employment. Other than that, devaluation of Turkish currency (4 interviewees), declining purchasing power of Turkish currency (4 interviewees), fear of unemployment (4 interviewees), possibility of an economic crisis (3 interviewees), fear of possible future sustainable wage (3 interviewees), restriction of developmental prospects of Turkey (2), and the very high number of taxes and channels of payments (2 interviewees) are also mentioned (Table 11).

> G6: Tax system. There is tax in our country just like any other country. In some places the rates are even higher than Turkey. But in these countries the tax you pay is returning to you as advanced public services. I can see that. For example, you buy a car and you pay a tax for only once, that is it. In Turkey, when you buy a car you pay a lot of taxes and that is more than what manufacturer or trader of this car make. I feel I am fooled by tax in here. This is also same with the fuel prices.

> G17: You do not know what will happen in this country. I am concerned about my future to be honest. I don't know what will happen to me that is why I try to settle in a place where I can earn my living. There is a saying "settle in the place where you earn your bread", it is like this for me.

Table 11 - Intervieewes' Reasons of Migration

Intervieewes' Reasons of Migration	Total Frequency	Planners Frequency	Emigrants Frequency	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Political Conditions	**136**	**75**	**61**	**37**	**18**	**19**
Protection of Basic Rights and Liberties	51	27	24	25	14	11
Right to Physical Security	25	11	14	18	7	11
Freedom from Violence	24	10	14	18	7	11
Freedom from Political Violence	14	5	9	14	5	9

Table 11 – Cont'd

Intervieewes' Reasons of Migration				Total Frequency	Planners Frequency	Emigrants Frequency	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
			Freedom from Physical Violence	8	4	4	8	4	4
			Freedom from Sexual Harrassment	2	1	1	2	1	1
		Freedom of Private Property		1	1	0	1	1	0
		Lack of Freedom of Choice		7	6	1	7	6	1
		Gender Inequality		7	3	4	7	3	4
		Lack of Rule of Law		5	3	2	5	3	2
		Freedom of Expression / Speech		4	4	0	4	4	0
		Lack of Protection of Minority Rights		3	0	3	3	0	3
	Government Effectiveness			18	11	7	15	9	6
		Service Capacity		14	8	6	12	7	5
			Education	9	7	2	9	7	2
			Health	3	1	2	3	1	2
			Public Transportation	2	0	2	2	0	2
		Regulatory Capacity		4	3	1	4	3	1
	Fear About the Rising Levels of Islamic Conservatism			9	6	3	9	6	3
	Polarization			9	4	5	9	4	5
	Politicization			9	6	3	9	6	3
	Welfare of Future Generations			8	6	2	8	6	2
	Feelings of Ineffectiveness / Powerlessness			9	3	6	9	3	6
	Alienation			8	4	4	8	4	4
	Loss of Hope			6	1	5	6	1	5

Table 11 – Cont'd

Intervieewes' Reasons of Migration	Total Frequency	Planners Frequency	Emigrants Frequency	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Political Instability & Uncertainty	4	4	0	4	4	0
Centralization of Political Power	3	2	1	3	2	1
Social Injustice	1	1	0	1	1	0
Military Obligation	1	0	1	1	0	1
Working Conditions	**42**	**20**	**22**	**19**	**8**	**11**
Protection of Labour Rights	23	12	11	12	5	7
Lack of Respect for Labour	8	5	3	8	5	3
Inadequate Work	5	1	4	5	1	4
Lack of Meritocratic Appointment and Promotion Rules	5	3	2	5	3	2
Inadequate Pay	4	2	2	4	2	2
Lack of a Decent Work Environment	1	1	0	1	1	0
Loss of Work/Life Balance	9	3	6	9	3	6
Wage Level Considerations	3	1	2	3	1	2
Unproductive / Ineffective work organization	3	2	1	3	2	1
Skills Mismatch	3	1	2	3	1	2
Living Conditions	**27**	**7**	**20**	**19**	**7**	**12**
Lack of Opportunities for Self-Development	6	4	2	6	4	2
Life in İstanbul	5	0	5	5	0	5
Access Problems to Recreational Activities	4	2	2	4	2	2
Lack of a Rule Bound Society	4	1	3	4	1	3
Traffic	4	0	4	4	0	4
Aggressiveness - Intolerance of the Society	4	0	4	4	0	4

Table 11 – Cont'd

Intervieewes' Reasons of Migration	Total Frequency	Planners Frequency	Emigrants Frequency	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Economic Conditions	**28**	**14**	**14**	**15**	**6**	**9**
Economic Uncertainties	6	2	4	6	2	4
Devaluation of Turkish Currency	4	2	2	4	2	2
Fear of Unemployment	4	2	2	4	2	2
Declining Purchasing Power of Turkish Currency	4	3	1	4	3	1
Possibility of an Economic Crisis	3	2	1	3	2	1
Fear of Possible Future Sustainable Wage	3	1	2	3	1	2
Restriction of Developmental Prospects for the Country of Origin	2	2	0	2	2	0
Taxes	2	0	2	2	0	2

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL REASONS OF EMIGRATION

While planning for the interview questions, a final open-ended question is prepared to ask for the political reasons of emigration of the interviewees. This question is aimed to make sure that all the interviewees could openly express their political reasons of emigration, if there were any. 37 over 44 interviewees mentioned at least one political condition as a reason to migrate.

The seventh question was an open-ended question, whereas the questions from eighth to seventeenth were structured questions and probed on the civil and political rights and liberties including the rule of law; political stability and political representation; government effectiveness and regulatory quality to understand the interviewees perceptions on the liberal democracy practices in Turkey.

With the open-ended and structured questions, we aimed to triangulate the interviewees definition of political and conomic conditions with ours. In the event, our respondents emphasized similar factors in both questions. As a result, in presenting our analysis, in order to avoid duplication, we have merged the responses provided to these questions and this generated a more manageble presentation.

Almost all of the interviewees were affected by the political factors in immigration calculus (43 over 44 interviewees). The interviewees do not feel secure about a future in Turkey. They feel threatened by the breaches of basic rights and liberties. They are very concerned with many forms of violence they come across, as well as the lack of rule of law and gender inequality. Considering their next generations, they do not trust in the education system and do fear from the rising levels of religious conservatism (Table 12).

Table 12 - Political Conditions Resulting in the Decision to Migrate

Political Conditions Resulting in the Decision to Migrate			Total Frequency	Planners Frequency	Emigrants Frequency	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Political Conditions			**392**	**184**	**208**	**43**	**21**	**22**
	Protection of Basic Rights and Liberties		**195**	**95**	**100**	**41**	**21**	**20**
		Right to Physical Security	71	33	38	37	17	20
		Freedom from Violence	64	28	36	37	17	20
		Freedom from Physical Violence	27	12	15	27	12	15
		Freedom from Sexual Harrassment	8	2	6	8	2	6
		Freedom from Political Violence	29	14	15	29	14	15
		*Explosions	21	10	11	21	10	11
		*Coup D'etat	9	4	5	9	4	5
		*Gezi Events	7	1	6	7	1	6
		Freedom of Private Property	7	5	2	7	5	2
		Lack of Rule of Law	37	18	19	37	18	19
		Gender Inequality	28	14	14	28	14	14
		Lack of Freedom of Expression / Speech	23	11	12	23	11	12
		Lack of Freedom of Choice	15	10	5	15	10	5
		Lack of Protection of Minority Rights	5	2	3	5	2	3
		Freedom to Organize and Protest	4	2	2	4	2	2
		Freedom of Conscience	4	1	3	4	1	3
		Right to Sexuality	3	1	2	3	1	2
		Freedom of Privacy	2	2	0	2	2	0

Table 12 – Cont'd

Political Conditions Resulting in the Decision to Migrate			Total Frequency	Planners Frequency	Emigrants Frequency	Total Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
		Freedom of Press	2	0	2	2	0	2
		Right to Travel	1	1	0	1	1	0
	Government Effectiveness		54	27	27	37	19	18
		Service Capacity	37	18	19	30	16	14
		Education	22	10	12	22	10	12
		Health	6	5	1	6	5	1
		Public Order	6	3	3	6	3	3
		Public Transportation	3	0	3	3	0	3
		Regulatory Capacity	17	9	8	17	9	8
	Fear About the Rising Levels of Religious Conservatism		32	16	16	32	16	16
	Welfare of Future Generations		16	8	8	16	8	8
	Feelings of Ineffectiveness / Powerlessness		17	5	12	17	5	12
	Political Instability		16	8	8	16	8	8
	Loss of Hope in Future		16	5	11	16	5	11
	Polarization		16	4	12	16	4	12
	Politicization		12	6	6	12	6	6
	Alienation		10	5	5	10	5	5
	Centalization of Political Power		5	3	2	5	3	2
	Military Obligation		2	1	1	2	1	1
	Social Injustice		1	1	0	1	1	0

In the following sections, I present the political factors affecting the immigration calculus of the interviewees.

4.1 Impacts of Political Conditions on Daily Lives

Daily lives of almost all of the interviewees are affected from the political conditions of Turkey (42 interviewees). More than half of them expressed that political conditions negatively affect their psychological well being (26 interviewees). Political conditions of Turkey cause anxiety on many interviewees. Many of the interviewees are in fear from physical violence or are concerned about the safety of their lives. They are distressed with the increasing violence in the society; and, the laws supporting the individual armament make them feel unsafe (42 interviewees). Attempted coup d'etat is a cause of trauma for some of them. More, the politicians praising the violence that occurred during coup d'etat, and the political discourse supporting violence against the opponents are worsening it. They feel anxiety about both their future and also their descendants.

They are uncomfortable with the daily conversations being dominated by the political issues, where they are exposed to the increased polarization in the society. Some of them deliberately keep themselves away from the news in order not to be affected anymore. They do not read the newspapers or watch the news from TV, even unfollow people who share news on Facebook.

Not only the daily lives, but also the working conditions are affected for some of them. They refer to their acquaintances whose appearance has changed for their work in the government, such as having mustache or wearing a headscarf in order to get a promotion.

Some of the interviewees note that they are affected by worsening economic conditions, such as the devaluation of Turkish Lira.

> M: Do you think that the violence has increased in our country?
>
> P1: I believe so. Especially the violence against women is increasing all the time, whilst dispute and brawling never decrease. I frequently use public transportation so I witness that people usually behave disrespectfully to one another. Verbal harassment and lack of comprehension is obvious. I think these are due to the politics of the government, they marginalize people, people become nervous and are divided according to their political perspectives. It is unlikely for people to have inner peace when they follow the politics at the same time. If you watch political news on TV, you get nervous. If you follow economic news you get nervous to find out the situation the country is in. And you reflect your feelings to others. We don't

have a healthy society in this regard. As we don't have inner peace, people are very prone to be violent.

4.2 Breaches of Basic Rights and Liberties

Breaches of Basic Rights and Liberties are the main factors that affect the migration decisions of the interviewees. Sub-factors of the concept, such as right to physical security, rule of law, freedom of choice, etc., are mentioned 195 times during the interviews, by 41 interviewees (41 interviewees, 195 times) (Table 12).

Almost none of the interviewees think that their fundamental rights are secured in Turkey (Table 13).

Table 13 - Perceptions of the Security of the Fundamental Rights

Perceptions of the Security of the Fundamental Rights	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Secure	0	0	0
Partially Secure	2	1	1
Not Secure	42	21	21

Many of the interviewees fear for their physical security, and do not feel safe due to lack of rule of law. They complain about forms of gender inequality and lack of freedom of choice. They feel like a minority group and express that they suffer from the the lack of protection of minority rights.

4.2.1 Physical Insecurity

Almost all of the interviewees worry about their security of life in Turkey (Table 14).

Table 14 - Perceptions of the Security of Life

Perceptions of the Security of Life	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Feeling Secure	3	1	2
Feeling Insecure	40	21	19
Sometimes Feeling Insecure	1	0	1

Many of them state their fear of several forms of violence (37 interviewees, 64 times), be it in terms of political violence (29 interviewees), physical violence (27 interviewees) and sexual harrasment (8 interviewees) (Table 12).

> G4: As a woman, especially women's rights. I do physical exercise a lot and when I am in Turkey, I do not feel safe. It is not about running in areas such as forests, I fear that if something bad happens and I need to take shelter in a police station, I would not feel safe, I would doubt if the police officer would harm me. I do not trust taxi driver as well and I do not feel safe walking in the street. There is a constant threat to one's life. I cannot wear what I want and I do experience unimaginable amount of sexual harassment while running.

> P7: ...I can say that the explosions during the election campaign affected me a lot. Many people lost their life and no one held accountable about this tragedy. I think it is like crashing into a wall. It is a social trauma. The worst thing about it is that you get used to it while living your daily life. I thought that experiencing a different life far from here would be good to recover these pains.

They state that the increased violent behaviour of the society (27 interviewees) is making them feel insecure; that the aggressiveness and intolerance of the individuals have escalated in daily life (Table 12; Table 15). Majority of the interviewees think that people in the society do not respect and tolerate others' rights (37 interviewees) (Table 16). They encounter cases of intolerance and disrespect especially in the public space, such as in the streets, traffic and public transport. In addition to the physical violence; psychological violence has also increased, such as blustering and disrespectfulness. Some of them note that kindness is

perceived as weakness, and kind people are seen as viable to be abused. Life in İstanbul in this sense is perceived as more chaotic than in Ankara.

Table 15 – Perceptions of the Prevalency of Violence

Do you think that the violence became prevalent in our country?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	42	20	22
No	1	1	0
Indecisive	1	1	0

Table 16 – Perceptions of Tolerance and Respect to Other's Rights

Do you think that the society is respectful and tolerant to others' rights?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	0	0	0
No	37	18	19
Partially	7	4	3

M: Well, did you think that people behaved each other respectfully?

G4: Street is a wild area. People are not necessarily bad, they might be even nice in their own space. I mean a person may not be a thief or a liar, but really honest. But especially in crowded places, in order to protect themselves, they can become very rude and wild. Best examples to these happen in "metrobus" in Istanbul. Even the nicest persons adapt to behaving rudely in order to survive in the metrobus. People push you from behind. I experienced it many times. I was pushed from behing and fell down on my knees before I even got on the bus. It happened to me twice. People become wild in such cases. This is scary. Another thing is that you feel the difference in planes bound to Turkey. Normally you sit next to someone and you bow with a smile. In planes going to Turkey, people are not looking to your face. They try to protect their own safe zone and exclude all foreigners out of it simply because they feel threatened in their daily lives. That is why many people are not looking friendly and rude. People are stressed due to present conditions. They become rude and wild to protect themselves in this wild atmosphere.

P21: …. I believe that people are no longer tolerating one another. Everyone chose a side and defend its values considerably. I spoke with someone who left the country he/she said that people were walking in the streets with cleaver-knives after the coup attempt. If someone on the street would blame another one on defending Kurdish People, the blamed person might be attacked. One day this may change. That is what I hope. But currently due to lack of proper education we are inclined to be easily provoked.

M: Do you think violence has spread in Turkey?

G22: …I can at least define mental violence at this point. The politics is run through mental violence. We are talking about a ruling party considering all opposition parties as terrorist. This is mental violence. There is violence in a place where your views are considered as the likes of terrorists. It is just a matter of time for this violence to evolve in to physical violence.

Many of them feel insecure due to explosions and terrorist attacks (21 interviewees). Some of them remember the physical violence that resulted in deaths during the attempted coup d'etat (9 interviewees) and the Gezi Events (7 interviewees) (Table 12). An interviewee also brought up the state of emergency conditions. I gathered these dimensions under "Political Violence" (29 interviewees), defined as the coercion applied during changes in political power and struggles. Dimensions of political violence are mentioned very frequently and by more than half of the interviewees.

M: Were you concerned about the safety of your own life in Turkey? You've mentioned about it.

G10: Yes of course. It was 4 or 5 months ago that I was about to meet my friends. I took Marmaray (subway) from Kadıköy to Taksim and it was very crowded. Normally when you pass through turnstiles you get screening, they check your bags, you go downstairs and they check again, check your IDs to check for criminal record etc. They always used to search me as I had a potential army-deserter look with a beard and I was also a young male. One day, the turnstiles were packed with people and no one was able to move. It was like metrobus crowd, you must have seen it's photo. Normally something like that doesn't happen in Marmaray. It turned out that the turnstiles were broken and the trains are just coming and leaving empty. But they wouldn't let us in neither because the turnstiles didn't work and we wouldn't be paying money. We then realized that there were no police officers around. Normally there are a lot of police officers even though it is not really crowded. So I was worried. A few other people were also worried and we thought something bad happened and the police left. That was what we were thinking. We felt insecure. After that we quickly went upstairs. Nothing happened. Then I said "why are we thinking about that?" We tend to think that if there are no police officers around,

something bad would happen. That is what happened during the explosion in October 10th. That is why I think that our lives are not really cared by the government.

Sexual harassment (8 interviewees) in daily life is also important cause of insecurity (Table 12).

> M: Given what you just said, I understand that you were concerned about the safety of your life in Turkey?
>
> G4: Yes.
>
> M: Would you like to elaborate on this issue?
>
> G4: Once I was walking around Levent district, there were a few people making jokes and laughing. I heard them talking about me loudly and saying "Shall we rape her?". You cannot do anything in the face of such situations. Someone says something like that to you and you cannot respond because you are afraid. What else to say…

Apart from these, intrusions to privacy (8 interviewees), the bigotry against liberal way of life especially due to rising levels of Religious conservatism; unpunished violent acts (5 interviewees), the impunity of physical violence; mistrust to law enforcement (5 interviewees), lack of confidence to the agencies of public order, such as police force; and increased self-armament (3 interviewees) are also brought up as causes of concern.

> M: Did you worry about the safety of your life?
> G14: Yes.
> M: Can you give me some details?
> G14: As a woman, I am afraid of being raped or sexually harassed. Even though you are not living in a rural area, you have this constant fear even in the city center where you live with people more or less like you. But living like this is quite normal in our country. If you are a woman in Turkey, you have to be afraid from being rape if you are not very naive. You learnt to be always on alert against potential threats. There is no system protecting you or dissuading others. Therefore you are always on alert, you are afraid.

Few interviewees mentioned the widespread habit of rule violation (2 interviewees); lack of occupational safety (2 interviewees) affecting both engineers and physicians, due to lack of binding legal responsibilities and preventative actions; lack of rule of law in terms of increased arbitrary actions of the government (2 interviewees) as causes of insecurities.

In addition, alongside with their concerns about freedom from violence, some of them add that they do not feel secure about their right to private property (7 interviewees) (Table 12).

> M: Do you have concerns about the future of yourself or your family?
>
> P14: I am highly concerned in terms of economy and education. I believe that our life standards will be getting even worse in the future. Our space of freedom will be gradually more and more limited. Safety of our property will also get worse. I have fears in possessing goods and property in Turkey. For example we bought a land and want to grow olives in this land. There is no certainty that our land be taken from us by either government or by third parties. I feel insecure about that. Maybe they will come and want to build a thermal plant on it. Or the owner of the next field might as well cut my olive trees in order to widen its own field. You never know and there is no guarantee. Therefore, I have such concerns as well.

4.2.1.1 Rule Enforcement

Almost all of the interviewees think that violence became prevalent in Turkey (42 interviewees).

A significant majority of them mistrust to the rule enforcement services in Turkey, along with their fear from the officers of public order (40 interviewees). They note that it is even hard to register a traffic accident, or to make the police look for a burglar even though everywhere is surrounded with cameras, let alone securing women's safety of life.

None of them think that the enforcement officers are respectful to human rights. Few of them recalled their acts preventing the humanitarian aid to many wounded after the Ankara Gar bombings. More, they think that the officers of public order use disproportionate force (43 interviewees), recalling the use of disproportionate force during Gezi Events (14 interviewees), and May 1st protests (2 interviewees). They don't think that the public order serves to achieve safety in Turkey, frequently referring to the bombings and attacks occurred in 2015-2016 in Turkey. Some of them note that the public order serves for the interests of the ruling power instead of the public safety.

> M: How do you evaluate public order services in our country? Do you think current law enforcement agencies are sufficient to achieve safety?
>
> P7: I think law enforcement agencies do not exist to achieve safety. Sure, there is a need for safety but not for public order, for the security of the ruling governments'. That is why I do not feel relief when I see law enforcement officers anywhere.

Instead it makes me think that there is something wrong when I see lots of law enforcement officers.

M: Do you think law enforcement is sufficient to provide safety?

P14: I don't think it is sufficient for my safety needs.

M: What kind of safety needs do you have?

P14: I want my property to be safe, I want my rights to be secure and justice. But they won't do it. Because my political views are not in parallel with theirs'.

M: Do you think disproportionate force is being used?

P14: It is used excessively.

M: Can you give an example?

P14: Gezi protests, for example. The interventions made to the people after the explosions at Ankara train station. The force used during Gezi protests… I mean the previous governments' rules could have used such a disproportionate force. But the one that happened during the explosion was excessive. People were trying to carry the wounded people but the police was using tear gas against them. Similar incidents occurred in Soma against mine workers. Police did not use tear gas then but there an officer kicked a miner. These incidents were the proofs that human rights and freedoms were destroyed and human dignity was disregarded.

M: How do you find the services of public order in Turkey?

G3: Is it Police or Gendarmerie?

M: Police, gendarmerie and soldiers.

G3: I think it so bad that people do not rely on them anymore. Police officers used to work for the public safety but they are now discriminating and behaving adversely against a certain group. They are not maintaining the security of life and they are the source of concern for people. They are hurting people and that is why I don't think they act well in this manner.

4.2.2 Lack of Rule of Law

Lack of rule of law is another major reason of emigration. Half of the interviewees mentioned lack of rule of law as reasons for their emigration from Turkey in the open-ended questions (21 interviewees), while the majority of them expressed serious concerns (37 interviewees) when probed (Table 12).

Almost none of the interviewees think that their individual rights and freedoms are effectively protected by the judiciary and political system in our country (Table 17). Again, almost none of them think that the rule of law prevails in the social and political life in Turkey (Table 18). They do not trust the functioning of the judiciary, and do not think that the courts make impartial and fair judgements free from political influence (Table 20, Table 21).

Table 17 - Perceptions of the Protection of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms by the Judicial and Political Systems

Perceptions of the Protection of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms by the Judicial and Political Systems	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Protected	0	0	0
Unprotected	42	21	21
Partially	1	0	1
Indecisive	1	1	0

Table 18 – Perceptions of the Rule of Law

Do you think that the rule of law prevails in social and political life?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	0	0	0
No	42	21	21
Indecisive	1	1	0
Partially	1	0	1

Table 19 – Perceptions of the Fairness of the Judiciary

Do you trust on the fairness of the judiciary?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	0	0	0
No	42	20	22
Indecisive	1	1	0
Partially	1	1	0

Table 20 – Perceptions of the Independence of the Judiciary

Do you think that the judiciary is independent?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	0	0	0
No	41	20	21
Indecisive	1	1	0
Partially	2	1	1

Majority of the interviewees complain about several issues in relation to lack of rule of law such as the lack of controls on legality of governmental action, lack of legal equality, lack of independence of judiciary, impunity and lack of impartial justice.

Lack of controls on legality of governmental action, that the controls against the government's possible arbitraty action against individuals are lacking – is frequently emphasized. The interviewees think that arbitrariness is widespread in governmental activity. *Lack of legal equality* is also frequently mentioned. The interviewees mistrust to the judiciary, and think that individuals are not equal in front of the law. Not everyone can access to the law equally, and they are not treated equally in front of the law, regardless of their sex, religion, nationality, political views, etc.

Half of the interviewees openly expressed that the politics is dominating the functioning of the judiciary. For instance, political leader of the party in power may express that he doesn't accept the decision of the constitutional court, or that the law will not apply for the FETÖ members. Other examples include journalists in jail, and the impunity of corruption. Few interviewees note that the government intimidates the opponents, which is more dangerous than any open action, because no one can provide solid evidence that the government breaks the laws. More, during the state of emergency conditions, any crime could be legalized through statutory decrees. Some of them also express that the law is practiced in favour of those who has political and financial power.

The interviewees also think that the *judiciary is not independent* that the courts of law do not have self-reliance due to lack of meritocratic promotion and legal continuity. Some of

them referred to the appointment of the judiciary officials by the ruling party in the government, and also the frequent reorganizations in the judiciary system to increase control over it, as well as through overnight changes in laws. Some interviewees refer to the destruction of the separation of powers principle, believing that the judiciary officials are making judgements on order. Such instances also lead to the lack of rule of law in legal functioning, such as a lower court may disregard the judgements of Constitutional Court. In addition, they frequently note that the judiciary officials are threatened by being discharged, demoted or appointed to jobs in other cities in case they do not follow what is expected from them by the political power holders.

Some interviewees complained about *impunity*, that the law is not enforced to some people even though they are guilty; and how this increases the insecurities of the interviewees. They think that no fair results could be achieved through the judiciary; and without adequate social reaction, even murderers receive very small or no punishments especially for crimes against women, children, and animals. They think that the violence against women, children and animals became more prevalent, especially due to impunity. Quoting a few of them: "God forbid anyone to go to courts".

Few of them also note that the judiciary have a heavy workload.

> G20: The fact that people getting arrested suddenly and the length of these detentions concern me. You never know whether this would happen to you or not. As we do not have the power to change it, we decide to at least get ourselves out of here.

> G10: 8 people were killed by the police 5 years ago. But there was no proper trial and no one really got sentenced. Nothing really happened. At that instant we realized that there is no justice. If the state wants to kill us, it may well do so and noone cannot defend us. If someone intends to defend, he or she may be considered as a terrorist. That was very effective for us indeed. Another important incident was that in 2014 local elections, we supported Mansur Yavaş, a right wing candidate and we normally never would have voted for him. But we also wanted to get rid of Melih Gokcek that is why we voted for this opponent. We tried everything to protect to ballot boxes but we failed. Many frauds happened during the voting but nothing happened and we lost. We couldn't protect our rights. Same things happened in ODTÜ forest incident and also the case of Berkin Elvan. Previous election which took place on June 7 affected me deeply. I was really hopeful but due to the increased tension during the campaign and the dissolution of peace process scattered our hopes. We found ourselves in a situation like a civil war. Then the incidents happened in Diyarbakir and Batman also increased the tension. They won by

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promoting tension. That is why I think similar incidents may occur during the next election. If they lose, bombs may explode. This idea gives me unrest.

P12: I feel lucky to not have any business with the Courthouse. Normally it bothers me to not look for my rights, but we are in such a condition now. I mean I am afraid even to have an argument with the taxi driver. I am afraid of the taxi drivers! This shouldn't have been something that I accept, but we are cringing. Because if I stand up for myself to look after my rights, I am not sure if I will be able to get them.

P6: I can see that legal mechanisms do not function. Cases such as Ergenekon, KHK or KCK in the last 15 years showed that the judiciary is not working well. You can never be sure whether a person is in trial because of guilt or because of someone asking them to be tried. That is why I don't know who is guilty or not. I don't know if they will be released or die in prison. They may even be trialed for 8 years and on the 9th year they might be released by being found not guilty.

P9: The history of our judiciary is not also good. I believe that current system works arbitrarily after the structural changes in Ministry of Justice and the revision of legal systems. I can see with my own eyes that the freedom of expression and freedom of thought are interrupted. People are jailed with the instruction of someone. On the other hand, the crimes of some people are ignored. I think there is inequality in justice system right now.

G22: No. I don't want to comment any further because the answer of this question is a definite no.

4.2.3 Gender Inequality

Gender inequality is amongst the major reasons of emigration for the interviewees (28 interviewees). Though only one fifth of the interviewees explicitly refer to gender inequality, that it is amongst the reasons of their emigration (9 interviewees) (Table 11); when probed, more than half of them raised several issues that related to gender inequality (28 interviewees) (Table 12).

Women interviewees express that they do not feel free to go alone at night or wear what they like without having to consider others' opinions and actions. Their perceived risk of being exposed to sexual harassment is very high. They even feel that their life is in danger if they are outside alone at night time.

Interviewees also express that they feel intolerance to the appearance of women in the public space. They experience and observe lack of recognition of women as free and equal beings, who are capable of decision making in personal, professional, and cultural spheres.

Also, a few women interviewees brought up that some men do not want to work with a woman, that the male colleagues ignore female co-workers when it comes to perform a task together. In some other cases, women feel that they have to prove themselves in order to gain respect to their labour.

Some of them relate these incidences of inequality and intolerance to Islam's outlook on women (8 interviewees).

> G4: It definitely affected. I do not want to live in Muslim country. Generally, this religion puts woman in an inferior position in society. I am not equal compared to men. This constitutes a threat to my safety and it is humiliating to be seen as a piece of flesh. It bothers me when I am judged by the outfit that I am wearing, even they don't say a word.

> M: Why do you think the religion affects you as a woman in your workplace, can you give some details?

> G12: It affects in terms of projects that you are working for. The people you are working with do not have capacity to communicate with women. For example, if there is a meeting, men are selected to attend. Besides, they socialize during Friday prays where you cannot be included as a woman. It all depends on the people leading the construction sector.

> P9: Recently, speaker of Parliament asked women to get off the theatre stage of the Parliament. Raising a girl in an environment where being a female is considered as a deficit and a failure is really hard.

> M: Have you ever had concerns about the safety of your life in Turkey?

> G11: Always

> M: What kind of concerns?

> G11: Well, in Turkey you always need to protect yourself as a woman. You cannot go out at night as you don't know what to expect when you do. I lived in Istanbul after graduation and I have been living alone since I was 18. First I was in Ankara where I studied in Gazi University and then I moved to Istanbul. After Gezi protests, my house was stoned. I was a target as I was a woman with no head-scarf and living alone. Men looked at my breast when I was sitting in a public transport. Because I was working in a bank and wearing shirts. They were trying to see a little of my breasts through these outfits. You get harassed everywhere; at your door, in taxi or anywhere. When you get into a taxi at night, you are scared of the taxi driver that he might drive to the remote areas of the city; you always try to speak on the phone to protect you. You try to inform your friends about your location. Many of my

friends got harassed by taxi drivers. And when they go to the police station they got harassed by the police. Unfortunately.

M: Did you experience any intrusion to your way of life or did you have concerns about it?

P19: When I first went to Konya, an old man approached me and said "cover your body". I do make up on a regular basis when I am working. A professor who later got dismissed due to FETO issues, always disturbed me as I was doing make up too often. I experienced a lot of mobbing. He used to say "Cover up your breasts, don't get cold" due to the dress I was wearing. Another one was my thesis professor, he never liked women. I finished my thesis in very difficult conditions. He never wanted me to do it and always sent me away from his room. He was also dismissed by FETO issues. Now I cannot wear the clothes I bought when I first came to Konya. Konya forced me to wear otherwise. After a while, you realize that there is no point in resisting. You get exhausted from the public pressure. There is a lot of public pressure on you. You give up.

M: Was there any intrusion to your life style or do you have such concerns?

P11: I do receive harsh feedbacks about my appearance for I don't know how many years. Normally we wear shorts and slippers in the office during the summer. But if I have an appointment in a public institution it can be understood from my appearance because I wear proper clothes for such appointments. It is sick to think that I will be considered as a prostitute If I go there with a loose hair and inappropriate outfit. Can you label someone as prostitute just because of a loose hair? Yes they do and that is why I am saying this.

After the coup attempt many people were dismissed and those who came in their places are even worse. I am sorry to say that but this is reality. The critical ministries where the capital exchanges are manage have changed their management staff, especially the middle-management. For example, there is this guy, he does not accept me in his room alone. Or he shuts the door as he does not like my dress. His assistant tells me how to dress to meet him. So I go with a proper outfit in another day. I wonder what he sees on me. Where he is staring at? I cannot focus on work while dealing with my outfit. This is a problem in the workplace. Besides, I work in Çiğdem Neighbourhood which is a central location with lots of people. I hear bad words from many who I assume some lawyers or other educated men living in this area.

I forgot how it felt to put on clothes just according to the weather. I do not recall, how long has it been like this?. I live like this now in Ankara. When I go out I ask my friends where the location is. I need to plan my transportation and the route. Can I go there by car? Should I go by taxi in case I drink alcohol? And I prepare my clothes accordingly. I split my wardrobe. There are clothes never to be worn in Turkey such as shorts etc. Once I felt like losing my mind thinking whether the man will get me

alone in his room on the 12nd floor of the Ministry. So I try to get one of my friends to come with me to that manager's room. I don't want to be alone.

4.2.4 Lack of Freedom of Speech

Almost none of the interviewees think that there is freedom of speech in Turkey (Table 21). Half of them consider lack of freedom of speech as a reason for emigration (23 interviewees) (Table 12).

Table 21 – Perceptions of the Freedom of Speech

Do you think that people with opposing political views can freely express themselves without fear of intimidation or sanction?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	1	0	1
No	43	22	21

Political retaliation is perceived as the main reason of the lack of freedom of speech. People facing the risk of being charged or even arrested due to their social media entries is mentioned very frequently. Arrested journalists and politicians, spreading use of whistleblowing and state of emergency conditions are also mentioned by some of the interviewees.

Many interviewees report that they self-censor themselves. They fear from discrimination within the society and refer to the intolerance to the opposing views on both sides. Risk of being subject to physical violence and fear from work retaliation are also other dimensions some interviewees put forward.

> P13: under current conditions that we live in, we are not able to share our opinions already. We have a restriction. I always think twice when I am about to share something on twitter or on social media platforms. Because they kept a record of people for their posts after Gezi Events. That is why we are always nervous.

M: Let's move on to the questions regarding freedom of expression. In Turkey, do you think that opposition could freely express their opinion? Can they freely express themselves in society without being afraid?

G16: No, absolutely not.

M: Why is that?

G16: First of all, we are afraid and apply self censorship to ourselves. We try to think whether something bad could happen to me or not if we share our opinions. We ask ourselves whether it is really necessary or not to share. Besides, people are afraid to lose their jobs because of their expressions. There are examples of such situations. Therefore I can say there is a pressure in this regard.

4.2.5 Lack of Freedom of Choice

Many interviewees are disturbed by forms of suppression and interferences to their lives which restrict their freedom of choice (15 interviewees).

G21: Especially the changes they made in the education system, the changes they made in the primary school system, I heard from many people around me who have children, they had to send their kids to private school in order to raise them in their own worldview. This is a difficult situation. You have to make a lot of money in order to live in a privileged manner, to live freely in a modern environment, even to afford your basic freedoms; you would have to be able to afford to go to a proper gym and live in some certain neighbourhood, send your child to private school... I did not want to get in that cycle, I felt that my living space and conditions have benen narrowed more and more.

4.2.6 Breaches of Other Rights

The interviewees also spoke of other rights they feel were violated.

Given their political status and education level, they feel they are minorities in the society, and feel powerless against the power holder majority group (5 interviewees). Again, against the majority group, they think that there is neither freedom of conscience (4 interviewees), the right of the individuals or groups to hold and practice any form of belief without restricted or suppressed by believers of other faiths; nor right to sexuality (3 interviewees), one's freedom to decide on one's own sexual identity and consensual relationships with the

members of any gender. Givent the state of emergency conditions, they do not think that there is freedom to organize or protest (4 interviewees), to form an association or take part in a demonstration without feeling threatened. Some of them noted that freedom of press is restricted (2 interviewees), given the journalists in jail. And some of them brought up the lack of privacy (2 interviewees), that one's personal information may not be protected from scrutiny (Table 12).

4.2.6.1 Freedom to Organize

Majority of the interviewees do not think that there is freedom to organize in Turkey (Table 22). They recall the state of emergency conditions that many associations are closed and gathering in places is not allowed.

Table 22 - Perceptions of the Freedom to Organize

Do you think people with different political, religious or ethnic backgrounds can organize in autonomy?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	1	0	1
No	37	19	18
Yes, but	23	12	11
No	15	8	7
No idea	5	2	3

More than half of them reported that there are no legal restrictions on people to organize, but they expressed if allowed to organize they cannot be effective or powerful enough. They mention several reasons for that, such as uneven access to media resources that government supporters enjoy; the risk of being blacklisted or labelled as terrorists due to the marginalizing discourse used by the powerholders; being dismayed through legal channels selectively used against them; frequent changes in the government's attitude towards them, and strong negative prejudices of the society about minority groups.

4.2.6.2 Freedom of Information

Almost none of the interviewees think that access to impartial information and news is easy nor prevalent (Table 23). They noted that one has to search through several websites and social media in order to achieve some idea of the true information.

Table 23 - Perceptions of Freedom of Informations

Can you access objective information and news easily and prevalently?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	0	0	0
No	43	21	22
Indecisive	1	1	0

> M: You have mentioned about your thoughts on media at the beginning of the conversation, I would like to confirm I understood correctlu. Do you think is it possible to acess to impartial information and news easily in Turkey?
> G2: I believe that in our era if you really want to know something you can reach the right information by searching. I guess you can reach objective information by using internet and independent media portals. However, the information imposed to the society is very biased. I mean I can access to the information I am looking for, but that is not the issue. The problem is that 70 or 80 percent of the population are fed through a single channel which gives partial information. The issue is that we cannot maintain balance in this situation. For example, TRT, a public channel operating on tax payer's money, is found to cover a party for 40 hours, B party for 3 hours and another one for just half an hour. Is this fair now? We must discuss this.

4.3 Government Effectiveness

According to the responses to the open-ended question about political reasons of emigration, the interviewees are discontent with the government effectiveness (37 interviewees, 54 times) in Turkey.

They are especially concerned with the service capacity of the government (30 interviewees, 37 times), and mainly about the education services regulated and provided by the state (22 interviewees). Frequent changes in the education system, decreasing quality of the education services provided, rising influence of Islam in education and privatization of education system make them consider alternative future options for their children in other

countries. Some of them complain about the privatization and centralization of health services (6 interviewees); services of public order (6 interviewees) and insufficient public transportation (3 interviewees) (Table 12).

G21: Yes, especially the changes they made on the education system, primary education, I heard it from the people around me who have children. They would have to be able to afford sending their kids to private school in order to provie them an education acceptable to their standards. This is a difficult situation. You have to be making a lot of money in order to be able to live in a privileged manner, to live freely in a modern environment to practive your basic freedoms. You have to be able to go to a proper gym, live in a good area, send your children to private school. I did not want to get in that cycle, and I felt that the space I could live in was narrowing down every day.

P5: Regarding health services, it is obvious that if you don't have money you would die. I am working and have money, but you can see the conditions of the hospitals. You cannot blame the doctors working in those hospitals because the workload is big and they are trying to treat many patients on a daily basis. You cannot get proper treatment. They are now building big city hospitals which would make it even worse.

P11: Once there was the concept of statesman who had professional morals regardless of their party, worldview, religion and ethnicity. I used to work with such people who were able to work in a proper manner if not ideal. One of my friends once told me that those people also used to abuse their position in the past but the way they gained that position was much more ethical than those of today. Because they were more educated, they did it more gently and in style. Now those good manners are gone. I mean an ordinary public officer is calling me "sister" while we are discussing something with a value of 60 million dollars. They are openly telling me "Leave now, we will check our who's business this is". Therefore I cannot do my job any more. Having a technical profession doesn't matter here.

P21: … Education is one of the most concerning issue for me. I have a sibling 11 years younger than me. I feel really sorry when I compare the education we both had. He went to a high school which was one of the good ones in his city and he will take university exam next week. But his capability of analytic thinking and his level of English are not good enough. This kind of things makes me think a lot. I was able to speak fluent English when I was younger even though I did not go to Anatolian High School. So I wonder what would happen to my child if I had any? What kind of education will it get and what kind of life can it have? I don't think my child would be able to have a good life if I cannot afford it. That is why education has always been important to me. Likewise, law is also important. I believe that if I face an injustice situation one day, I will not be able to defend my rights. This could be anything. I may be harassed in the street, someone can steal my purse or something bad can happen to me. There is no institution that would protect me in such cases. In fact, I think that is the problem, there is no institution left that I can rely on Institutionalism is very important. Institutions must be able to keep standing. I do not care about political parties or rising levels of religious conservatism. What

matters for me are the institutions. So destruction of these institutions has been really devastating for me. I feel very insecure about every institution.

4.3.1 Service Capacity

The interviewees perceptions on the service capacity of the government is also probed through the structured questions. Findings suggest that interviewees are not content about the quality of the services provided.Majority of the interviewees are concerned about the rights and liberties of their descendants, rather than their own financial future in their elder ages. Their expectations from a future in Turkey are so low that they do not plan for their older ages in Turkey; they are uncertain about their social security rights. On the other hand, they are concerned about the rights and liberties of their descendants, and the education policies in Turkey stand out as a major reason for emigration. Interviewees find the quality of the public services governed by the state are unacceptable. They do not find the respective social policies trustworthy and it makes them feel insecure about the future of their offsprings. They think that the public services are not provided equally to everyone and they do not want to raise their children in this system. Education services are stressed out as the most problematic area, followed by the healthcare services. In Turkey, they feel that they must find alternative options in private sector, even though they have to pay huge amounts for these services. Many of them have few information about their social security rights in Turkey; and only a few of them have heard about the social aids distributed by the state.

It is important to note that many political factors that came forward during the interviewees were interrelated to each other. For instance, many interviewees are concerned about the welfare of future generations (16 interviewees), whilst they also mention insufficient service capacity of the government, especially about the education system; and also their fear from religious conservatism to affect the lives of their descendants.

> M: How do you find the public services in Turkey such as health, social security and public order?
>
> P4: There is an unequal situation in education. That is really bad. It keeps changing all the time and hard to pursue. I am no longer in education process so I didn't check it out in detail but I see that education is privatized and the government took a step

back from education. I mean noone wants to send their children to public school. It is also the same in health services. You need to pay certain amount of money just to get a basic treatment. Despite the fact that the public services are "free" in Turkey, you need to wait in long queues and spend a lot of time, pay a contribution fee for the medicine. If you are not willing to pay high amounts, the process takes a lot of time and turns into an unmanageable situation. This situation triggers the increasing of private health service providers.

M: How do you find the public services in Turkey such as health, social security and public   order?

P7: I think none of the public services meet the needs of basic rights and freedoms. It is same in education, health and security services. Current situations in health and education services force people to look for private options. Therefore I think public services are not good in these areas. For example, public schools are not providing education at modern standards. The curriculum in public schools are not up to date and they are not in compliance with modern values such as democracy, global perspective and humanitarian principles which could contribute to the course of live for many people. It is rather narrow-minded and bigoted. The education system simply works to meet the needs of ruling party and this situation will do harm to our future leaving us behind the modern societies.

M: Are you satisfied with the services you receive in return for the taxes and deductions you pay for social security and health services?

P12: This is an important reason for me to leave Turkey. Government takes one-third of my salary and gives me nothing in return. I don't go to any hospital, I don't use public transportation and I don't have a child to benefit from education services. I am not utilizing any services provided by the municipality. I do not get any service from the government but I still pay for them. I'm not happy with the fact that I am not getting anything in return.

4.3.1.1 Education

None of the interviewees provided any positive aspect about the education policies. Instead, they find the whole education system incompetent and worsening (32 interviewees). They think that the education policies are arbitrarily planned and religiously biased; aiming to hinder diversity especially through the spread of imam-hatip schools (31 interviewees). They complain about the frequent changes in the curriculum of basic education; they criticize that the scientific education is discarded, while religious education comes to the fore in the

curriculum (27 interviewees). Some of them state that the education policies are shaped deliberately, to politicize the education (12 interviewees).

Under these circumstances, they feel like they have no choice but to prefer private sector of education for their children (10), even though the tuition fees of them are very high. However, they have doubts about the quality of the education provided by the private schools, too.

Frequent changes in the system of examinations are also mentioned by many interviewees (15 interviewees). They no longer trust examinations, the quality, fairness nor the transperancy of the measurement. They frequently refer to the stolen KPSS examinations. Increasing number of universities is another aspect of the discontent (7 interviewees), due to decreasing standard of education and lack of professors, as well as increasing number of unemployed university graduates who lack competence.

> P2: My financial situation does not allow me to send my children to private school. When I think about the conditions of public school, I can say that I want to go abroad absolutely. The teachers are not qualified. There are teachers around me but only few of them are qualified for my child's education. The people who prepare the curriculum must have been qualified but unfortunately that is not the case in schools. I think that the meritocracy problem in the institutions have spread to the education system, and it shouldn't have been that way.

> M: Let's elaborate on this matter. How do you evaluate the education policies of the government?
> G3: I am quite against their policies in education. Because they left people only one option. If you are not happy with the state's education, you have to send your children to private school, which are located in far places. However, education must always take place close to where you are living. I do not like the current situation because they deliberately put people in a difficult position. It is not right to impose such things on people and it decreases the quality of the services.

> M: Do you think that the education policies are effective in raising qualified workforce needed in our country?
> G10: No. I think it is getting worse day by day that is why we see more unqualified people who have a degree. My phone number is available on a website for private lessons. I received a call from a PhD student who works as a research assistant in Konya, asking me to answer a question at college level. He asked me to solve the question and he would pay me in return. I told that person that he must be qualified to solve this question as he was a PhD student. Then I took it more seriously and send him a book in pdf format and told him that he could solve it by making use of

that book. He then told me that he did not speak English and wanted me to translate it for him. I said "you are making a PhD and you don't know English, how is that possible".

I mean I couldn't find a staff vacancy in Bogaziçi University and had to go to very far and uncomfortable places to make a living. On the other hand, such people with no qualifications will probably be hired in one of the universities. Therefore, I believe current education policies are making the already bad education system even worse. We will see more examples in future. President recently said that they opened universities just to make people say that they had degree. I think this is a sufficient answer for that question.

P12: Most schools are now religion-based imam hatip ones. I visited one of them to vote during the elections. During the visit, I realized that I would definitely end up in hell! There is a masjid in the ground floor and there are signs leading you to it. There are expressions praising the praying; telling the things that would happen to you if you do not pray. According to my worldview, the important thing is to believe and if you are also praying it is an amazing thing. But here, it is a cursed thing if you even miss one praying a day. You will end up in hell. You can not excuse a prayer just to meet a friend. You end up in hell. "Jihad is the only thing more favorable than the prayer" was written in one of the signs. This is what students get in imam hatip schools. I went there for voting and I am not willing to visit an imam hatip school again, never. Then there was this expression saying that a woman who is not covered is like an opened candy. Why do you label women like that? This is not good. It is thought in such places that if you are not wearing a black hijab you will end up in hell. There are conservative people wearing jeans and coats, they would also end up in hell according to this idea. You have to pray all day in order to escape from hell. I have religious people in my own family but this education system is for brain washing. It is not right to turn all schools into imam hatip ones. They are raising children with hatred rather than good knowledge.

4.3.1.2 Health

Healthcare services are also problematic for many of the interviewees (20). They find the state of health services worsening. They stress out that there are long waiting lines in state hospitals (13) and the doctors are very busy (10). They think that the new policies such as "the performance system" oppress the employees in health sector; that it pressures the doctors to increase the number of patients they care for and the operations they perform, while risking the patients to undergo unnecessary operations. Some of them also state that accessing to health system is very hard for people who do not have general health insurance,

and that state health services are more expensive than before. Some of them find buying medicine through prescription may be more expensive than buying without prescription (4).

Most of the interviewees prefer private healthcare (24) due to time and accessibility constraints, even though they find it very expensive. Many of them had private health insurance (18), financially supported by their work places.

On the other hand, some of them, especially the emigrant interviewees, are content about the state's health and treatment services in Turkey, and the health reform (10 interviewees, 2 planner, 8 emigrant). However, they still do not prefer the state hospitals due to long waiting lines and also very short time allocated to patient examinations.

> M: Were you satisfied with the health services provided by the state? Did you think you received a service of quality?

> G18: The service I got was not qualified. First of all hospitals were crowded and appointments were given 5 minutes apart. The system was not functioning properly. You cannot examine a patient in 5 minutes. My examination could take 10 minutes while it may take 2 minutes for others. Running a health service like factory is not reasonable. You cannot get angry at doctors they cannot do anything in 5 minutes. This system reduces the quality of the service.

> I went to a public hospital as I had ulcer in my stomach. They couldn't figure that the pain is resulted from the ulcer. We went to several public hospitals for weeks and they couldn't find the problem. Then I went to a private hospital and they diagnosed the disease. They did endoscopy, in fact that was the difference. I paid all for all the physical examinations I received. Then I learned that the private hospital I went was tied to FETO organization. I was concerned that they would arrest me for that.

> M: Have you ever used public health services such as public hospitals, polyclinics or family health centers?

> G10: Yes, I have. I had an operation in one of the public hospitals about 10 or 12 years ago. They told me that there is a line of patients and I could have the operation only after 2 months. I decided to go the clinic of the doctor and paid for the operation so I could have the operation in the same hospital earlier. This is the system government established. You have to pay in order to get ahead of other patients for an operation which only took 15 – 20 minutes. This is a kind of a bribery which takes place in public hospitals.

> M: Were you satisfied with the health and social security services you received in exchange of the taxes you paid?

G16: No. I tried not to get any health service from public hospitals. Because going to a public hospital and waiting for a long time exhaust you a lot. Compared to the taxes I pay, the quality of the service is really low.

4.3.1.3 Social Security

Many interviewees have few information about their social security rights, and some of them are unaware of the the issue. Social security payments of some of them are misguided by their employers, signaling precariousness even among the skilled labour.

Those who have some information are not content with the services provided, and do not trust in the state institutions to support them adequately in their older ages. Most of them find pensions very low and inadequate (29). They think that one either has to make investments for their future in order to support themselves, or work on a job in order to have another source of income. Some of them address that the government pays the debits through the social security savings and this is very problematic for the security of their future. More, some of them work in companies who not pay the social security premiums over the real amount of wage they receive, but over lower amounts.

Many of them think that the retirement age is high for the working conditions in Turkey (17). They state that the retirement age may be parallel with the international standards, however one may not live long enough to see their retirement in Turkey, considering the heavy working conditions. Yet, there are ones who think the retirement age is appropriate (8) in comparison to the retirement age with of foreign countries.

Some of them find the unemployment wages both low and provided for a very short time compared to the time it takes to find a job in Turkey (7). They think it is impossible to live with the disability payments.

Some of are not even aware of the social security system in Turkey (7).

M: What do you think about the retirement system in Turkey? Can you explain your thoughts on the conditions, age of retirement and days of premium payments?

P12: I guess I will be retired at the age of 60. I have mixed feelings on this subject. On one hand, I believe that people should be healthy and able to work at their 60s while I think it is not quite possible considering the working conditions in Turkey. If I was in a European country, working at the age of 60 would be normal for me. But

you get old faster in Turkey and the chances of unemployment increases with age. That is why I think the current retirement age is not right.

M: What do you think about the health and social security services you received in exchange of the taxes you pay?

P14: Frankly, sixty percent of my salary is deducted for tax and I still keep paying for health services. I think this is really bad and you get nothing in return. Government compensates its debts by using my premium payments to social security system, it means that that my future is not secure.

M: Do you think current social security services will be able to meet your basic needs in case you are unemployed?

G21: I don't think so. Actually, I do not know what kind of rights I would have in such cases. Here the system is different. Companies help you and your family in case you are injured or die. They also provide trainings on this matter. They put these articles in the employment contracts. I have not experienced such a case in Turkey and in fact I did not look for my rights. I think a system which can guarantee your future and value your well being does not exist in Turkey.

M: Did you know about your social security premium payments?

G12: It was not paid by minimum wage but it was not equal to the real balance either.

4.3.1.4 Social Aids

Half of the interviewees do not have any idea about social aids provided by the state in Turkey. Many of them state that they do not have confidence on the fair distribution or the adequacy of the social assistance provided by the state.

Few of them heard of monetary support to disabled or old people, and think that such amounts create a difference for people who live in the villages where life is cheaper. Few others note that such aids are provided in the form of "condescension" as part of a political agenda, instead of rights given to those in need.

M: How do you evaluate social aids?

P6: I think social aids must be regulated by the government in a systematic order. It should be able to help all those people who lost their job or houses. Shelter facilities must be provided for all those with children and as a citizen I should be aware on how to reach out to aids. In Turkey aids are provided by the state but through a congregation-like aid network and it bothers me.

M: Do you think social aids are provided for all the people in need in Turkey and in accordance with the regulations?

G16: Actually, I don't know that. Social aids must be provided in disguise. I see some practices which are not proper in our culture. Social aids are provided explicitly to gain political benefits.

4.3.2 Regulatory Capacity

17 interviewees mentioned regulatory capacity among their political reasons of emigration in the last open-ended question. Structured probing questions are also asked to the interviewees to clealy understand their perceptions on regulatory quality in Turkey. Findings suggest that the interviewees think the politics permeated into the bureaucracy and the provision of public services.

A significant majority of the interviewees have negative views on the effectiveness of bureaucracy and the equal provision of the services (38 interviewees). Majority of them think that bureaucracy is neither effective, nor the bureaucratic services are equally provided to everyone (33 interviewees) (Table 24).

Table 24 - Perceptions About Equal and Effective Service of Bureaucracy

Perceptions About Equal and Effective Service of Bureaucracy	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Positive	**3**	**0**	**3**
Both effective and equal	3	0	3
Negative	**38**	**20**	**18**
Effective but not equal	1	1	1
Not effective but equal	3	3	3
Neither effective nor equal	33	20	13

Table 24 – Cont'd

Perceptions About Equal and Effective Service of Bureaucracy	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Not equal	1	1	1
No idea	**3**	**2**	**1**
It was not equal or effective before, neither	*4*	*2*	*2*

They think that the administrative organs in Turkey cannot act autonomously from the political power (42 interviewees) (Table 25), and that the state agencies function neither according to the administrative rules nor for the public interest (40 interviewees) (Table 26). They think that corruption is very prevalent. None of them think that neither the measures are taken against corruption and infraction of the rules, nor law enforcement is effective to prevent them (43 interviewees) (Table 27). These lead the interviewees think that the corruption is encouraged, instead.

Table 25 - Perceptions of the Autonomy of Bureaucracy from the Political Power

Perceptions of the Autonomy of Bureaucracy from the Political Power	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Not autonomous	42	21	21
No idea	2	1	1

Table 26 - Perceptions of Bureaucracy Operation in Public Interest Public Interest

Perceptions of Bureaucracy Operation in Public Interest	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Not functioning for public interest	40	21	19
Partially - depends on the human factor	2		2
No idea	2	1	1

Table 27 – Perceptions of Law Enforcement against Corruption

Perceptions of Law Enforcement against Corruption	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
No	43	21	22
No idea	1	1	0

They see the weakening of the rule of law, lack of meritocratic appointment and promotion rules, tendency to side with the power holders, and the use of nepotism in tender processes as the reasons underpinning bureaucratic ineffectiveness.

On the other hand, few of the interviewees note that the regulatory capacity of bureaucracy in Turkey was neither equally provided to everyone nor effective before (4 interviewees).

Meanwhile, few of the interviewees have positive views about the effectiveness of bureaucracy and the equality of services provided. They recall the technological advancements on the provision of bureaucratic services (3 interviewees), such as e-government services.

> M: What do you think about the effectiveness and equal service capacity of bureaucracy in Turkey?
> P13: I don't think I am being treated in an equal manner when I go to the office of a government institution. I think priority is given to the people with contacts in those places. That is why I feel inferior in my own country, like a second-class citizen. It becomes obvious if you compare the service we receive in exchange of the taxes we pay. Maybe education was the only area where we received a proper service. We are not getting the service we should when you think about the taxes we pay for them. I don't know whether that was an answer to your question.

> M: Do you think government institutions such as state agencies, or ministries, municipalities and governorships can act independently from the ruling party in Turkey?
> G19: No. It is obvious from the fact that recently municipalities with opposition views are seized and trustees appointed instead. During the elections, there was obvious pressure on opposition parties and there were actions to take control of the municipalities ruled by the opposition. There were attempts not to give money to those municipalities from the central budget. We witnessed that district governors attended the election campaigns while they are supposed to be independent.

Besides, resources of the municipalities were used in favor of the ruling party during the rallies.

M: Do you think government institutions such as state agencies, or ministries, municipalities and governorships can act independently from the ruling party in Turkey?
P18: I don't think so. They are now a part of the politics. In general, seventy percent of the public officers are either a member of the party or they act in compliance with the party. They have to. My father was also a government officer. He used to attend exploration visits and had to pray in order to act in accordance. He used to call my mother to learn how to pray properly and they used to get information from my school book. He did not have a chance to say "no, I will not pray". He was not a religious person, yet he had to do it. He was an administrator in his department and had to retire when he realized that he could not carry on doing things he did not want.

M: Do you think that government institutions work according to administrative rules and act in favor public interest? Do you think public interest is prioritized?
G3: I don't believe so, there are other interests of priority. There was never an ideal situation but it has become worse recently. For example, people who were qualified for the job are now replaced with those having contacts with the government. That is why I believe the effectiveness is decreasing in work and they are not working for the right purpose.

M: Do you think that government institutions work with administrative rules and act in favor public interest? Do you think public interest is prioritized in regulations?
P16: Unfortunately, there are many people working in government institutions who cannot prioritize public interest. I hear such stories from my family members working for the government. For example, a veterinarian was appointed as dean to the medical faculty. Another example is the appointment of an ordinary public officer as director general. I am not humiliating the ordinary officers but the stories are strange. Appointing people to the positions with without any expertise is no good. There is a hierarchy in here. It may be okay to appoint someone close to you but he or she must have the expertise, the capacity to carry out the tasks required by the position. That is why the institutions are not working properly. My aunt told me they have appointed their followers to good positions in the Ministry, again. These people don't know the job and they don't know what they are doing as they are irrelevant to the position. They are not able to do the job which causes a lot of trouble.

M: Do you think necessary measures are taken or sanctions applied to prevent corruption and irregularities? What is Turkey's perspective against corruption right now?
G3: I mean it is the opposite, it is like has been promoted in here. Because whenever a corruption case came up, they chose not to investigate it. It's like

people got away with it. So it also gave way to the new cases to occur. Therefore, I believe there are no deterrent measures taken and corruption increased because of it.

4.4 Fear from the Rising levels of Religious Conservatism / Freedom of Conscience

Many interviewees reflected upon their fear about the rising levels of religious conservatism (32 interviewees) as reasons for their emigration (Table 12). Majority of them think that the importance of religion, Islam, increased in daily life (37 interviewees).

They report that the display of religious practices and symbols have increased, such as the mushrooming of Imam Hatip High Schools and mosques, public exposition of personal Islamic worshiping practices, reflection of Islamic discourse in causal talks, and the rising influence of Islam in education etc. On the other hand, many of them also question whether it is the importance of religion which has increased, or only the display of religion. They think that the escalation of the religious practices and symbols in daily life is not due to an increase on the religiosity, but to benefits attached to being seen as religious.

Majority of the interviewees report having suffered from intrusions to their privacy. They perceive increased imposition of Islamic doctrines in daily life, alongside with growing politicization of Islam, that the Islamic beliefs and values being used for political mobilization and partisanship. They refer to several instances, such as restrictions on alcohol consumption, and also interference to the relationships between men and women both in the public space and also in their own homes.

13 interviewees state that the society is getting increasingly polarized due to rising visibility of religion in the conduct of daily life. 8 interviewees state that they are disturbed by the Islam's outlook on women, women being seen as sexual objects instead of being recognized as equal beings in personal, professional, public and cultural spheres.

The importance of freedom of conscience, the right of the individuals or groups to hold and practice any form of belief without restricting or being suppressed by others holders of beliefs, as an emigration motive vary among the interviewees; while it is the major

motivation for emigration for some of them, some others state that it is one of the least important factors.

G3: It was one of the reasons I went abroad. Religious conservatism was on the rise, for instance they included an important number of religious courses into the curriculum, and made them obliged. Me, I didn't want my child to receive such education. And it was only possible by private schools which I also did not want. That also had an effect for our migration.

M: Do you think that the religious conservatism has risen in the society?

P13: Yes it definitely increased. I don't think the awareness of people increased in this regard but it is rather symbolic. People try to be a part of something and get benefit from it and I find it quite artificial. I believe we have even more correct and intense knowledge on religion than them, despite the fact that we do not express that publicly, which should be the right thing to do for everyone. People use religion as a political tool. It is a tool of abuse in a completely ignorant society.

G12: It affected my occupation quite a lot. Religion and women's rights are very interwoven, it affects especially the working women. believe that women are more isolated from working life in relation to this.

G18: This is a difficult question. I do not think that religion should be visible in any ways as I support secular administrations. There is something disturbing about this matter here. I don't know whether it is about the rising visibility of religious conservatism or the political importance attained to religiousness by some groups, but it makes me feel scared. I feel being marginalized for not being religious in every aspect of life. I am not talking about women with a headscarf. I am scared of men with long beard and wearing loose robes like Arabs. Maybe it is about fear of ISIS. For instance you are in subway, he can suddenly turn to you and ask why you are wearing like this or he can swear at you or harm you; and there is nothing that would protect you from this. So this is what religion symbolizes for me. It became a scary thing for me. In the past, I used to like hearing the sound of pray. The voices of some Imams are really good. I used to like it. After the coup attempt, we used to hear them more frequently and then I started to feel nervous. That was the change I experienced.

M: Did it affect your life plans?

G18: I started not to express myself in public places as much as I could do. Or I started to wear more Islamic clothes etc. I started to cover my tattoo just to make sure no arguments would start because of it. I mean I became anxious for issues that make no sense.

M: Do you think that the religious conservatism has risen in the society?

G22: Of course it did as far as I observed, even eviden on the streets.

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M: What do you think about that?

G22: Religion constitutes the fundamental part of Turkish discourse in daily life. Everything is now tied to it. This is also a tool used by the government. It is easy to put pressure on people and transform them by religion. It is really powerful. It is the opium of societies, this is true. You can realize that it can transform a society through every aspect. Labeling someone considered as an enemy of religion makes that person worthless. You can attack anyone randomly in Turkey just by saying he or she is an enemy of the religion. Many people will believe you.

4.4.1 Intrusion to Privacy

Majority of the interviewees think that there is intrusion to privacy, intolerance to different lifestyles in Turkey (36 interviewees) (Table 28). Rising levels of religious conservatism and gender inequality are the most frequently experienced forms of intrusion to privacy as expressed by the interviewees.

Some interviewees note that there are difference tolerance levels in different districts within the cities and the country. To minimize interference to their lifestyles, they self-restrict their mobility within the city and stay in their safe-zones as much as possible. Also, they modify their behaviors and clothing according to the different districts of the city.

Table 28 – Perceptions of Intrusion to Privacy

Did you experience any intrusion to your way of life or did you have concerns about it?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	36	17	19
Partially	2	1	1
No	6	4	2

M: You said that you experienced intrusion to your privacy, for example the incident that happened in Beşiktaş, were you worried about this kind of incidents?

G21: Of course, because I witnessed them step by step. Collection of tables from outside, alcohol bans in some places, prohibition of alcohol in places where the mosques are near are some examples. The ban on alcohol sale after 10 pm is normal. It is the same in Europe. I can understand that but there were other things. For example, when my boyfriend tried to get on the bus with a toast in his hand, the

driver did not let him as it was Ramadan and my boyfriend was not fasting. He had to get off. Another incident happened in Bodrum when we were on holiday; someone said to us "you unbelievers are you wearing like this?" Such incidents happened to be part of our lives. I used to choose my clothes depending on the district I visit, it is something that you have to care for in Turkey. For example my dentist was located in Eyup; I used to wear conservative clothes in that area because I knew there would be reactions from the people. That is why I felt I was restricted.

4.5 Political Instability

Interviewees mentioned political instability (16 interviewees), the uncertainties and imbalance in the conduct of the government and public policies, as a cause of concern (Table 12) in the open-ended question for the political reasons of emigration.

The interviewees were probed further on this issue in structured questions. Accordingly, a significant majority of the interviewees do not think that the politics in Turkey can maintain *stability* (41 interviewees) (Table 29); they do not think the potential changes in government power is achieved through the consent of the wider population without leading to social conflicts, violence or polarization. They think that the *government policies* and the *political discourse of the ruling party officials* lead to *social division* and *exclusion*, instead of social integration (34 interviewees) (Table 30). As a result of *increased polarization* within the society, and the *political discourse* of the ruling party officials, majority of them think that the society is *intolerant* towards the representation of different political views (42 interviewees) (Table 31).

As noted previously, many political factors that came forward during the interviewees were interrelated to each other. Another instance, this time in relation to political stability is that: those who are uncomfortable with the politicization of the society (12 interviewees) also reflected their concerns about the polarization of the society (16 interviewees) (Table 12).

Table 29 - Perceptions of Political Stability

Do you think that the politics can maintain stability?	Number of the Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	1	1	0
No	41	20	21
I don't know	1	1	0
Partially	1	0	1

Table 30 – Perceptions of the Integration Capacity of the Government Policies

How do you evaluate the integration capacity of the government policies with regards to social division and exclusion?	Number of the Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Not integrative but divisive	34	16	18
Neither capable, nor any effort to integrate	9	5	4
Does not want to respond	1	1	0

Table 31 - Perceptions of Tolerance to Different Political Views

Do you think that the society is tolerant towards the representation of different political views?	Number of the Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	0	0	0
No	42	21	21
Partially	2	1	1

G7: Unfortunately, it is not peaceful. Nothing is stable, consistent. Education, for example, keeps changing and students face different exams every year. I don't even know about the latest system. They even changed the school systems. Compulsory education was 5+3 years but now it is 4+4+4 years. There is a constant change. Nobody finished a school in the system they started. There is no stability. On the other hand, economy is losing value and our currency keeps devaluating. I mean there is no stability from any aspect in our country. Unfortunately. They all deteriorated everything.

M: Do you think that the government policies are successful in social integration? Do you think it has such a capacity?

G4: It does not have the capacity and it is not it's strategy at all.

M: What is the government strategy?

G4: The current government generally favors the conservative people with low education and income. The government constantly makes promises for a specific community in the country and tries to encourage tension against the opposition parties in order to gain support. They want their own supporters to dislike people like me, those who have opposing views. I am not a conservative person. For instance, I am an educated woman. The government wants those who did not have proper education to dislike me, maybe they didn't have the opportunity and it's not their fault to not have enough education, but they want them to dislike me. If I use alcohol, it wants to present me as a monster. So I think on the contrary, that the strategy is to divide the society, to disempower the women.

M: Do you think there is tolerance against different political views in our society?

G22: Let's put it this way. We are having an election soon and opposition parties are labeled as terrorist. All of them with no exception. This is horrifying.

4.6 Future Insecurities

Many of the interviewees express that they feel ineffective and powerless over the course of their own lives (17 interviewees) as a reason for emigration (Table 12). When probed, majority of the interviewees report that they experience powerlessness, lack of control and uncertainty in their lives (41 interviewees). A great part of these feelings relate to the political condition in Turkey. Many of them stated they felt powerless due to several forms of violence; such as physical violence, the possibility of sexual harassment, explosions and terrorist attacks. Some of them also referred to the lack of rule of law and their mistrust to the law enforcement. Lack of predictability, the unexpected changes in daily life due to both political and economic uncertainties, also contribute to the feelings of lack of control and uncertainty. Examples include sudden lay-offs, devaluation and the economic crisis, division of a university into two universities, etc.

In relation to all these factors, many of them state their loss of hope in future (16 interviewees) (Table 12).

> G4: The biggest factor for me was that I was hopeless, because the people were fooled by the politicians who manipulated certain issues such as democracy, authority, charisma to make benefit and govern through personal charisma. Because this meant that the society and I have very different worldviews. There were explicit irregularities, corruptions and immoralist behaviors, yet, people were kept being fooled by the charm of the leaders who used religion as a tool to gain benefit. You see there will not be any political improvement in this regard. Late 2013 witnessed some political issues when FETO members disagreed with the current politicians. The closures of private teaching institutions and the release of some tapes created a political unrest in the society. Yet, the current politicians kept winning the elections which showed me that the society took no lessons from the scandals. And there was not a strong political opposition. All these were signals that things would get even worse.

> G14: I see very bad news every day. Dogs are getting raped and the news of animal torture is on the rise. I lost my trust that even you tell the police nothing will be happen. The justice will not be brought. Besides, we see what happens to the children. A man rapes a 5-year or 3-year old kids. Such things started to exhaust me. It wasn't that I was in bad financial conditions, but I was mentally exhausted.

> G19: Also, the propaganda of the ruling party increased a lot. I was not able to escape fromit. TVs were on everywhere, and people were becoming politicized more and more, and there was no space left for you and that is one of the worst things.

> M: Did you have feel anxiety about unexpected things to happen? Or was there an order that would protect you from experiencing bad things?

> G18: No. I think that the culture of lynch became widespread. I think that if you do something bad, many people can suddenly attack you by mistake. It is not only for me and I think many people can experience such things. What is worse is that the law enforcement agencies became a part of the politics and forgot their own duty, there is no protective justice or law.

Almost none of the interviewees feel secure about their future in Turkey (Table 32). Many of them feel insecure mainly due to the restriction of individual liberties, political and economic uncertainties.

Table 32 - Perceptions of a Secure Future

Feeling secure about the Future	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	2	0	2
No	42	22	20

Political insecurities were the most outstanding group of causes, very frequently mentioned by many interviewees (31 interviewees, 67 times). They are followed by financial insecurities (14 interviewees, 28 times), employment related insecurities (15 interviewees, 20 times), and insecurities about the quality of life (3 interviewees, 3 times). Table 33 presents the dimensions of their future insecurities.

The interviewees are uncomfortable with the restriction of their individual liberties (13 interviewees), the restriction of their rights to have opportunity and autonomy to perform an action unconstrained by external parties; political uncertainties (10 interviewees), the possibility of drastic changes on policies overnight; as well as the economic uncertainties (11 interviewees), the inability to predict the sustainability and continuity of economic policies and their consequences for working conditions and employment, also contribute to the future insecurities. Concerns about the future of next generations (9 interviewees), such as the deteriorating conditions in the education system, economic uncertainties and gender inequality; and also, insecurities about the social rights (8 interviewees), the quality of the social functions provided by the state, such as health, social security and education, are also frequently brought up.

Other political insecurities, such as compulsory military service (6 interviewees); mistrust to the rule of law (5 interviewees), the lack of confidence to the independence or effectiveness of the judiciary, as well as the lack of controls on legality of the governmental action to avoid arbitrary action of the government concerning the individuals; political violence (5 interviewees), especially due to state of emergency conditions are mentioned by some interviewees among their insecurities about the future.

Though mentioned by few interviewees, it is noteworthy to mention that restriction of development prospects of Turkey (3 interviewees), especially the restriction of skilled labour

education due to inadequate education policies is also brought up. For instance, an interviewee is concerned about the education of medicine doctors, and therefore the quality of health services in the future.

Financial insecurities (10 interviewees), monetary lack of confidence about future, such as considerations on the possible inadequacy of future pensions, the inability to make property investments and volatile foreign exchange rates; and macroeconomic vulnerabilities (9 interviewees), such as devaluation of Turkish currency, the possibility of an economic crisis and economic uncertainties are mentioned by some interviewees and I have gathered them under economic conditions.

Some interviewees suffer or fear from skills mismatch (6 interviewees), that they may have to work for a job, of which requirements are either lower than one's qualifications or would not pair at all. Though only mentioned by a few interviewees, it is noteworthy that employment related insecurities, such as low wages, fear of unemployment and fear of job loss are a concern for even the skilled labour.

Table 33 - Dimensions of Future-Insecurity

Dimensions of Future-Insecurity	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants	Total Frequency	Planners Frequency	Emigrants Frequency
Political Conditions	**31**	**17**	**14**	**67**	**38**	**29**
Restriction of Individual Liberties	13	7	6	13	7	6
Political Uncertanties	10	7	3	10	7	3
Feeling Insecure about the Future Generations	9	5	4	9	5	4
Social Rights (Health, Social Security, Education)	8	5	3	8	5	3
Compulsary Military Service	6	6	0	6	6	0
Mistrust to the Rule of Law	5	2	3	5	2	3
Lack of Controls on Legality of Governmental Action	5	2	3	5	2	3

Table 33 – Cont'd

	Political Violence	5	1	4	1	0	4
	Restriction of Developmental Prospects of Turkey	3	3	0	3	3	0
	Sexual Harrassment	1	0	1	1	0	1
	Fear about the rising levels of Islamic Conservatism	3	1	2	3	1	2
Economic Conditions		**14**	**8**	**6**	**19**	**12**	**7**
	Macroeconomic vulnerabilities	9	5	4	9	5	4
	Financial Insecurities	10	7	3	10	7	3
Working Conditions		**15**	**5**	**10**	**20**	**9**	**11**
	Skills Mismatch	6	3	3	6	3	3
	Low Wages	3	2	1	3	2	1
	Fear of Unemployment	3	2	1	3	2	1
	Fear of Job Loss	3	1	2	3	1	2
	Arbitary Job Recruitments	3	1	2	3	1	2
	Work Life Balance	2	0	2	2	0	2
Living Conditions		**3**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**
	Extent of Civilization Abroad	3	1	2	3	1	2

M: Were you worried about your future while living in Turkey? If so what kind of worries did you have? For instance, were able to make long term plans?

G4: In fact I am still afraid of raising a child in Turkey. Istanbul for example is a big metropolitan where I did not want to have a child. You want your child to be safe. There is the traffic, long working hours, time you spent on the traffic, the conditions in Istanbul are bad for such plans. The time you could spare for your family is very limited. Because you have limited time, if you have a child, you have to send him to courses and you have to spend all your money on them. And they are expensive. It becomes a loop. You work a lot, you make money and you spend all of it. You cannot manage your budget. That is why saving is very tough in Turkey. Also I would be really worried if I had a child. I am a person with anxieties. I even have concerns for my nephew. I did not have future plan in Turkey, or I didn't know what would happen. I did not think about living abroad by then.

M: Were you able to make long term plans for the future in Turkey, for yourself and your family? Did you feel secure about your future?

G14: No. When I was in Turkey, sudden lay-offs have started, or things like the seizure of the properties, bank accounts and passports occured. Whilst a lot of people were being accused of something, even though I weren't guilty of anything, I was scared of being blamed and prosecuted. So in such an environment, how can I think that my future was secure? I mean you buy a house but you don't know whether it would be seized by some authority or not in a few years.

4.7 Respect for Work and Individual Rights

The interviewees are asked whether the judicial and political systems in our country effectively protect their basic rights and liberties. Some of the probes of this question aimed to understand the interviewees perceptions about their working hours and conditions; and also find out about their thoughts on their working conditions.

Accordingly, most of the interviewees do not think that the human and labour are respected in Turkey (Table 34).

Table 34 - Perceptions of Respect for Work and Individual Rights

Do you think the society respects the human and their labour?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	1	0	1
No	35	17	18
Partially	8	5	3

Many of them think that the labour is exploited, and the pay is insufficient for the amount of work requested. Comparing their situation with the rest of the workforce, they think that they are well-off in terms of pay, yet think that they do not receive adequate remuneration in return for their labour.

They face lack of appreciation for the work they do, and the lack of meritocracy is discouraging. Respect is associated with the powerholder. Few interviewees add that, one respects one another as long as they are on the same side, referring to polarization in the society. The impunity incidents about the Soma mine accident are also put forward by few interviewees.

They think that there is a decrease in the quality of labour, since the society prefers to take the easy ways out instead of putting labour into their work.

> M: Do you think that the society respects to human and the labour?
>
> P10: Respect for human and for their labour effort do not exist here. Noone do their job with enthusiasm. You also think that for others. Everyone thinks that they work for money and that is all about it. You don't even be grateful for someone doing a good work. Everyone tries to achieve something through influential contacts and fraud. There is no respect for human labor. Respect for human only exists for those you agree with. You don't respect "the others". Maybe this is also valid for me as well. I mean the others' opinions are so extreme that you cannot respect them. You don't even understand how much the two sides could diverge from one another.

> M: Do you think the society you live in respect the human and their labour?
>
> P13: No I don't think so. If they were respected, people wouldn't be living at the edge of poverty. I can call myself a lucky person in this regard. I believe I should be making more compared to the work I do, what I deserve would be much higher than the average; but it doesn't happen that way, the conditions aren't favouring. But I still think I am one of the lucky ones. When I see the living conditions of blue collar workers, I thank God for the conditions I have.

4.7.1 Working Conditions in Turkey

When asked if they are content with the working conditions in Turkey, the interviewees provided a variety of dimensions, most of them negative. Most of the interviewees couldn't provide any condition they are content about. Yet, comparing their conditions with the working conditions of the majority of employees in Turkey, they may find their conditions acceptable. For instance, they express the implementation of contractual liabilities by the companies among the satisfaction factors, revealing that working conditions in Turkey discipline even the skilled labour. Even though they have many problems with their working conditions, almost none of them are members of a union, and most of them didn't even feel an urge to be a member of a union.

Protection of labour rights is the most problematic area in the interviewees' working life (27 interviewees, 56 times). Many of them think that their labour rights, the extent to which labour is treated fairly, in terms of pay, recognition, remuneration is not protected. They

complain about the excessive work (12 interviewees), the noncompliance of the number of hours with the functions described in the job description, or even lack of a proper job description that would limit the job responsibilities. In addition, they receive inadequate pay, a pay they find lower than the return for the value added by the worker. Many of them also suffer from the lack of meritocratic appointment and promotion rules and lack of respect for their labour (11 interviewees). They do not think that meritocracy is considered in promotional advancements and appointments; and also think that their labour is not recognized by their employees. Emigrant interviewees underline the importance of the protection of labour rights more than the planner interviewees, may that be because they have the chance to compare their current rights with of Turkey.

Many of the interviewees complain about unproductive or ineffective work organization (18 interviewees, 28 times), that the organizational deficiencies causing to the duplication of work and loss of time at work, as well as the poor outcomes. They encounter problems with their managers (9 interviewees), both due to bad communication skills of the managers and also their lack of planning and prioritization skills (7 interviewees).

Loss of work life balance (10 interviewees), the lack of time left for workers to regenerate and recreate themselves outside their daily routine due to long working hours, is also underlined as a factor of dissatisfaction. However, when probed, majority of the interviewees state that they do not have work-life balance (31 interviewees); whilst the remainder of them compare their working hours with of other jobs on the market and therefore conclude that they have a work life balance.

As for the conditions the interviewees content about, good relationships with colleagues (9 interviewees) is mentioned most often and some of them have job satisfaction (6 interviewees).

> M: What did you used to think about your working conditions in Turkey when you lived there?
> G1: I had roughly 10-12 days off over the last two years. Apart from that, I had more than 250 hours overtime in the last 6 months. Therefore I do not have positive feelings about the conditions. In the company I worked for, I was evaluated depending on the overtime hours. The more we worked the more we were accepted. I was forced to work on Saturdays for 2 years. It was supposed to be 45 hours a week but we always worked more than that.
> M: So you did not have spare time for your private life?

G1: Of course not. I was just living to work for the last 2 years.

M: You did not work full time in Turkey. What was the reason you preferred not to, or was it due to academic reasons?

G10: I did not prefer both for private and academic reasons. I finished my thesis last summer. Right after that Tüpraş Company called me. There was this vacancy related to the subject of my thesis. It was not a common subject neither in METU (Middle East Technical University) nor in İTU (Istanbul Technical University). It was only me studying on this subject. My friends also sent me that job post, telling me that "they are looking for you". They called, but I did not want to go to the company and I did not want to have an intervieew. They called one more time but I refused. It was because of the working hours and the payments which were initially okay for Turkey conditions but wouldn't be enough in the long term. I wouldn't be able to reach the standards of the blue-collar workers here. I have my master degree, I would be working for a good company but I would be having worse living conditions than a blue-collar worker who comes to Turkey for vacation. I have seen the difference before, that was one of the reasons. I studied Chemical Engineering and the industry is located in Gebze, Dilova district. The quality of water and air is low there. I don't know whether you have been there but it is bad. It is toxic. Don't go there especially if you are pregnant. I have friends there working and living, but I did not want to live in that small and toxic place.

4.8 Quality of Life and Environment

A majority of the interviewees are not content with the quality of life and the environment they lived in Turkey (Table 35).

Table 35 – Perceptions of the Quality of Life and Environment

Are you content with the quality of environment and life of the city you live in?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
Yes	2	0	2
No	35	17	18
Partially	7	5	2

They are especially discontent about the lack of accessible outdoor recreational sites. Time spent in traffic, excessive number of motor vehicles in traffic and the inadequate public transport services are also causes of major concern.

Air pollution, disorganized urbanization, excessive construction sites in the cities, decreasing number of green areas and the crowdedness also lower their quality of urban life.

Some of them note that they are not content with the city they reside in, but are fine with the district they live in. They call of the unequal development within the city, that some districts are better than the other. They refer to the lack of public gathering places, so that the social life became based on consumption, as there is no place but shopping malls to meet up with friends and relatives.

> M: Are you content with the quality of environment and life of the city you live in?
> G10: I was really not happy in Istanbul. It is because there is no order in Istanbul which makes you worried, you always have an anxiety about time. It can take 10 minutes or one and a half hour for you to go from one place to another. You never know. If there is a traffic accident you stuck in traffic for hours. I was always nervous, whether I would be able to make things on time. Apart from safety reasons… Another reason is that Istanbul is a noisy place. There are constructions in everywhere like in other places in Turkey. Well, I visited my family in Adana and saw that there were constructions there as well. All buildings were collapsed and being rebuilt. Dust and dirt were exhausting me. Ironically, I moved here and see that there is another construction right in front of my house. There are only two constructions in the city, and one is right in front of me.

4.9 Democracy Practices in Turkey

Some of the interviewees mentioned *centralization of political power* (5 interviewees) as a political reason of emigration from Turkey in the open-ended question (Table 12).

In the structured questions, the interviewees are asked about political representation in Turkey. Accordingly, the interviewees do not think that Turkey is a democratic country (Table 36). Some even called the regime in Turkey as "restricted" or "preventative" democracy. Some of the interviewees note that, Turkey may seem like a democratic country since there are elections and everyone has a right to vote; however, in practice they do not think that these are enough to call out the regime as democratic.

Table 36 – Perceptions of Democracy in Turkey

Do you think that Turkey is a democratic country?	Number of Interviewees	Number of Planners	Number of Emigrants
No	43	21	22
*In theory yes, but not in practice	9	7	2
No idea	1	1	0

They refer to three main problems with the democracy practices in Turkey.

First, they do not think that the *electoral security* is achieved (Table 37). Since they do not trust in the security of elections, they feel an urge to participate to the voting process as observers at the very least. They also refer to the foundation of a non-governmental organization out of necessity, in order to verify the election results of the ballot boxes. However, they loss their faith and feel hopeless due to the ever-changing rules for "valid votes", referring to the vote counting process of the 2017 Referendum for the regime change to the Presidency system; when the regime change has been accepted only with 51% of the votes, by the validation of the unstamped votes; and the inexplicable events that happened in 2014 mayoral elections of Ankara.

Table 37 – Perceptions of Electoral Security

Do you think that electoral security is achieved?	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Yes	0	0	0
No	37	18	19
Partially	4	1	3
Indecisive	1	1	0
No idea	2	2	0

Second, they do not think there is *equal representation* through the electoral system due to the electoral threshold (Table 38). They think that the electoral threshold is very high, and the minorities cannot be represented. They state that people feel the need to vote according

to mathematical calculations in order to increase the number of opponent deputies by making sure that more parties of opposition enters into the Parliament. Some of the interviewees also mentioned the restricted political participation of the society; electoral corruptions, including the frequent changes of electoral districts and in the Supreme Electoral Council; the disqualification of the representative authority of elected officials; and the *stigmatizing political discourse of the party in power*, calling some political parties and their supporters as terrorists. In relation to the lack of equal representation, majority of the interviewees do not think that the politics in Turkey is pluralist, neither (Table 39). They think that both the existence and rights of the minorities are neglected under the current political structure, and they are oppressed through the political discourse.

Table 38 – Perceptions of the Equal Representation

Do you think that equal representation is achieved through the electoral system in effect?	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Yes	0	0	0
No	42	20	22
Partially	1	1	0
Refused to Respond	1	1	0

Table 39 – Perceptions of Pluralism in Turkey

Do you think that politics in Turkey is pluralist?	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Yes	1	0	1
No	37	18	19
Partially	6	4	2

Third, they find *imbalances in the distribution of resources* among different political parties, such as the time spared to opponent parties on TV, or the budget allocations, and more. Examples provided include the party in power hindering the opponent parties' rallies in the

public space. These imbalances both hinder the representation capabilities of the political parties in opposition, and also lead to a distance with them and the society. Another aspect provided by an interviewee is that, both the local and the national governing parties being the same, there is no room left for the opponent parties for a level play neither in local nor in national elections.

Other problems include the *lack of freedom of expression*, and the polarizing *political discourse* blaming people who vote for the opponent parties as traitors. In relation to this, majority of the interviewees think that the opposition parties are under oppression and therefore cannot *freely represent* their voter base (Table 40). The main reason for that is the imposition of several sanctions to the opposition deputies; such as imprisonment, disqualification of their representation authority and the political discourse oppressing and threatening the opposition deputies. Not only the sanctions themselves, but also the fear for the imposition of these sanctions prevent the opposition parties to represent their voter base.

Table 40 - Perceptions of Freedom of Representation

Do you think that the political parties in opposition can freely represent their voter base?	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Yes	2	1	1
No	40	20	20
Partially	2	1	1

In addition to these problems stated, their response to the probing question about *political inclusion* reveal that they do not think that the government policies meet the needs and expectations of different socio-economic and cultural groups (Table 41). Instead, they comment that either the rich, or the voter base of the party in power could be content about fulfillment of their needs and expectations. On the other hand, some interviewees refer to the low quality of the public services, such as health, education, social aids, and cultural activities; and state that noone's needs could be met, indeed. They criticize the considerable increase in the number of malls and mosques, as if they are the only needs of the society.

Table 41 - Perceptions of Political Inclusion

Do you think that the government policies meet the needs and expectations of different socioeconomic and cultural groups living in Turkey?	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Yes	1	1	0
No	40	20	20
Partially	1	0	1
No idea	2	1	1

4.9.1 Opinions about Transition to Presidential System

Majority of the interviewees think that the effects of the transition to the Presidential System in Turkey would be negative for the *political representation and participation* (37 interviewees) (Table 42). They are notably considerate about the *centralization of power* in a single person. They think that the *separation of forces* principle will be invalid, and are disturbed about the *disempowerment of the parliament*.

Table 42 - Perceptions of Transition to the Presidential System

Effects of the Transition to the Presidential System	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Positive	0	0	0
Negative	37	18	19
No idea	4	3	1
Both positive and negative	3	1	2

A significant majority mention that this is a "one-man" system, where most of the power is centralized in a one person, the president of the republic (31 interviewees). They perceive that the Presidency of Republic system is very much dependent to the human factor, and

inheres in arbitrariness in decision-making, that the decisions taken will depend on the individual preferences or convenience of the President. Majority of the interviewees have no faith on the new system to lead to improvements in basic rights and freedoms (39 interviewees) (Table 43).

Table 43 - Perceptions of the Presidential System in terms of Basic Rights and Freedoms

Do you think that the Presidency of the Republic system will lead to improvements in basic rights and freedoms?	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Yes	0	0	0
No	39	18	21
No idea	5	4	1

They think that the separation of powers principle will no longer be valid after the transition to the new system (39 interviewees) (Table 44). Some of them even state that the new system is more like a dictatorship, where the separation of powers is demolished in order for the powers to be centralized on a single person (5 interviewees), stressing out the demolishment of the independence of the judiciary.

Table 44 - Perceptions of the Presidential System in terms of Separation of Forces

Effect on the Separation of Forces	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Separation of forces will be invalid	39	18	21
No idea	5	4	1

M: How do you think this will affect the separation of powers principle?

G7: I guess the powers will not be separated any further. In practice this is what is happening indeed. They are not separated, and they are used by the manipulation of the government. It will get worse. We will face bad consequences of these maybe not in 10 years but in 50 years. This kind of things makes me worry about my future and of my child if I decide to have one.

Majority of them think that the presidency of the republic system will make the decision-making process faster and more effective, but note that a fast decision-making process is not for the good of democracy (33 interviewees) (Table 45).

Table 45 – Perceptions of the Presidential System in terms of the Speed of Decision-Making Process

Do you think that the Presidency of the Republic system will make the decision-making process faster and more effective?	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Fast	2	0	2
Fast but no good	33	16	17
It was already very fast	*4*	*2*	*2*
No	2	2	0
No idea	4	4	0

Majority of them think that the political representation will decrease due to the disempowerment of the Parliament (39 interviewees) (Table 46). Some of them state that they find this change as undemocratic and unhealthy. More, they point that the opposition parties in the parliament will not have any sanction capacity due to the decreased power distribution (8 interviewees).

Table 46 – Perceptions of the Presidential System in terms of Empowering the Parliament

Do you think that the Presidency of the Republic system will empower the Parliament, the legislative?	Number of Interviewees	Number of the Planners	Number of the Emigrants
Yes	0	0	0
No	39	18	21
No idea	5	4	1

> M: What are the advantages and disadvantages of Presidential system in Turkey?
> G11: I guess it has disadvantages in terms of parliamentary system. Now all the powers are merged in one authority. There is no control mechanism which can monitor or veto the decisions of presidential authority. There are members of

parliament but it is only symbolic. It will be even worse than the time we had one-party system. That is why I find it similar to caliphate. Everything will be changed as well as the judiciary system. Because powers will be handled by one person and there is no control mechanism. One day it maybe someone named X, the other day it will be Y. If Y says he is going to sell the country, you cannot prevent it. This is not about people it is about the system. I reject it. I think it will do harm the whole functioning of the country.

Some of the interviewees find the new system as a "made-up" system, and not appropriate for Turkey; noting that there is no check and balance (7 interviewees). They compare the new system in Turkey with the presidency system of the United States, and point to the fact that check and balance system in the US will not be applicable in Turkey.

> M: What are the advantages and disadvantages of presidential system in Turkey? How will it affect the political participation and representation?
> P9: I think the system is totally wrong. They started the system by saying it will be a unique one. They did it without proper preparation. They merely focused on elements from which they would gain benefit. The system will create its own problems as it has structural deficits. That is what I think. It is a one-man regime, a representation model ruled by one person. Yes there is a parliament but one man will have the same power as of 600 MPs. Parliament has no function. One man can make his own decisions and one man can refuse any decision of the parliament. It is like the symbolic assembly established by Sultan Abdulhamit. It was also abolished the moment it had opposition remarks. This seems similar as well.

Some of them note that the powers were already centralized by the incumbent president of the republic, especially under the conditions of state of emergency (10 interviewees). Separation of powers principle was already invalid (9 interviewees); and the decision-making process was already fast enough (4 interviewees), referring to omnibus bills passing overnight and the statutory decrees. They note that, with this new system, what was already in operation would also be in regulation. Yet, they think the rule of "one-man" leads to political instability (3 interviewees).

> G2: I mean, of course not. In Turkey, you see that suddenly the Prime Minister is changed. Why did it happen? He took 48, 49% of the votes. Didn't this happen on April 2016, Ahmet Davutoğlu is overthrown suddenly. Do you know why is he demoted? In fact, I do not know. No clear explanation was made, and he accepted the demotion quietly. This is the answer of the question in fact. It depends on the arbitrary decisions of a single man…

5 interviewees (4 planners, 1 emigrant) responded that they do not have information on this new system. When asked to confirm that they do not have any idea on the new system, they told that they are distressed about these political changes and feel themselves so powerless because they cannot affect the results. Therefore, they chose to not be informed about the new system.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study finds out that the political conditions of Turkey became the most important aspect of emigration decisions of the skilled labour from Turkey. Interviewees perceptions of rising illiberalism in Turkey prominently shapes their emigration decisions. Lack of protection of basic rights and liberties, especially the interviewees' concerns about maintaining their physical security, and also the governance performance of Turkey in prospect of their descendants make them consider emigration. They attempt to emigrate to countries where they could practice their basic rights and liberties, whilst building upon their professions to make a living. The main deviation of this study from the previous studies is that the interviewees are ready to live in more modest economic conditions than they could afford in Turkey.

Leaving a country behind and starting up a new life in a foreign country is a life-changing decision to make. During the recent decade, rising number of skilled labour in Turkey has been feeling the urge to make this decision.

In this study, I explored the migration decisions of a sample of skilled labour interviewees and how their decision is shaped by their perceptions of the political conditions in Turkey, using Kauffman's worldwide governance indicators.

Early studies on skilled labour in Turkey by the 1970s refer to the importance of governance capacity and effectiveness on the skilled labour, mainly in terms of working conditions and occupational satisfaction. Studies held by the 2000s note to the importance the macroeconomic instabilities and the effects of globalization. However, recent studies indicate the rising importance of the political conditions. Turkey has been experiencing the restructuring of state-society relations especially since 1980, following the change of economic policies after Coup D'etat. In line with the change of economic policies, restrictions on individual rights and liberties have been introduced with the 1982 Constitution, and the governments started to gain strength against the Parliament and the judiciary, signaling the dissolution of liberal values. Turkey faced widespread restructuring of state society relations

over the last decade. Accordingly, several international reports on governance highlight the rising illiberal practices in Turkey. These include the deterioration in the protection of basic rights and liberties, especially about the issues with freedom of expression and freedom from violence; lack of independence of the judiciary; debated electoral security, rising political and physical violence, rising polarization, etc. Passage to the Presidential System of Government in 2018 crystallized the restructuring of the state, by centralizing of the decision-making process, whilst disempowering the Parliament. The government system became very dependent on the human factor, with insufficient control mechanisms.

The interviews of this study took place just before the 2018 Elections for the Presidency. 44 politically inactive university graduates are interviewed to understand how the society is affected by the dissolution of liberal democratic values. Half of the interviewees had already emigrated at the time of research, whilst the other half were planning and attempting to migrate. European Countries and Canada, mainly the Global North, are their most preferred destinations. None of them prefer non-democratic countries as their first-choice destination. The interviewees tried several means to migrate; job application is the most frequently used mean, followed by applications for education with the aim to raise the chance of staying abroad. Even voluntary work is tried, and it worked as a step before achieving permanent residency through other means. Majority of the interviewees are between the ages of 25-35, and their average age is 32. More than half of them are single, and few had children. The interviewees had an average 7 years of full-time working experience in Turkey. All the interviewees hold a bachelor degree, whilst half of them have at least an MS degree, too. Majority of them have been abroad before. They mainly decided leaving Turkey in the aftermath of 2013 Gezi Events and 2016, after the terrorist attacks and the attempted Coup D'etat.

Interviewees' emigration decisions are affected by several conditions. However, political conditions, in particular the interviewees' conceptions about rising illiberalism in Turkey, prominently stand out to shape almost all of the interviewees' emigration decisions. The interviewes are deeply concerned about rising illiberalism in Turkey. They are therefore prepared to live in more modest economic conditions in comparison to what they could gain in Turkey. This is the main deviation from the findings of previous studies on skilled labour

migration from Turkey. Political conditions are followed by the working conditions, yet these are much less frequently mentioned than the political conditions.

Amongst political conditions, the protection of basic rights and liberties is the main reason of emigration for the interviewees. It is the most important factor of attraction to the destination countries, simultaneously the lack of it is the most important factor making the interviewees consider emigration. Right to physical security is the greatest concern about living in Turkey. Not only the fear from political violence one would understandably have after the 2015-2016 explosions and the attempted coup d'etat, but also the rising physical violence in daily life and sexual harassment are important considerations for them. The interviewees feel anxious about their physical security both due to the location they had been, the hour of the day and their physical appearance. They tend to self-restrict their mobility and self-censor their speech to avoid trouble. Women's perceived risk of being exposed to life-threatening sexual harassment is very high.

The interviewees are also concerned about their descendants. In relation to this, the quality of the education services provided by the state and the rising levels of religious conservatism in Turkey make them feel insecure about a future in Turkey. Rising levels of religious conservatism in the society is concerning them also due to rising gender inequality, and intolerance to different lifestyles.

The interviewees have a stressful daily life in Turkey and increased polarization among the society makes them feel uncomfortable in daily life. With the approaching Presidential elections, they express their doubts about the electoral security. Psychological well-being of the interviewees is badly affected due to their perception about not having a secure future ahead. They feel hopeless about the future.

Lack of protection of labour rights in Turkey and the awareness of the interviewees about better working conditions in the Global North is another aspect that make them consider leaving Turkey. However, their concerns about rising illiberalism are so prominent that they accept to afford a decrease in their financial situation. Instead of living in Turkey, the interviewees aim to improve their quality of life by living in a civilized society and build up on their current professions and skills in the countries of destinations.

When the interviewees are specifically asked about the political conditions affecting their immigration calculus, lack of rule of law, gender inequality and lack of freedom of speech also came forward. The interviewees do not have faith in the judiciary in Turkey, and think that the judiciary is under political influence. Due to lack of freedom of speech, self-censorship is very common as a protective mechanism, both from potential lawsuits and the intolerance of the society to opposing views. Women experience inequality and intolerance in their daily personal and professional lives. Some of the interviewees relate these incidences with rising religious conservatism.

The interviewees are attracted to countries where they would be able to practice their basic rights and liberties, mainly the freedom of choice, equal opportunity, freedom from violence, gender equality and freedom of speech. The interviewees would like to leave their anxieties about their physical security behind, and live in places where they wouldn't be discriminated. They acknowledge rising illiberal tendencies in the world and some of them state they do not want to migrate to USA or Germany due to rising discriminative discourse against immigrants and widespread use of gun in the former. They would like to live a predictable life with less stress. It is noteworthy that the emigrant interviewees underline how stressed they lived in Turkey without even being aware of it.

The interviewees reflect upon how powerless and hopeless they feel about the rising illiberal tendencies in Turkey. They declare that they don't find Turkey as a democratic country anymore, but as a politically instable country with problematic elections. They don't feel represented; and think that the political discourse of the government feeds polarization among the society. They are concerned about the Presidential system due to the centralization of power, loss of separation of powers, and disempowerment of the Parliament. They underline that the system is very much dependent on the human factor and system inheres arbitrariness in decision-making due to loss of counter-balance mechanisms. This transition concerns them especially for their future generations, and adds up to their feelings of powerlessness so much that some of them even try not to hear any news.

The interviewees think that corruption is very prevalent, and encouraged by the cases of impunity. They acknowledge weakening of the regulatory quality, such as lack of

meritocratic appointments, and use of nepotism in the public tenders and in the functioning of bureaucracy.

In terms of government effectiveness, the interviewees complain about the quality of the public services, especially about the education. They think they are obliged to find alternatives for their children in the private sector, even though it costs them a fortune. This is because they think that state education policies hinder diversity, and the quality of education is worsening. They are considerate that the education is being politicized. In addition, they do not have faith in the rule enforcement services in Turkey. Instead, they fear from the officers of public order, and find them disrespectful to human rights.

There are some limitations to note about this study. As we used snowball sampling for our research, findings of our study cannot be generalized to the skilled labour at large in Turkey. Likewise, as noted, even though it was not intentional, our sample did not include supporters of the ruling party, which is another factor restraining the generalization of our findings.

There are several implications of this research. Our findings correlate with the recent international studies on skilled labour migration which point to the importance of the political conditions in the countries of origin. They reveal that the protection of individual rights and liberties, as well as governance performance in the countries of origin have an important effect on the immigration calculus; even more than the economic or working conditions. Even though the Turkish Lira currency was already being devaluated during the time of the interviews, the interviewees rarely referred to economic conditions. In comparison to the striking devaluation of TL in the end of 2021 and during 2022; timing and the results of this study had been useful to distinguish political and economic reasons of the skilled labour emigration. Results of this study also reveal that working conditions in Turkey disciplined skilled labour. While the interviewees in our research are not content about any working condition, they still find their conditions more acceptable in comparison to the rest of the workforce.

Rising illiberal tendencies in the world are captured by several different approaches, such as the loss of political pluralism, debated electoral security, shrinking space for opposition, power abuse by elected governors, rising use of coercive power and nationalist discourse, dispossession of labour along with exploitation and worsening working conditions. Shift in

the state-society relations are explained through mainstream accounts as declining democracy practices, whilst Marxist accounts noted the economic aspects of these relations and defined the shift as rising authoritarianism, in response to the neoliberal economic policies. Poulantzas noted the spread of authoritarian statism in the Global North by the 1970s, emphasizing the rising control of state over socio-economic life and the erosion on the practices of individual liberties, in line with the economic liberalization. Rising illiberal practices gained pace since the 2008 global economic crisis in the world, and in Turkey the Constitutional Amendments of 2010 increased the speed even further.

Our study finds out that the political conditions, in specific the rising illiberal tendencies, became an important aspect of migration decisions of the skilled labour. However, skilled labour migration is not only dependent on the conditions in the countries of origin, or the receiving countries; but also on the migration policies of the receiving countries, economic policies of the countries based on the international financial institutions and the movement of the capital.

Our study found out that the skilled labour intends to migrate to the Global North where they think that they could practice their basic rights and liberties and find more civilized. However, illiberal tendencies are on the rise on the Global North, either. Though not all the countries experience dissolution of democracy at the same pace, and the skilled labour values better political conditions in comparison, this is a contradiction of the neoliberal policies which feed international migration.

Findings of this study also have implications about the impact of political conditions on the psychological well-being of the skilled labour in Turkey at several levels: gender related, insecurities about the present and the future. Further research should focus on gender-related perceived physical security and psychological well-being; the effects of future insecurities to the psychological well-being; and the effects of rising conservatism on education on the young generations.

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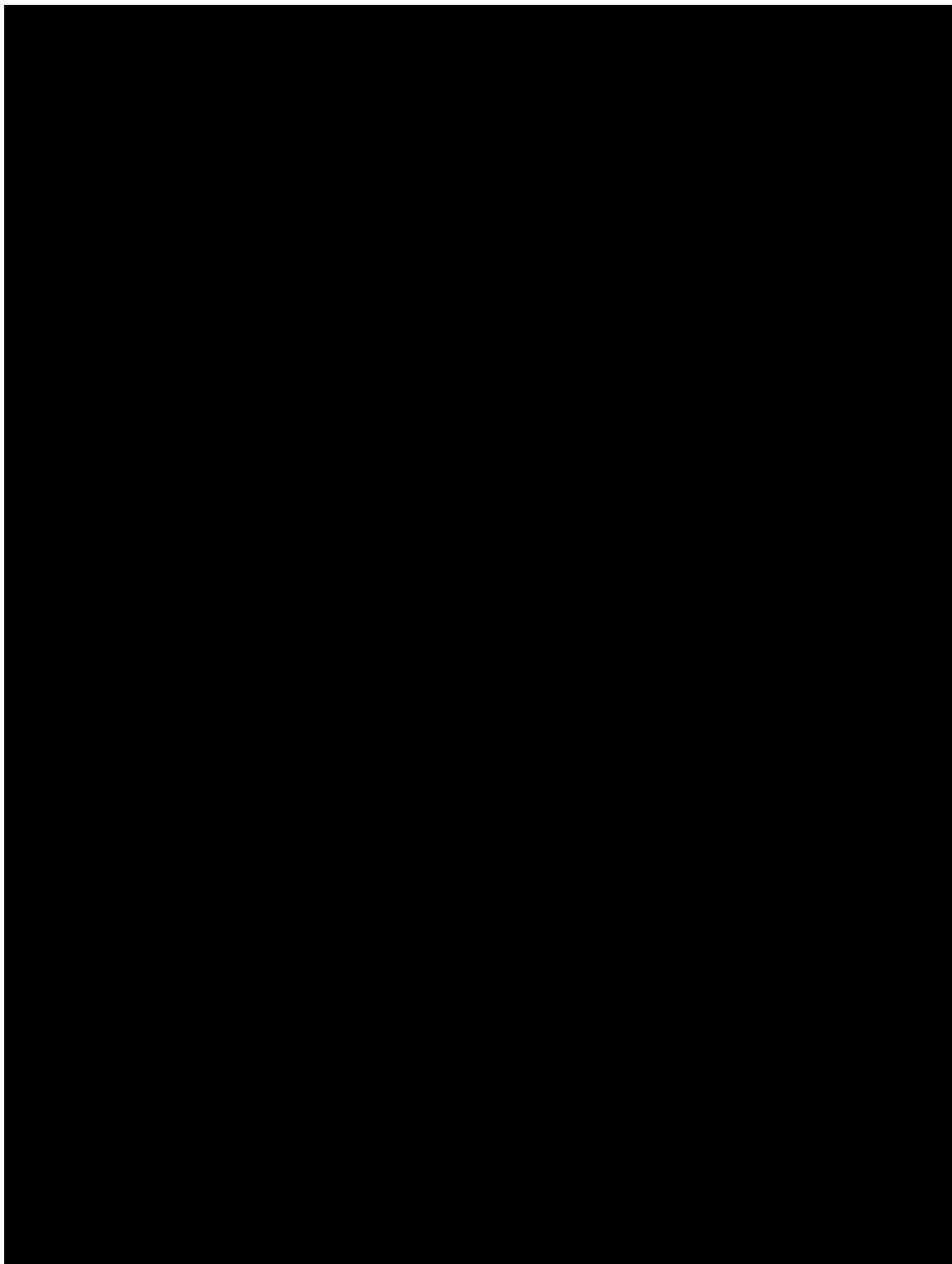
APPENDICES

1- (Planner Interviewees) Have you ever considered settling in another country?

(Emigrant Interviewees) How did you settle in the country you live in now?

2- When was the first time you have considered settling in another country?

3- Which countries have you considered to settle in?

4- (Planner Interviewees) Have you ever taken any initiative to settle in another country?

(Emigrant Interviewees) What kinds of initiatives did you take to settle in another country?

5- What criteria do you consider while making your plans to settle in a new country?

6- What were the conditions or reasons that made you consider settling in a new country?

7- Did the political conditions of our country have an effect on your migration decision?

8- Do you think that the judicial and political systems in our country effectively protect your basic rights and liberties?

    a. Do/Did you think your basic rights and liberties are secured?

    b. Are/Were you concerned about the safety of your life?

        i. Did you experience any intrusion to your way of life or did you have concerns about it?

        ii. Do you think the society respects the human and their labour?

        iii. Do you think that the society is respectful and tolerant to others' rights?

    c. Do you think there is a societal order and regulations that would protect you from experiencing unexpected things? / Do you have any control on the events and conditions that affect your daily life?

    d. Are you content with the quality of environment and life of the city you live in?

    e. What do you think about your working hours and conditions?

    f. Could you share your thoughts about the conditions you are content at work, and the ones you are not content about?

    g. Do you think that people with opposing political views can freely express themselves without fear of intimidation or sanction?

   i. Can you access objective information and news easily and prevalently?

   ii. Do you think people with different political, religious or ethnic backgrounds can organize in autonomy?

9- Do you think that the religious conservatism has risen in the society?

10- Do you think that the rule of law prevails in social and political life?

  a. Do you trust in the judiciary?

  b. Do you think the judiciary operates objectively, independent from the government?

11- How do the political events affect your daily life?

12- Do you think that Turkey is a democratic country?

  a. Do you think that equal representation is achieved through the electoral system in effect?

  b. Do you think that electoral security is achieved?

  c. Do you think that the political parties in opposition can freely represent their voter base?

  d. Do you think that politics in Turkey is pluralist?

  e. Do you think that the government policies meet the needs and expectations of different socioeconomic and cultural groups living in Turkey?

13- Do you think that the politics in Turkey can achieve stability?

  a. Do you think that the politics can maintain stability?

  b. How do you evaluate the integration capacity of the government policies with regards to social division and exclusion?

  c. Do you think that the society is tolerant towards the representation of different political views?

14- What are the advantages and disadvantages of Presidential system in Turkey?

  a. Do you think that the Presidency of the Republic system will lead to improvements in basic rights and freedoms?

  b. Do you think that the Presidency of the Republic system will empower the Parliament, the legislative?

  c. Do you think that the Presidency of the Republic system will make the decision-making process faster and more effective?

15- What do you think about the effectiveness and equal service capacity of bureaucracy in Turkey?

    a. Do you think government institutions such as state agencies, or ministries, municipalities and governorships can act independently from the ruling party in Turkey?

    b. Do you think that bureaucracy can operate in autonomy?

    c. Do you think that government institutions work according to administrative rules and act in favor public interest? Do you think public interest is prioritized?

    d. Do you think necessary measures are taken or sanctions applied to prevent corruption and irregularities?

16- How would you evaluate the effectivity and quality of the public services in Turkey, such as health, social security and public order?

    a. How do you evaluate the education policies of the government?

        i. Do you think that the education policies are effective in raising qualified workforce needed in our country?

    b. Are you satisfied with the services you receive in exchange of the taxes and deductions you pay for social and health services?

        i. Do you think current social security services will be able to meet your basic needs in case you are unemployed?

        ii. What do you think about the retirement system in Turkey? Can you explain your thoughts on the conditions, age of retirement and days of premium payments?

    c. Are you satisfied with the health services provided by the state? Do you think you receive a service of quality?

    d. Do you think social aids are provided for all the people in need in Turkey and in accordance with the regulations?

17- How do you evaluate public order services in our country?

    a. Do you think current law enforcement agencies are sufficient to achieve safety?

    b. Do you think the law enforcement agencies are respectful to human rights?

      c.   Do you think that violence spread in our country?

18- How effective are these conditions in your migration plans?

19- How different do you expect your economic and living conditions to be when you migrate?

APPENDIX C – DEMOGRAPY QUESTIONS

1- How old are you?

2- Where do you live?

3- Did you have any experience abroad before? Such as work, travel, education, etc.?

4- Where did you graduate from and when?

5- Where was your latest workplace in Turkey? Which sector were you working on?

6- How long did you work in Turkey?

7- Are you working now? If yes, what is your occupation?

8- Are you married? If yes, do your spouse work?

9- What are your parents' education level?

10- Are your parents working? If yes, what were their occupation?

11- Do you have children?

12- If it is OK for you to share, could you please let me know how you describe your ethnic or sectarian identity? What was your income level in Turkey?

APPENDIX D - TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Son yıllarda Türkiye'den nitelikli işgücü göçünün arttığı gözlenmektedir. Nitelikli işgücü göçüne dair güncel ve resmi bir istatistik bulunmasa da, Türkiye İstatistik Enstitüsü verilerine göre, Türkiye'den göç 25-49 yaş arası bireyler için 2016'dan 2019'a kadar %89 oranında artmıştır (Turkish Statistical Institute; 2020). Bu veriye göre, aktif çalışma döneminde olan bu yaş grubunun yurtdışına göçünün dikkat çekici oranda arttığı gözlenmektedir. Konuyla ilgili daha güncel ya da daha eski veri ilgili kurum tarafından paylaşılmamıştır.

Bu tez, nitelikli işgücünün Türkiye'den göç etme kararına etki eden unsurları, Türkiye'den göç etmiş ya da göç etmeyi planlayan 44 üniversite mezunu görüşmeciyle Mayıs-Haziran 2018 tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirilen yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlardan elde edilen birincil veriler çerçevesinde değerlendiren, ve nitel metodların kullanıldığı bir araştırmaya dayanmaktadır.

Nitelikli işgücü göçünün belirleyici etmenleri konusundaki uluslararası alanyazınında, daha yüksek maaşlar, daha iyi yaşam koşulları gibi iktisadi faktörlerin önemi vurgulanmaktadır (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Borjas, 1989; Bauer and Zimmermann, 1998; Chriswick, 2000; Grogger and Hanson, 2011; Belot and Hatton, 2012). Göç kararını etkileyen siyasi ve iktisadi koşulları ayrıştırmak zor olmakla birlikte yakın tarihli alanyazını göç kararlarının belirlenmesinde siyasi koşulların artan önemine dikkat çekmektedir. Olesen (2002), Ariu & Squicciarini (2013), Hiskey et al (2014) ve Ariu et al (2016) gibi araştırmacılar nitelikli işgücünün, özellikle 2008 küresel iktisadi krizinden sonra yönetimde artan illiberal uygulamaların temel hak ve özgurlükleri tehlike altına soktuğu ülkelerden, Kaufmann (2009) endeksi çerçevesinde liberal demokratik olarak tanımlanan ülkelere göç etmeyi tercih ettiğini değerlendirmektedir.

Türkiye'de konuyla ilgili önceki çalışmalarda siyasi koşulların göç kararına etkilerinden söz edilmiş olsa da (Sunata, 2002; Güngör 2003), bu çalışmalar ekonomik ve sosyokültürel koşulları göç kararını belirleyen unsurlar olarak değerlendirmiştir. (Oğuzkan, 1971; Isıgıçok, 2002; Güngör, 2003, 2008; Tansel et al. 2003; Gökbayrak, 2009). Yakın tarihli çalışmalarsa,

Türkiye'de artan beyin göçüne işaret etmekte ve bu konuda siyasi faktörlerin önemini ortaya koymaktadır (Elveren & Toksöz, 2019; Kuran, 2021). Yakın tarihte Türkiye'de yeniden yapılanan devlet-toplum ilişkileri göz önüne alındığında, siyasi koşulların göç kararına etkisininin araştırılması önem kazanmaktadır.

Özellikle 2008 ekonomik kriziyle birlikte dünyada illiberal uygulamaların arttığı gözlenmiştir. Türkiye'de ise, 2010 Anayasa referandumu sonuçlarıyla birlikte devlet-toplum ilişkilerindeki yeniden yapılanma süreci hızlanmış ve bu süreçte illiberal uygulamaların arttığı değerlendirilmiştir. Öte yandan, son yıllarda Türkiye'den nitelikli işgücü göçünün artması haberlere dahi konu olmuştur. Yakın tarihli uluslararası alanyazının da siyasi koşulların nitelikli işgücü göçüne etkisine değindiğini göz önüne alarak; nitelikli işgücünün göç kararı vermesinde Türkiye'deki iktisadi ve siyasi iktidar arasındaki bağlantısallık ve bunun sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan koşulların etkisinin araştırılmasına ihtiyaç olduğu değerlendirilmiştir.

Teze temel teşkil eden arastırmada nitel metodlar kullanılmıştır. Alanyazında göç kararını etkileyen kuramlar ve niteliklli işgücü göçünü inceleyen araştımalar değerlendirilmiş, makale, tez, veritabanı, kütüphane ve haber medyası araştırmaları yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın verileri 44 üniversite mezunu görüşmeciyle yapılan yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakatlardan toplanan bilgilerden oluşturulmuştur. Mülakatlar, 4 Mayıs ve 23 Haziran 2018 tarihleri arasında, 24 Haziran 2018 Cumhurbaşkanlığı ve Genel Seçimleri'nden hemen önceki 50 gün içrisinde gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Örnekleme dahil edilen görüşmecilerin belirlenmesinde beş kriter kullanılmıştır. Bu çerçevede, görüşmecilerin nitelikli işgücü olarak değerlendirilmesi için en az üniversite mezunu olmaları; mülakatların yapildigi tarih itibari ile 50 yaşını aşmamış olmaları, yine mülakatların yapıldığı tarih itibarı ile göç etmiş veya göç etmek için aktif olarak çaba gösteriyor olmaları, ve aktif siyasi görev ya da faaliyetlerde bulunmuyor olmaları gibi unsurlara dikkat edilmiştir. Ayrıca göçmen görüşmecilerin göç tarihinin 2010 yılından sonra olması şartı aranmıştır. Görüşmecilerin seçilmesinde, kartopu örneklem yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Bu amaçla, araştırmacı kendi çevresinde göç etmeyi düşünen veya halihazırda göç etmiş olan kişiler ile görüşmüş, onları, veya onların arkadaşlarını örneklem kriterine uymaları halinde mülakata davet etmiştir. Olumlu yanıt veren adaylarla görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Görüşmelerde kullanılan mülakat soruları üç bölümden oluşmustur. İlk bölümde, görüşmecilerin kendi ifadeleri ve tanımlarıyla göç nedenlerini, motivasyonlarını ve yöntemlerini paylaşmaları için açık uçlu sorular sorular geliştirilmiştir. İkinci bölümde, ise görüşmecilerin 2010-2018 yılları arasında Türkiye'deki siyasi koşullar ile ilgili algılarını daha detaylı incelemek üzere yapılandırılmış sorular sorulmuştur. Bu bölümdeki sorular oluşturulurken, uluslararası Kauffman (2009) endeksinde liberal demokratik rejimlerin unsurlarını oluşturan dört boyuttan (a) sivil ve politik hak ve özgürlükler ve hukukun üstünlüğü; b) siyasal istikrar ve temsil; c) hükümetin etkinliği; ve d) düzenleyicilik kalitesi) faydalanılmıştır. Mülakatın üçüncü ve son bölümünde, göç kararlarına etki eden siyasi ve iktisadi faktörlerle ilgili doğrulama soruları sorulmuştur.

Tezin ikinci bölümünde, nitelikli işgücü göçünün, göç alanyazında yerini ifade etmek amacıyla farklı yaklaşımlardaki göç kuramlarından bahsedilmiş bununla ilgili olarak, nitelikli işgücü göçünün belirleyici etmenleri hakkındaki alanyazın taraması sunulmuştur. İkinci bölümün devamında, devlet-toplum ilişkilerindeki yapılanmaların yakın geçmişinden bahsedilmiş ve bu bağlamda 2008 ekonomik krizi akabinde dünyada ve Türkiye'de artan illiberal uygulamalarla ilgili kuramsal açıklamalara yer verilmiştir. İkinci bölümün sonunda, mülakat sorularını oluştururken faydalanılan çeşitli yönetişim indikatörlerinden bahsedilmiştir. İlerleyen paragraflarda, bu bölümde bahsedilen bu konuların özeti paylaşılacaktır.

Castles et al (2014) günümüze dair göç örüntülerinden bahseder. Bu çalışmayla ilintili örüntüler şunlardır: Göç küreselleşmiştir ve aynı anda hem göç veren hem de göç alan ülkelerin sayısı artmıştır. Ana göç akımları İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan itibaren yön değiştirmiştir. Avrupa, daha önce kolonileşme gibi nedenlerle göç veren bir bölge iken, artık göç için temel hedef bir bölge haline gelmiştir. Kendi vatandaşları başka ülkelere göç eden ülkeler, aynı zamanda diğer ülke vatandaşları için göç adresi olan ülkeler haline gelmiştir, Türkiye de bu ülkelere dahildir. Son olarak, göç artan ölçüde politikleşmektedir, göçün hem ülke içi hem de ülkeler arası politikada birçok etkisi vardır.

Castles et al (2014), göç kuramlarını "İşlevsel" ve "Tarihsel-yapısalcı" kuramlar olarak iki gruba ayırır. Temel olarak, işlevsel kuramlar göçün toplumlar arasında denge sağlayıcı bir unsur olduğunu iddia ederken, tarihsel-yapısal teoriler, göç ile eşitsizliğin körüklendiğini, iktisadi ve siyasi iktidar eşitsizliklerinin göç ile yeniden üretildiğini iddia eder. Tarihsel-

yapısalcı teoriler, uluslararası göçü, hem küresel kapitalizm tarafından yaratılan, hem de küresel kapitalizmin dinamiklerini şekillendiren bir süreç olarak değerlendirir. İşlevsel teoriler, bireylerin akılcı, özgür, çıkarları doğrultusunda bağımsız tercihler yapabildiğini varsayarken tarihsel-yapısalcı teoriler, bireylerin tercih ve kararlarının yapısal unsurlar tarafından sşekillendirildigini iddia eder (Castells et al., 2014; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Cohen, 1987; Sassen, 1988). Bu teoriler, ülkelerin politik ve ekonomik güçlerinin farklı olduğunu ve göçün bu farklılığı artırdığını söyler; göç alan ülkeler daha ucuz işgücüne erişirken, göç veren ülkeler eğitimine katkıda bulunduğu işgücünü kayıp etmektedir, bu da ülkeler arası eşitsizliğin artmasına neden olur. Hanieh (2019), göçe neden olan güncel nedenlerin, küresel neoliberal yeniden yapılanma olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Buna göre, göç yalnızca göç veren ülkelerin koşullarıyla değerlendirilemez, ancak gelişmiş ülkelerin ve uluslararası finansal kuruluşların politikalarıyla da şekillenmektedir.

Anaakım alanyazın, göçmenleri mülteciler, sığınmacılar, ekonomik nedenlerle göçenler ve aile birleşimi nedeniyle göçenler olarak dört ana gruba ayırır. Nitelikli işçi göçü, genel olarak ekonomik nedenlerle göç edenler olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Ancak, yakın geçmişteki çalışmalar, nitelikli işgücünün göçünde siyasi koşulların artan ölçüde etkili olduğuna dikkat çekmektedir (Hiskey et al, 2014). Olesen (2002), göç veren ülkelerdeki insan hakları ve yolsuzluk, ifade özgürlüğü kısıtlamaları, liyakatsizlik gibi yönetişim sorunlarının nitelikli işgücünün göçüne neden olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Ariu & Squicciarini (2013), nitelikli işgücünün, yolsuzluğun çok olduğu ülkelerden daha az olduğu ülkelere göç ettiğini belirtmiştir. Hiskey et al. (2014), bireylerin demokratik kalite ve yönetişim kapasitesi konularındaki algılarının, göç kararlarını etkilediğini tartışmaktadır.

1970'lerde Türkiye'den nitelikli işgücü göçüyle ilgili yapılan çalışmalar, çalışma koşulları ve mesleki tatmin açısından yönetişim kapasitesi ve hükümet etkinliği konularına değinmiştir. 2000'li yıllardaki çalışmalar, makroekonomik istikrarsızlık ve küreselleşmenin etkileri üzerinde durmuştur. Yakın dönemdeki çalışmalarda, siyasi koşulların nitelikli işgücü göçü üzerinde artan etkisi olduğuna dikkat çekmektedir.

Siyasi koşullar, yalnızca gelişmekte olan ülkelerde değil, gelişmiş ülkelerde de değişim sürecindedir. 1970'lerde Avrupa ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde değişen sosyo-politik dinamiklere dikkat ceken Poulantzas, devletin sosyoekonomik hayat üzerinde artan

kontrolünun yanısıra, siyasi demokratik kurumlardaki bozulmalar ve bireysel özgürlüklerin kısıtlanması gibi uygulamaları otoriter devletçilik olarak tanımlamıştır. Poulantzas'a (1978) göre, devletin bu formundan yürütme güçlenirken, yasamanın etkisi ve gücü azalır, bu da hukukun üstünlüğü ilkesine ve sosyal düzenlemeye zarar verir Benzer şekilde, 2008 küresel finansal krizine yanıt olarak tüm dünyada illiberal uygulamaların arttığı değerlendirilmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, yeniden yapılanmakta olan devlet-toplum ilişkileri çerçevesinde, ülkeleri sosyal ve politik karışıklıklardan korumak için anayasa ve yasalarda düzenlemeler yapılmaktadır (Bruff, 2014; Boffo et al., 2019).

Değişmekte olan sosyo-politik dinamikler kapsamında, güncel dönemde uygulanan işgücü politikalarının, 1980lerden beri devam eden neoliberal dönüşümün devamı niteliğinde olduğu, işgücünün güçsüzleştirilmesinin de bu dönüşümün bir sonucu olduğu ifade edilmektedir (Oğuz, 2012; Pınar, 2012).

Türkiye'de de devlet-toplum ilişkileri, 1980lerden beri önemli ölçüde yeniden yapılanmıştır. 1980 darbesinden sonra değişen iktisadi politikalar doğrultusunda yürütme, yargı ve meclis karşısında güçlenmeye başlamış, liberal değerlere verilen önem azalmıştır. 2010 Anayasa referandumu devamında yapılan anayasal değişiklikler, yürütmenin yasama, yargı ve ordu üzerinde kontrolünün artmasına neden olmuştur (Bedirhanoğlu et al., 2020; Oğuz, 2012). Bu değişiklikle birlikte devlet-toplum ilişkilerindeki yeniden yapılanma oldukça hız kazanmıştır. 2018 yılında Cumhurbaşkanlığı Sistemine geçişten sonra, devletin yeniden yapılanması belirginleşmiş, karar alma mekanizmaları merkezileşirken, yasama organı Meclis'in gücü azalmıştır. Çeşitli uluslararası raporlar (FH 2019; FH 2022; V-Dem 2018; V-Dem 2022; IDEA's 2017). Türkiye'de artan illiberal uygulamalara, temel hak ve özgürlük ihlallerine, yargının bağımsızlığını yitirmesine, seçim güvenliği tartışmalarına, artan siyasi ve fiziksel şiddete ve kutuplaşmaya dikkat çekmektedir.

Tezin devamında, araştırmanın sonuçları sunulmaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümün başında, örneklemin demografik bilgileri sunulmuştur. Örneklemin cinsiyet dağılımı hemen hemen eşittir. Mülakatlara toplam 44 görüşmeci katılmıştır. Göç etmeyi planlayan grupta 11 erkek, 11 kadın görüşmeci bulunurken, göç etmiş grupta 12 kadın ve 10 erkek görüşmeci bulunmaktadır. Görüşmecilerin ortalama yaşı 32'dir, çoğunluğu 25-35 yaşları arasındadır. Görüşmeciler kentlidir. Yalnızca 3 görüşmeci daha önce hiç yurtdışında

bulunmamıştır. Görüşmecilerin yarısının en az yüksek lisans derecesi vardır. Mülakatların yapıldığı dönemde 38 görüşmeci aktif olarak çalışmakta, 3 görüşmeci işsiz durumdadır, 2 görüşmeci öğrencidir ve 1 görüşmeci de yurtdışında gönüllü olarak çalışmaktadır. İş tecrübesi olan görüşmecilerin ortalama tam zamanlı çalışma tecrübeleri 7 yıldır. Görüşmecilerin birçoğu gelir durumunu orta veya orta-üst olarak değerlendirmektedir. Görüşmecilerin yüzde 40'ı evlidir, %15'i çocukludur. Mülakatlarda görüşmecilere siyasi parti tercihleri ile soru sorulmamıştır. Ancak görüşmelerde verdikleri yanıtlardan, görüşmecilerin büyük çoğunluğunun muhalefet partileri tercih ettiği anlaşılmaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümün devamında, araştırma örnekleminin göç etme zamanı, yöntemleri ve göç etmedeki motivasyonları paylaşılmıştır. Görüşmeciler, hedef ülkelerde kendilerine çekici gelen unsurları ve Türkiye'den göç etme nedenlerini kendi cümleleriyle açıklamışlardır. Görüşmecilerin yüzde sekseni göç etmeye 2013 ile 2016 yılları arasında karar vermiştir. Göç etmiş gruptaki görüşmeciler çoğunlukla Gezi Parkı Olayları sonrasında, göç etmeyi planlayan görüşmecilerse çoğunlukla darbe girişimi sonrasında bu karara varmıştır. Avrupa ülkeleri, özellikle İngiltere ve Hollanda göç etme planında en çok tercih edilen hedef ülkelerdir. Yurtdışına iş başvurusu en çok kullanılan göç etme yöntemidir, ayrıca yurtdışına yüksek eğitim başvuruları, çeşitli tipte vize başvuruları, uluslararası anlaşmalar ve gönüllü çalışma başvuruları da kullanılan diğer göç etme yöntemleridir.

Siyasi koşullar, özellikle temel ve hak ve özgürlüklerin korunması konusu, görüşmecilerin göç kararı vermesinde en belirleyici etmen olarak görülmektedir. Görüşmeciler göç edecekleri ülkelerde iktisadi yaşam koşullarında gerçekleşebilecek düşüşleri göze alarak göç kararlarını vermektedirler.

Görüşmecilerin, göç ettikleri ya da planladıkları hedef ülkelerde en çok temel hak ve özgürlüklerin korunmasına önem verdikleri görülmektedir. Seçme özgürlüğü, fırsat eşitliği, şiddete maruz kalmama özgürlüğü, cinsiyet eşitliği ve ifade özgürlüğü en çok vurgulanan unsurlar olarak gözükmektedir. Görüşmeciler, kendi mesleklerinde ücret karşılığı bir işte çalışarak yaşamlarını sürdürebileceği; bireylerin birbirlerinin haklarına saygı gösterdiği, kendilerini geliştirme fırsatı bulacakları, medeni olarak değerlendirdikleri ülkelere göç etmeyi hedeflediklerini belirtmektedirler. Görüşmeciler, kendi ifadeleriyle dile getirdikleri göç motivasyonları arasında ekonomik koşulları nadiren dile getirmişlerdir.

Görüşmecilerin yarıdan fazlası, Türkiye'den göç etme nedenlerini soran açık uçlu soruya yanıt olarak temel hak ve özgürlüklerin yeterince korunmamasını vermiştir (25 kişi, 51 defa). 2015-2016 yılları arasında yaşanan patlamalar, darbe girişimi döneminde yaşanan şiddet ve günlük hayatta karşılaştıkları şiddetten bahseden görüşmeciler özellikle can güvenlikleri ile ilgili kaygılarını dile getirmektedirler. (18 görüşmeci). Görüşmecilerin dörtte biri (12 görüşmeci) Türkiye'de işçi haklarının güvence altında olmaması, yapılan işe saygı duyulmaması ve iş-özel hayat dengesinin kurulmasında yaşanan zorlukları (9 görüşmeci) göç sebepleri arasında ifade etmektedir. Görüşmecilerin üçte birinin kamu hizmetlerinin sunumundaki performans ile ilgili değerlendirmeleri (15 görüşmeci) de göçü etkileyen unsurlar olarak ifade edilmektedir. Bu görüşmecilere göre, kamu hizmetlerinin stanadartları kabul edilebilir düzeyde değildir. Görüşmeciler kamusal hizmetler ile ilgili kaygılarının özellikle çocuklarının Türkiye'de alacağı eğitim kalitesi, ve çocuklarının Türkiye'de yetişmeleri durumunda karşılaşabilecekleri zorlukların göç etmeyi değerlendirmelerinde önemli bir unsur olduğu belirtmektedirler.

Görüşmecilerin açık uçlu sorulara verdikleri yanıtlar değerlendirildiğinde, çoğunluğunun Türkiye'den göç etme nedeni olarak siyasi koşullardan sıklıkla bahsettiği görülmektedir (37 görüşmeci, 136 defa). Görüşmecilerin dörtte biri, göç etme nedeni olarak yalnızca siyasi koşullardan bahsederken, yarıya yakını diğer etmenlere de değinmiştir. Görüşmecilerin neredeyse yarısı, çalışma koşullarını (19 görüşmeci, 42 defa) ve yaşam koşullarını (19 görüşmeci, 27 defa) da göç etme nedeni olarak dile getirmiştir. Görüşmecilerin üçte biri, ekonomik koşulların göç kararlarına etkisinden bahsetmiştir (15 görüşmeci, 28 defa). Yalnızca bir görüşmeci, göç etme nedeni olarak sadece ekonomik koşullara yer vermiştir.

Dördüncü bölümde, görüşmecilerin göç etmelerine neden olan siyasi unsurların üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu bölümün bulguları, görüşmecilerin mülakat soruların ilk bölümünde göç etme kararlarında etkili olan unsurlara ilişkin açık uçlu bir soruya verilen cevaplar ile, mülakatın ikinci bölümünde sorulan medeni ve siyasi hak ve özgürlükler ve hukukun üstünlüğü; siyasal istikrar ve temsil; hükümetin etkinliği ve düzenleyicilik kalitesi hakkında yarı yapılandırılmış sorulara verilen yanıtların derlenmesiyle sunulmuştur. Neredeyse bütün görüşmeciler (43 görüşmeci), siyasi unsurların göç kararlarına etki ettiğini belirtmiştir. Bu unsurlar arasında, can güvenliği en temel kaygı olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Görüşmeciler

Türkiye'deki eğitim hizmetlerinin kalitesi ve artan dini muhafazakarlık nedeniyle, çocuklarının gelecekleri ile ilgili duydukları kaygıları vurgulamaktadırlar.

Görüşmecilerin neredeyse tamamı siyasi koşulların gündelik hayatlarındaki yaygın ve belirleyici etkisini vurgulamaktadır (42 görüşmeci). Yarıdan fazla görüşmeci (26 görüşmeci), Türkiye'deki siyasi koşulların ruh sağlıklarını kötü etkilediğini dile getirmektedir. Neredeyse bütün görüşmeciler (42 görüşmeci), Türkiye'de şiddetin yaygınlaştığını düşünmekteler. Bu nedenle özellikle fiziksel şiddete maruz kalma ve can güvenlikleri gibi hususlarda endişe yaşadıklarını ifade etmektedirler. 42 görüşmeci, toplumda artan şiddetin kendilerinde strese neden olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bazı görüşmeciler, darbe girişiminin kendilerinde travmaya neden olduğunun altını çizmişlerdir. Politikacıların şiddet olayları karşısında ve muhalefet hakkında kullandığı söylemlerin, kaygılarını artırdığını ifade etmektedirler. Kendileri ve sonraki kuşaklar için oldukça kaygı duymaktadırlar. Günlük hayatta politikanın çok gündemde olmasının, toplumdaki artan kutuplaşmaya daha çok maruz kalmalarına neden olduğunu değerlendirmektedirler ve bu durumdan rahatsız olduklarını dile getirmektedirler. Bu nedenle haberlerden uzak durmaya çalıştığını ifade eden görüşmeciler olmuştur. Bazı görüşmeciler, iş hayatlarının da Türkiye'nin siyasi koşullarından etkilendiğini ifade etmiştir.

Temel hak ve özgürlük ihlalleri, görüşmecilerin göç kararını en çok etkileyen unsur (41 görüşmeci, 195 defa) olarak ön plana çıkmaktadır. Neredeyse hiçbir görüşmeci Türkiye'de temel hak ve özgürlüklerinin korunduğunu düşünmemektedir. Can güvenliği, hukukun üstünlüğü ilkesi, seçme özgürlüğü gibi konular en çok dile getirilen ihlal alanlarıdır.

Can güvenliği hakkı ile ilgili olarak, 37 görüşmeci, Türkiye'de yaşanan patlamalar, darbe girişimi gibi siyasi şiddet örneklerinin yanı sıra; gündelik hayatta toplum içinde karşılaşabilecekleri artan ölçüde şiddet ve cinsel tacize dair korkuyla hayatlarını sürdürdüklerini dile getirmiştir. Görüşmecilerin neredeyse hepsi, toplumda şiddetin yaygınlaştığını düşünürken, yarıdan fazlası, toplumun şiddete olan eğilimindeki artışın kendilerini güvensiz hissettirdiğinin altını çizmiştir. 2015-2016 yıllarındaki patlamalara referansla, görüşmecilerin bir kısmı, resmi kolluk kuvvetlerinin güvenliği sağlamayamadığı ile ilgili kaygılarını vurgulumaktadır. Gezi olaylarında polisin göstericilere verdiği karşılığa referansla görüşmeciler kolluk kuvvetlerinin insan haklarını gözeterek hareket etmediğini

(14 görüşmeci), polisin orantısız güç kullandığına (43 görüşmeci) inandıklarını ifade etmektedirler.

Görüşmecilerin göç kararlarında etkili olduğunu ifade ettikleri bir diğer siyasi neden de hukukun üstünlüğü ilkesinin ihlalidir (37 görüşmeci). Görüşmecilerin hiçbiri Türkiye'de temel hak ve özgürlüklerinin hukuk tarafından korunduğunu düşünmediklerini ifade etmektedir. Benzer şekilde, hukukun üstünlüğü ilkesinin toplumda veya siyasi hayatta işlediğine, yargının adil olduğuna veya hukukun bağımsızlığına inanmadıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Cezasızlığın, şiddeti artıran bir unsur olduğunu dile getiren görüşmeciler olmuştur.

Görüşmecilerin yarıdan fazlası, (28 görüşmeci) cinsiyet eşitsizliğini göç kararlarına etki eden siyasi unsurlar arasında dile getirmiştir. Kadın görüşmeciler, cinsel tacize uğrama kaygısını içselleştirdiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Gece dışarıda tek başlarına kalmaları durumunda hayatlarının tehlikede olacağını değerlendirmekteler, dışarıda giyecekleri kıyafetlerini güvende kalma güdüsüyle seçtiklerini dile getirmişlerdir. Bunun yanı sıra, kadınların toplum içinde varlıklarının tolere edilemediğini, kadınların eşit vatandaş olarak görülmediğini değerlendiren görüşmecilerin bir kısmı, bu durumu dinin kadına bakış açısıyla ilişkilendirdiğini dile getirmiştir.

Görüşmecilerin neredeyse hepsi Türkiye'de ifade özgürlüğü olmadığını düşünmekte (43 görüşmeci), yarısı da bunu göç etmelerine etki eden bir faktör olarak dile getirmişlerdir (23 görüşmeci). Birçok görüşmeci, ifadelerini kısıtlayarak yaşadığını belirtmiştir. Bazıları bu ifade kısıtlama yöntemini toplum içinde fiziksel şiddetten korunmak veya işyerlerinde sorun yaşamamak için uyguladıklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Genel olarak, görüşmeciler kamu hizmetlerinin kalitesinden memnun olmadıklarını, bürokrasi ve sosyal hizmetlerin siyasetin etkisi altında olduğunu değerlendirdiklerini dile getirmiştirler. Hükümetin temel görevlerini yerine getirme performansı, 37 görüşmeci tarafından göç kararlarını etkileyen unsur olarak belirtilmiştir. Görüşmecilerin bir çoğu, sonraki kuşakların hak ve özgürlükleri hakkında endişeli olduklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Türkiye'deki eğitim politikalarının yurtdışına göçmeyi düşünmelerinde önemli bir etmen olduğunun altını çizmişlerdir (22 görüşmeci). Konuyla ilgili yarı yapılandırılmış sorulara verilen yanıtlar doğrultusunda, eğitim politikalarındaki sorunlara örnek olarak şu konuları dile getirmişlerdir: Eğitim hizmetlerindeki kalitenin düşmesi (32 görüşmeci), eğitimde dini

unsurların etkisinin artması (31 görüşmeci), eğitim sisteminde ve müfredatta yapılan sık değişiklikler (27), sınav sistemlerinin sık sık değiştirilmesi (15 görüşmeci) ve eğitimde özel sektöre mecbur bırakılmaları (10 görüşmeci).

Görüşmecilerin önemli bir çoğunluğunun bürokrasinin etkinliği konusunda olumsuz görüşe sahiptir (37 görüşmeci). Türkiye'deki idari organların hükümetten özerk hareket edemediğini, toplum yararına ve idari kurallara uygun olarak çalışmadığını değerlendirmekteler. Buna neden olarak hukukun üstünlüğü ilkesinin zayıfladığından, idari organlarda yapılan terfilerin veya atamaların liyakate dayalı olmayışı gibi unsurlardan bahsetmişlerdir. Türkiye'de gelecekle ilgili beklentilerinin azlığı nedeniyle emeklilik dönemlerine dair plan yapmadıkları görülmektedir.

Bir diğer yaygın göç unsuru olarak ülkede artan dini muhafazakarlık ifade edilmiştir (32 görüşmeci). Ayrıca birçok görüşmeci, dinin günlük hayattaki öneminin arttığı değerlendirmektedir (37 görüşmeci). Bu konuya ilintili olarak, özel hayata müdahale ve cinsiyet eşitsizliği deneyimlerinden bahsetmekteler. Özel hayatlarına müdahaleyi en aza indirmek için, şehir içinde hareketliliklerini kısıtladıklarından, kendilerini güvende hissettikleri alanlarda hareket etmeye gayret ettiklerinden ve gidecekleri yere göre kılık kıyafet tercihinde bulunmaya çalıştıklarından bahsetmişlerdir.

Siyasi istikrarsızlık da görüşmecilerin üçte biri tarafından göç unsuru olarak ifade edilmiştir. Yarı yapılandırılmış sorulara verilen yanıtlara göre, görüşmecilerin önemli bir çoğunluğu, Türkiye'de politikanın siyasi istikrar sağladığını düşünmemektedir (41 görüşmeci). Hükümet politikaları ve söylemlerinin toplumda bütünleşmeyi sağlama yönünde faydası olmadığını, aksine toplumda ayrışmaya, kutuplaşmaya neden olduğunu değerlendirmektedirler. Görüşmecilerin neredeyse tamamı, toplumda artan kutuplaşma ve hakim söylemler nedeniyle, toplumun farklı politik görüşlere karşı toleransının olmadığını düşündüğünü ifade etmiştir (42 görüşmeci).

Görüşmecilerin üçte biri, hayatlarının gidişatı üstünde güçsüz ve etkisiz hissetmelerini göç unsuru olarak dile getirmişlerdir. Öte yandan neredeyse hiçbir görüşmeci, Türkiye'de bir geleceğe dair kendilerini güvende hissetmediklerini ifade etmiştir. Özellikle bireysel özgürlüklerinin kısıtlanması, siyasi belirsizlikler, iş hayatı ile ilgili kaygıları ve ekonomik belirsizlikleri bu güvensizliğin nedenlerine örnek olarak ifade etmişlerdir.

Yarı yapılandırılmış sorulara verdikleri yanıtlar doğrultusunda, görüşmecilerin Türkiye'yi demokratik bir ülke olarak değerlendirmediği görülmektedir (43 görüşmeci). Görüşmeciler, Türkiye'de seçim güvenliği olmadığını düşünmekteler. Seçim sonuçlarının güvenilirliğine katkıda bulunmak için, seçim sürecinde ve oy sayımı esnasında gözlemci olarak sandık başında bulunma ihtiyacı hissettiklerini ifade eden görüşmeciler olmuştur. Ancak, sıklıkla değiştiğini ifade ettikleri "geçerli oy" kavramı gibi çeşitli nedenlerle seçim sonuçlarına güvenleri olmadığını ifade ederek, bu konuda umutsuz hissettiklerini vurgulayan görüşmeciler olmuştur. Neredeyse bütün görüşmeciler, seçim sistemi ile farklı görüşlerin Meclis'te eşit temsilinin sağlanamayacağını değerlendirmektedir (42 görüşmeci), seçim barajı nedeniyle azınlıkların temsil edilemediğini düşündüklerini ifade etmektedir. Görüşmecilerin birçoğu, Türkiye'de siyasetin çoğulcu bir yapısı olmadığını değerlendirmektedir (37 görüşmeci). Görüşmecilerin önemli bir çoğunluğu muhalefetin, oy tabanlarını oluşturan kişileri özgürce temsil edemediğini değerlendirmetedir (40 görüşmeci). Buna neden olarak bazı görüşmeciler ifade özgürlüğünün kısıtlanması, ötekileştirici hakim söylem ve hatta hapise atılmaya varan cezalandırmaları örnek göstererek muhalefetin oldukça baskı altında olduğunu, bu baskı ve baskının neden olduğu korkunun da özgür temsili engellediğini ifade etmiştir. Görüşmecilerin çoğunluğu, Cumhurbaşkanlığı Sistemi'ne geçişin siyasi temsil ve katılıma, güçler ayrılığı ilkesine ve yasamaya olumsuz etkileri olacağını değerlendirmektedir. Karar alma sürecinin hızlanabileceğini, ancak sistemin fazlasıyla insana bağlı olması nedeniyle bu durumun keyfi kararlara neden olabileceğine dair endişelerini ifade etmişlerdir. Öte yandan, görüşmecilerin bir kısmı Cumhurbaşkanlığı sistemine geçişle ilgili herhangi bir fikirleri olmadığını beyan etmiştir. Buna neden olarak, bu değişiklikle ilgili oldukça stresli olduklarını, kendilerini çok güçsüz ve etkisiz hissetmeleri nedeniyle bu konu hakkında bilgi edinmekten kaçındıklarını ifade etmişlerdir.

Bunların yanı sıra, görüşmecilerin birçoğu, Türkiye'deki işgücünün geri kalanına göre iyi koşullarda çalıştığını değerlendirse de, çalışma koşullarından memnun değiller. Birçoğu çalışan haklarının korunmadığını düşünüyor. Gereğinden fazla işyükü, iş-özel hayat dengesizliği, maaşların düşüklüğü, yaptıkları işe saygı gösterilmemesi ve liyakatsiz atamalar veya terfiler, ifade edilen örnekler arasında.

Bulguların paylaşıldığı üçüncü ve dördüncü bölümlerin ardından tez, sonuç bölümü ile sona ermektedir.

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki siyasi koşulların Türkiye'den nitelikli işgücü göçünü belirlemede önemli bir etmen olduğunu; Türkiye'deki nitelikli işgücünün, Türkiye'de sağladığından daha mütevazi ekonomik koşullarda yaşamayı göze alarak göç kararını verdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Tez çalışmasında kullanılan örneklemin kartopu örneklem metoduyla oluşturulmuş olması ve her ne kadar tesadüfi olsa da, örneklemde iktidar partisini destekleyen görüşmeci bulunmaması, bu çalışmanın kısıtlarıdır.

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