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Motivation, Higher Education, Belonging, and Development: Integration of Highly Educated Immigrants into the Western Labor Market

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MOTIVATION, HIGHER EDUCATION, BELONGING, AND DEVELOPMENT: INTEGRATION OF HIGHLY EDUCATED IMMIGRANTS INTO THE WESTERN LABOR MARKET

A Dissertation

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by

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Abstract

The research investigates the interdependencies among higher education, motivation, belonging, and development. Also, the study covers the literature on integration and gender of international migrants.

The first study examines the motivation to serve and its predictors among Turkish military officers and Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs) prior to July 15th, 2016 Coup attempt in Turkey. Based on survey data, the findings revealed that institutional and moral commitments, organizational responsiveness, perceived fairness, and satisfaction with social benefits were positive significant determinants of motivation to serve, while occupational commitment had a negative relationship with it.

The second study examines the labor market participation of highly educated Turkish state officials after the Coup attempt. Drawing on qualitative research, this study broadens the discussion about migration policies and job market participation of highly educated migrants/refugees in Western countries. The article shows the effects of state policies and practices on migrants’ thoughts, experiences, and feelings during the job market participation and integration with the destination state.

The final research analyzes the literature on integration and assimilation related to immigrants and searched for the role of gender in this process. Based on computer-assisted content analysis of related articles published from January of 1998 to September of 2018, the results indicate that the current body of research focuses primarily on organizational and structural topics like housing, health, education, the labor force, identity, and language, instead of human-based topics such as social capital, community participation, and networks of displaced persons that recognize them as public actors. Also, the final study shows the
interconnectedness of migration topic with broader mainstream issues of gender at multi-levels. It analyzes that the role of gender has generally been ignored in theorization and examination of the migration process from migration decision-making to integration to destination countries. It hypothesizes the importance of separate explanations for women’s migration rather than traditional explanations derived for men’s labor migration and accepts women as dependent individuals with children. Also, this study discusses that women’s participation in job markets and integration to destination countries may be different than the traditional findings especially in terms of recent migration flows and forced migration.
Chapter 1. Introduction

This dissertation investigates the interdependencies between higher education, motivation, belonging, and development of highly educated Non-western migrants at the job market process before and after their forced migration to Western countries.

At present, there is no single, comprehensible, and systematic theory of job motivation of state officials. There is only a non-integrated set of studies that have developed mostly in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always disjointed by disciplinary boundaries. The extant research has generally focused on different forms of commitment and organizational responsiveness as potential predictors of job motivation. However, the majority of these studies ignore non-western countries.

Also, while the most important drivers of migration stem from global issues such as inequality, civil war, and social change, the literature tends to focus on micro-level issues and gives little attention to some migration types (e.g., forced migrants, political exiles), gender, and migrants’ perspectives.

Moreover, there is a less comparative study to compare and discuss the policy and practice at job satisfaction, labor market participation, and integration to destination countries before and after migration decision. Other characteristics of the migration literature showed that the migration process had been examined mostly in the eyes of the destination public rather than the migrant people who experienced this. By focusing on a non-Western Muslim, highly educated Turks, this study addresses this gap. More specifically, it contributes to growing literature on migration by examining less studied immigrants and their thoughts, feelings, and experiences with policy and practice at destination countries.
This study has consisted of three interrelated articles. The first article (Chapter 2), uses survey data to address the job motivation and its predictors among Turkish state officials before the coup attempt that took place in Turkey on July 15th, 2016. After testing the effectiveness of measures proposed by previous studies about the motivation, the current research attempt to incorporate two new variables, perceived fairness, and satisfaction with social benefits into the literature on job motivation.

Contrary to previous coups and migration flows, the characteristics of the 2016 coup attempt as well as migration flow from Turkey to western countries were dramatically different. The current government in Turkey jailed or sacked hundreds of thousands of highly educated state officials from public servants due to their alleged link to the coup attempt. If not jailed, most of them had passport bans, deskilled, humiliated, and labeled in the country. This atmosphere forced many people to move from the country via legal or illegal ways and applying for exceptional ability visas or asylum in western countries. During the vast state crackdowns, many state officials abroad, including diplomats, ministry staff, academics, and students, refused to return to their homeland after they got state order calling them right back and stayed as political exiles in Western countries.

Since job market participation is crucial for the integration, the second study (Chapter 3), examines the labor market participation of highly educated Turkish ex-state officials who moved or stayed in the US, Canada, and European countries after July 15th, 2016 Coup attempt and following significant social changes in Turkey. Drawing on qualitative research conducted among highly educated forced migrants and political exiles, the second research analyzes migrants’ thoughts, feelings, and lived experiences with destination countries’ policies, practices, contact with state officials, and private sector environments during their incorporation to job
markets at destination countries. Also, this study discusses the role of migrants’ higher education in their motivation, development, and belonging in the employment process.

The final study (Chapter 4), examines the literature on integration and gender in international migration studies. After identifying the general body of academic studies, this research analyzes the content of the main sociological articles published in the last two decades to reveal the current body of research topics and less-studied areas. After presenting the ignored areas, the study focuses on how gender shapes international migration from migration decision-making to the integration process. This work also hypothesis the changing role of gender in this process.
Chapter 2. What Factors Influenced Turkish Military Officers’ and NCOs’ Motivation to Serve Prior to the July 2016 Coup Attempt? *

2.1 Introduction

The scientific knowledge regarding the definition of “motivation” encompasses many different definitions, classifications, and principles that are specific to a particular discipline. In military studies, there is a broad spectrum of thought regarding the importance of motivation, but, indisputably, motivation is essential for individuals and the military institution alike to accomplish both their peacetime and wartime goals. The concept of motivation is generally classified into two groups including motivation to serve and combat motivation. Extant research on motivation—that have generally been conducted in the U.S. context—has generally focused on combat motivation and motivation to fight, which is not surprising given the involvement of the U.S. military in numerous military operations in the last decade. The concept of motivation to serve—which is more related to willingness to serve in the military during peacetime—on the other hand, has been less frequently studied by previous research. This study addresses the issue of motivation to serve and its predictors among Turkish military officers (TMO) and NCOs. It contributes to the existing body of knowledge on military sociology—in general—and motivation to serve—in particular from several aspects.

At present, there is no single, comprehensible, and systematic theory of motivation to serve. There is only a non-integrated set of studies that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always disjointed by disciplinary boundaries. Some of these studies revealed that commitment to the military organization was one of the most important

predictors of motivation to serve in the military (Griffith, 2008; Moskos & Wood, 1988; Segal, 1986; Woodruff, Kelty, & Segal, 2006). In particular, they have highlighted some different forms of commitment, including the institutional, occupational, and moral commitment, all of which have been shown to produce different consequences with respect to motivation to serve. Along with the studies emphasizing the importance of different forms of commitment, other studies found the organizational responsiveness—which refers to soldiers’ perception of reliability of leaders and responsiveness of the institution to their personal and professional needs—as another factor associated with the motivation to serve (Ben-Dor, Pedahzur, & Hasisi, 2002; Waar, Bindl, Parker, & Inceoglu, 2013). Thus, extant research has generally focused on different forms of commitment and organizational responsiveness as potential predictors of motivation to serve. A majority of these studies, however, have been conducted to military organizations of what Caforio (2006) calls the first-level countries including the U.S. and some European countries.

One goal of the current study is to examine the motivation to serve and its predictors in the military in a different context; namely, Turkish Armed Forces (TAF). By this way, this article explicates and integrates the findings of the previous studies of motivation to serve and tests the effectiveness of existing measures proposed by these studies in a non-western and understudied military organization.

Aside from testing the effectiveness of existing measures in a different context, the current study also builds on the greater body of scientific knowledge in the field of motivation to serve by introducing two new variables—including the perceived fairness and satisfaction with social benefits—that may potentially influence motivation to serve in military units—in general—and in TAF—in particular. While these variables have never been incorporated into motivation to serve studies, findings of research focusing on these factors in different contexts
imply that they may positively affect motivation to serve among soldiers (Caglayandereli, Arslan, & Unal, 2016; Ozturk & Teber, 2006; Unsaldi & Dabagci, 2012). Finally, the survey data that we utilize in this article was collected two months before the failed coup attempt that took place in Turkey on July 15, 2016. The findings of this study are therefore invaluable as they demonstrate the motivational atmosphere among Turkish military personnel before the coup attempt. While the discussion of the coup attempt, controversies surrounding it, and its predictors and consequences is not among the goals pursued in this article, findings of this article may provide important implications for those who are interested in these issues.

2.2 Background

Conceptual Framework

The concepts of morale, motivation, and esprit de corps have at times been grouped in military literature, though their meanings are quite different. While the morale is more related to the “mental and emotional condition of a group to accomplish the task,” motivation is defined as “the willingness to show high-level performance to reach organizational goals” (Latham & Pinder, 2005, p. 486). Webster’s definition of “esprit de corps” is “the common spirit existing in the members of a group” (Esprit de corps, 2005). Some scholars have stressed the difficulty in accurately defining, analyzing, and measuring these concepts (Cofer & Appley, 1964; Hackman-Oldham, 1980). Fennell (2014) described the different perspectives of military practitioners and academics who have searched for an appropriate framework for these concepts, an effort possibly stemming from the commonalities among the various goals of the armed forces. He posited that the term, military morale, has not been properly defined and it has been poorly understood (2014). Accordingly, he defined morale as a “willingness to act in a manner required by an authority or institution” (2014, p. 823). Other scholars have defined esprit de corps and
motivation with the same terms: the willingness to act (Latham & Pinder, 2005). Therefore, to provide a clear understanding of the motivation to serve, in this study, it is conceptualized as the “willingness to act.” Additionally, research on esprit de corps and morale have been included in the literature review if the work defined either term as the “willingness to act.”

**Theoretical Framework**

At present, there is no single, coherent theory of motivation to serve. There are only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries. Newsome (2003) divided intrinsic motivation theories into the categories of national service, volunteerism, will, warrior spirit, militarism, nationalism, ethnicity, religiosity, morality, social ideology, and political ideology. He suggested that theories of extrinsic motivation including the combat motivation were developed more rigorously and in a more empirically supportable way compared to theories of intrinsic motivation including the motivation to serve (Newsome, 2003). Also, Fennell (2014) conducted an in-depth literature review and explained the factors affecting motivation (in his research, this was described as morale); he categorized these into two groups (see Table 2.1) and argued that there was a mutual interaction between them. These general endogenous and exogenous factors provide a nearly comprehensive list of factors addressed in the military motivation literature.

Table 2.1 Endogenous and exogenous factors of motivation (morale).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Endogenous factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Institutional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Command, discipline, selection, doctrine, welfare/education, Ethos/duty, training, organization, supply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Leadership, cohesion, esprit de corps</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table cont’d.)
Endogenous factors

5. Individual
6. Disposition, background, coping strategies, relationship with, fear/confidence, experience, fatigue/rest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exogenous factors (More related to motivation to serve)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Political (Propaganda, aims, ideology, force size)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Economic (Technology, output)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cultural (Law, values/ethics, view of the enemy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Environmental (terrain, climate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Situational (information, rumor, friction, antecedents)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Review of the Literature on Predictors of Motivation to Serve**

Moskos’ (1976) occupational and institutional model has generally shaped the measurement methods of predictors in motivation studies (Taylor, Clerkin, Ngaruiya, & Velez, 2015). Scholars following Moskos’ (1976) model have employed commitment and institutional responsiveness as measures of motivation to serve. In particular, they have pointed out some different types of commitment, including institutional, occupational, and moral (Griffith, 2008; Moskos & Wood, 1988; Segal, 1986; Woodruff et al., 2006).

*Institutional commitment* refers to an emotional condition in which an individual is group-oriented, deeply committed to the organization itself, willing to make sacrifices, and motivated by intangible rewards such as honor and respect (Burland & Lundquist, 2013; Griffith, 2008; Moskos, 1977). According to Griffith (2008), soldiers who were committed to the military as an “institution” were more likely to continue their careers in the military, show a willingness to perform duties, and prioritize the service to the country over material rewards. Additionally, Woodruff et al., (2006) found that soldiers who had reported greater tendencies of being enlisted before the service were more likely to develop institutional commitment and plan to stay in the military. The second form of commitment highlighted by previous studies is the *occupational*
commitment, which refers to a condition in which individuals are motivated by tangible and realistic rewards such as money, time, and promotions (Battistelli, 1997; Griffith, 2008; Moskos, 1977; Eighmey, 2006). Woodruff et al., (2006) found that soldiers who had lower tendencies to join the military before their service was generally influenced by occupational and material aspects of the military service. Although to a lesser extent, previous studies also emphasized the importance of moral commitment, which is a condition in which individuals feel obligated to remunerate for the efforts exerted by the institution on their behalf. Thus, they consider leaving the institution as a type of betrayal and are motivated to stay. In other words, individuals become morally or ethically committed or loyal to the institution (Bremner & Goldenberg, 2015; Wakin, 2000). In the light of these studies, we expect to find that “H1: institutional and moral commitment to the army will be positively associated, and occupational commitment will be negatively associated with motivation to serve.”

According to Griffith (2008), soldiers who are committed to the military as an “occupation” and motivated by the material advantages of it are less likely to remain in the service for a long time and to report to serve the country. This proposition has also shaped the general understanding of the commitment to the TAF. Turkish military practitioners generally prefer those who care less for monetary rewards, and they search for candidates who are more likely to be motivated by unrealistic, abstract, and goal-oriented motivators. Their recruitment strategies are mainly based on the view that a person who is highly motivated by occupational commitment will likely prefer a better civilian job than the military counterpart. Thus, the military institution attempts to lessen the adverse effects of the competitiveness of the job market by seeking out institutionally motivated people instead of those driven by realistic rewards such as high salaries and other benefits.
Along with the studies focusing on Moskos’ I-O model and highlighting the effects of different forms of commitment on motivation to serve, other studies also reported the organizational responsiveness as another factor associated with the motivation to serve (Ben-Dor et al., 2002; Waar, Bindl, Parker, & Inceoglu, 2013). Organizational responsiveness refers to the soldiers’ perceptions regarding the reliability of officers and the institution’s responsiveness to their personal and professional needs. Griffith (2002) suggested that responsiveness as well as respect and consideration—as examples of positive leadership behaviors—can increase a soldier’s mental well-being, gratification, self-worth, self-esteem and the identification with the leader, unit, and the military organization. Perry, Griffith, and White (1991, p. 113) argued that the “[a]trition [mighty is] affected by factors such as an attachment to the unit, reliance and confidence in officers, and a perception of unit commanders as helpful,” all of which have also been shown to affect levels of motivation to serve. Based on the findings of previous research (Griffith, 2002; Lebel, 2008), our second hypothesis proposes that “H2: the army’s responsiveness to personnel will be positively associated with motivation to serve.”

Apart from commitment and organizational responsiveness, there may be some other factors that can potentially affect motivation to serve among soldiers. Perceived fairness—as one of these factors—has not been evaluated as a separate factor associated with motivation to serve, but some studies have listed fairness and the law as cultural factors that affect individuals’ motivation (Fennell, 2014). Perceived fairness refers to what personnel thinks about equal treatment at the institution. Turkish sociological studies on hierarchical institutions, specifically on the Armed Forces, have found that perceptions of fairness, adherence to the law, and equality all increase the motivation of personnel (Caglayandereli et al., 2016; Ozturk & Teber, 2006). Also, Kunter’s (2014) study revealed that personnel had listed fairness as the third most
important leadership characteristic. Although there is only a limited number of studies on perceived fairness and motivation to serve, findings of these studies may imply that perceived fairness in the military institution—especially in the Turkish context—may have a potential to affect the level of motivation to serve among military personnel. Thus, we expect to find that “H3: *satisfaction with fairness in the army will be positively associated with motivation to serve* (Caglayandereli et al., 2016; Fennell, 2014).

Satisfaction with *social benefits* is another factor that, to the best of our knowledge, has not been investigated in studies of motivation to serve. It refers to the satisfaction with the privileges provided by the Armed Forces. Some studies on the TAF have shown that the Armed Forces offers particular social benefits to members via reserved areas, commissaries, holiday resorts, military hospitals, mess halls, and transportation opportunities (Unsaldi & Dabagci, 2012). Also, the Armed Forces Trust and Mutual Fund (OYAK) is a rare funding organization that is different from those runs by other modern armies; it provides unique privileges to its member cadres. For example, OYAK’s retirement benefits were at least three times greater than those offered to civilian counterparts (Ulusoy, 2016, p. 14). While satisfaction with the social benefits has not been incorporated into the motivation to serve literature before, we believe that having particular privileges as part of the membership to the military institution—as is the case with the TAF personnel—might lead to higher levels of motivation to serve among the personnel. For this reason, our final hypothesis suggests that “H4: *satisfaction with the social benefits provided by the army will be positively associated with motivation to serve*.”

To sum up, previous studies have mainly focused on different forms of commitment and organizational responsiveness as potential predictors of motivation to serve in military units. They found that occupational commitment was negatively associated with motivation to serve,
while institutional and moral commitment was associated with higher levels of motivation to serve (Battistelli, 1997; Bremner & Goldenberg, 2015; Eighmey, 2006; Griffith, 2008; Moskos, 1977; Wakin, 2000; Woodruf et al. 2006). Organizational responsiveness was also reported to positively affect motivation to serve among military personnel (Ben-Dor et al., 2002; Waar, Bindl, Parker, & Inceoglu, 2013). In addition to these factors that have been examined by extant research, the current study also introduces two more variables that may potentially influence motivation to serve in military units—in general—and in TAF—in particular, that are perceived fairness and satisfaction with social benefits. While these variables have never been incorporated into motivation to serve studies, findings of research focusing on these factors in different contexts imply that they may positively affect motivation to serve among soldiers (Caglayandereli et al., 2016; Ozturk & Teber, 2006; Unsaldi & Dabagci, 2012).

**Unique Characterization of TAF**

Since Turkey has serious security concerns because of its geopolitical region and historical debate, it controls NATO’s second-largest army. This army offers both professional and compulsory service positions. Young men who enlist in response to mandatory recruitment serve six to 12 months and generally take part in low-risk activities. Professional soldiers are military officers (commissioned and non-commissioned), specialists, and contracted privates. TAF has been in combat with the PKK terrorist organization for nearly thirty-five years, and it has carried out numerous military operations mainly in the southeastern part of the country and sometimes through cross-border operations in Iraq and Syria. The issue of motivation to serve in the Turkish military, therefore, is of vital importance, given the needed recruitment numbers and the availability and readiness of personnel for counter-terrorism operations. Thus, it is important to reveal factors that might potentially influence the level of motivation to serve in the TAF. To
the best of our knowledge, this study is the first academic research that examines the extent and predictors of motivation to serve in the TAF.

2.4 Methodology

Data and Sampling

Data were derived from the Institutional Belonging Survey (IBS), which queried active-duty military officers and NCOs in the Turkish Army. Surveys were conducted during one month in May of 2016. Military personnel who were surveyed were randomly selected out of all commissioned and non-commissioned military officers in the Turkish Land Forces by extracting from personnel files through the assignment of random registration numbers. Survey questionnaires were distributed, and responses collected via an intranet network called KaraNet, a private network accessible only to Turkish Land Forces’ staff. Personnel was informed of the study’s purpose, and that participation was voluntary and represented a minimal risk. They were also guaranteed anonymity and assured that their responses would be recorded without individual identifiers; results would be reported only as grouped data.

Of the 5,000 military personnel randomly selected for the survey, 4,060 of them completed surveys and returned their responses (an 81.2% response rate). Males comprised about 99% of the final sample. More than 90% of respondents had some college or a higher educational degree. Also, 35% of respondents were commissioned, and 65% were reported as non-commissioned officers. The distribution of respondents’ self-reported incomes was found to be relatively consistent with the initial expectations. Sociodemographic, rank, and unit distributions of the sample were similar to those of all military officers and NCOs in the Turkish Land Forces. From this point of view, it can be determined that the sample sufficiently represented the target population.
**KaraNet Network and Data Collection Procedures**

As it was mentioned, we collected the data via an internal network called KaraNet. KaraNet is a high-security intranet network with fiber-optic infrastructure, which has no connection to the internet. It is a network in which officers and non-commissioned officers can log in from the computers that are registered in the system by using their username and passwords, where they can follow their benefits and receive feedbacks. It is possible to enter the system from the units that are delegated all over the country varying from independent military units such as platoons and companies to the Land Forces Command’s headquarter. The control center of the system is at MEBS (Communications, Electronics, and Information Systems) Command, which is a branch of Turkish Land Forces located in Ankara, Turkey.

It is possible to collect data and replicate this study by using the KaraNet network with the permission of the Turkish Land Forces Command and the coordination of the Land Forces Command Sociological and Psychological Research Branch Office. The survey we utilized in this study was conducted to a random sample of officers and non-commissioned officers in the Turkish Land Forces by following the guidelines stated above. Survey questionnaires were sent to the personnel confidentially and collected again voluntarily. Data collected were stored without any visible individual identifiers to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality.

**Survey Questionnaire**

The survey questionnaire consisted of 76 items. The first 17 were questions regarding respondents’ sociodemographic characteristics such as age, gender, income, and educational attainment, and military-specific information such as rank, service-year, unit location, and branch. The remaining items asked respondents to rate various unit aspects such as quality of unit administration, responsiveness, training, leadership, and interpersonal relationships, as well
as individual characteristics such as job performance, motivation to serve, commitment, and satisfaction with the institution’s norms. The questionnaire also included items that were intended to measure their intention to remain in military service under different conditions. The questionnaire concluded by asking respondents to report their satisfaction with the social benefits provided by the institution. Items were taken from questionnaires used in previous studies of retention, motivation, institutional belonging, and related areas and administered to soldiers (some notable examples; Ben-Dor, Pedahzur, Canetti-Nisim, Zaidise, Perliger, & Bermanis, 2008; Griffith, 2008). Survey items were closed-ended phrases to which soldiers responded on a five-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly disagree” (coded as 1) to “strongly agree” (coded as 5).

**Measures**

**Dependent Variable**

This study focused on the motivation to serve of military officers and NCOs during peacetime. Consistent with the measurement techniques employed in the extant research (Ben-Dor & Pedahzur, 2006; Griffith, 2008; Woodruff et al., 2006) the dependent variable, “motivation to serve” was measured based on how much respondents agreed with the following statements: (1) I know that I will be appreciated when I do a good job, (2) I feel intimate with the people with whom I work, (3) I feel much satisfaction during my service, (4) I can use all of my abilities in my job, (5) I think that I have a good job, (6) I outrightly perform any actions above and beyond the call of duty, (7) I benefit from new techniques to be able to perform my duties better, (8) I bring practical solutions to deal with problems, (9) I bring creative ideas to the job environment, (10) When there is a problem, I just ignore it (reverse item), and (11) I will be so happy if I can go on with this job in the remaining part of my career. Responses to each
statement ranged from “strongly disagree = 1” to “strongly agree = 5.” To avoid possible bias, one of the eleven items was presented as a negative statement that was later reverse-coded. The scores were summed and divided by the number of reports to keep the original scale ranging from 1 to 5. The Cronbach’s alpha for these items was 0.86, indicating that the items featured high internal consistency.

**Independent Variables**

**Commitment.** Consistent with previous research (Griffith, 2008; Moskos & Wood, 1988; Segal, 1986; Woodruff et al., 2006), to reveal the analytical capability of commitment, the current study included three forms of commitment.

**Institutional commitment.** This refers to an individual who is group-oriented and motivated by intangible rewards (Griffith, 2008; Moskos, 1977). In this study, institutional commitment was computed via the following statements: (1) I don’t feel emotionally attached to this institution (reverse coded item), (2) I consider institutional problems to be my problems, (3) I don’t feel like a part of the family in this institution (reverse coded item), and (4) This institution holds a special place in my heart. Response categories for each statement ranged from “strongly disagree = 1” to “strongly agree = 5.” The scores were summed and divided by the number of statements to keep the original scale ranging from 1 to 5. The Cronbach’s alpha for these items was 0.75, indicating that the items featured acceptable internal consistency.

**Occupational commitment.** This is exhibited by individuals who are self-oriented and motivated by tangible rewards (Battistelli, 1997; Griffith, 2008; Moskos, 1977). In this study, occupational commitment was measured by the following statements: (1) I stay in this institution due to reasons beyond my control, (2) I cannot bear the consequences of leaving this institution, (3) If I leave the institution now, my life will be upside down, (4) I stay in this institution
because I have no other options, and (5) I stay in this institution because I cannot find another job if I leave. Response categories for each statement ranged from “strongly disagree = 1” to “strongly agree = 5.” The scores of respondents were summed and divided by the number of statements to keep the original scale ranging from 1 to 5. The Cronbach’s alpha for these items was 0.76, which indicated that the items featured acceptable internal consistency.

**Moral commitment.** This refers to a condition in which individuals feel obligated to remunerate for the efforts exerted by the institution. Thus, the individuals become morally or ethically committed or loyal to the institution (Bremner & Goldenberg, 2015; Wakin, 2000). In the current study, moral commitment was measured based on how much respondents agreed that the following statements applied to them: (1) I don’t feel any ethical obligation to continue working in this institution (reverse coded item), (2) Even though it is advantageous to me, leaving this institution now is not proper behavior, (3) I would feel guilty if I left the institution now, (4) This institution deserves my loyalty, (5) I feel obliged to this institution, and (6) I cannot leave this institution now because I feel responsible for other people with whom I work. Response categories for each statement ranged from “strongly disagree = 1” to “strongly agree = 5.” The scores were summed and divided by the number of statements to keep the original scale ranging from 1 to 5. The Cronbach’s alpha for these items was 0.85, which indicated that the items featured strong internal consistency.

**Organizational Responsiveness.** The extant research has found the responsiveness of the military organization to the personal needs of soldiers to be strongly associated with motivation to serve (Ben Dor et al., 2002; Waar et al., 2013). In this study, organizational responsiveness was computed by the responses given for the following statements: (1) My superiors give their all to understand me with regards to personal and occupational issues, (2) My superiors embrace
their personnel, (3) My superiors support their subordinates even in the hardest times, (4) My superiors do not allocate time to develop their personnel (reverse coded item), (5) My superiors motivate their subordinates and solidify their will to succeed, (6) My superiors trust their subordinates and hand over their authority to them sometimes, and (7) My superiors serve as a model for their subordinates. Response categories for each statement ranged from “strongly disagree = 1” to “strongly agree = 5.” The scores were summed and divided by the number of statements to keep the original scale ranging from 1 to 5. The Cronbach’s alpha for these items was 0.95, which indicated that the items featured a solid internal consistency.

**Perceived Fairness.** The Turkish sociological studies on hierarchical institutions, specifically on the Armed Forces, have found perceived fairness to increase motivation (Caglayandereli et al., 2016; Kunter, 2014; Ozturk & Teber, 2006). In the current study, perceived fairness was measured based on how much respondents agreed with the following items: (1) In this institution, personnel who do a good job are generally appreciated, (2) Personal rights are sufficiently protected by this institution, (3) In this institution, the right to legal remedies is protected, (4) I think that this institution does not treat me fairly (reverse coded item), (5) In this institution, personnel are trusted, (6) In this institution, individuals’ complaints are determined fairly, (7) In this institution, personnel who work hard are held in high esteem, (8) In this institution, personnel’s suggestions are not taken into consideration (reverse coded item), and (9) In this institution, personnel are treated fairly. Response categories for each statement ranged from “strongly disagree = 1” to “strongly agree = 5.” The scores were summed and divided by the number of statements to keep the original scale ranging from 1 to 5. The Cronbach’s alpha for these items was 0.92, which indicated that the items featured a firm internal consistency.
Social Benefits. Some studies have presented that TAF provide particular social benefits to its members (Ulusoy, 2016; Unsaldi & Dabagci, 2012). In this study, personnel’s satisfaction with the social benefits provided by the military was measured based on how much respondents agreed with the following statements: (1) I’m satisfied with the social facilities such as officers’ clubs (mess halls) and local educational camps (holiday resorts), (2) I believe that membership in OYAK is very beneficial, (3) I’m not satisfied with the housing opportunities (reverse coded item), (4) I think that the retirement system is very good for this institution, and (5) I cannot benefit sufficiently from health care services (reverse coded item). Response categories for each statement ranged from “strongly disagree = 1” to “strongly agree = 5.” The scores were summed and divided by the number of statements to keep the original scale ranging from 1 to 5. The Cronbach’s alpha for these items was 0.75, which indicated that the items featured an acceptable internal consistency.

Military Background Variables. The current study controlled for survey respondents’ military-specific characteristics in an attempt to observe the relationships among the dependent and independent variables when these variables were controlled. Respondents’ ranks were measured by an open-ended question asking them to report this information. Responses were then coded such that the highest score indicated the highest rank, ranging from “1 = sergeant (E-5)” to “7 = colonel (O-6).” Respondents’ unit type was measured as “1 = military headquarters and educational institutions” and “2 = military units.” Respondents’ service years were measured based on a question asking how long they had worked for the military. The highest score indicated the highest number of service years.

Sociodemographic Variables. Along with the military background variables, the current study also controlled for some sociodemographic factors that might affect the relationship
between motivation and other variables. Marital status was coded as a dichotomous variable, by “1 = single” and “2 = married.” Previous studies demonstrated that having children was one of the important factors leading to higher levels of motivation (Bourg & Segal, 1999; Segal, Segal, Bachman, Freedman-Doan, & O'Malley, 1998). In this study, respondents’ number of children was measured by a question asking their number of children. Response categories ranged from “0 = no children” to “6 = 6 or more children.”

**Analytic Strategy**

Since the dependent variable was normally distributed, an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression estimation was employed to assess the hypotheses. In total, two OLS regression models were evaluated. In Model 1, only independent variables (i.e., commitment, organizational responsiveness, perceived fairness, and social benefits) were included to delineate the relationships between motivation and the variables as it is expressed in the following equation:

\[ Y_{\text{Motivation}} = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5 + b_6X_6 + \varepsilon \quad \text{(Equation 1)} \]

In the Equation 1, \(b_0\) represents the random intercept value, while \(b_1, b_2, b_3, b_4, b_5, b_6\) represents the unstandardized coefficients of the institutional commitment (\(X_1\)), moral commitment (\(X_2\)), occupational commitment (\(X_3\)), responsiveness (\(X_4\)), fairness (\(X_5\)), and social benefits (\(X_6\)), respectively, which indicates the unique effects of these variables on the value of motivation to serve (\(Y_{\text{Motivation}}\)). The epsilon (\(\varepsilon\)) represents the random error, which is uncorrelated with the independent variables and has a constant variance and zero population mean.

In Model 2, military background and sociodemographic variables were added to the analysis as controls to elucidate the differences in the relationships among the dependent and
independent variables when the control variables were held constant. The regression equation for the Model 2 is as follows:

\[
Y_{\text{Motivation}} = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5 + b_6X_6 + b_7X_7 + b_8X_8 + b_9X_9 + b_{10}X_{10} + b_{11}X_{11} + \epsilon
\]  
(Equation 2)

Equation 2 demonstrates, in Model 2, rank \((X_7)\), unit type \((X_8)\), service years \((X_9)\), marital status \((X_{10})\), and the number of children \((X_{11})\) were incorporated into the analysis as control variables. The impacts of these variables on the value of motivation to serve \(Y_{\text{Motivation}}\) are represented by the terms, \(b_7, b_8, b_9, b_{10}, b_{11}\), respectively. As it is the case with Equation 1, the epsilon \(\epsilon\) represents the random error, which is uncorrelated with the independent variables and has a constant variance and zero population mean. As was stated earlier, we established four hypotheses proposing that (1) institutional and moral commitment to the army will be positively associated, and occupational commitment will be negatively associated with motivation to serve, (2) the army’s responsiveness to personnel will be positively associated with motivation to serve, (3) satisfaction with fairness in the army will be positively associated with motivation to serve, and (4) satisfaction with the social benefits provided by the army will be positively associated with motivation to serve. Linking our hypotheses to the equations above, we expected to find the coefficients, \(b_1, b_2, b_3, b_4, b_5,\) and \(b_6\) to be significantly associated with motivation to serve \((p<.01)\). Except for the coefficient of occupational commitment \((b_3)\), all other coefficients were proposed to have positive values, suggesting positive relationships with motivation to serve.

2.4 Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2.2 presents the descriptive statistics of the variables analyzed for the current study. Starting with the dependent variable, the average score for motivation among military officers
and NCOs was approximately 3.72 with a standard deviation of .65, suggesting that the level of motivation to serve among TMO and NCOs was higher than the mid-point on a five-point Likert scale. As stated above, the commitment was measured by three different categories: institutional, moral, and occupational. The descriptive statistics showed that the average score for institutional commitment was approximately 3.66, while it was 3.46 for moral commitment and 2.54 for occupational commitment on a five-point Likert scale; indicating that the most prevalent type of commitment among the military officers and NCOs was institutional commitment. The average score for organizational responsiveness was about 3.00 with a standard deviation of .82, showing that the level of perceived organizational responsiveness among TMO and NCOs was at the midpoint on a five-point scale. The descriptive statistics also revealed that the average rating for the perceived fairness of the military was about 2.86, with a standard deviation of .93, that the mean number was below the midpoint on a five-point scale. Finally, the descriptive analyses showed that the average score for the social benefit was 3.12 with a standard deviation of .78, which was higher than the mid-point on a five-point scale.

The descriptive statistics for the military background variables highlighted that the average number of service-years was 23.50 and most of the respondents held the ranks of sergeant major, first lieutenant, or captain (E-9 to O-3). About 92% of the sample worked in military units while about 8 percent of the respondents worked in military headquarters and educational institutions. In addition to the military background variables, the descriptive analyses for the sociodemographic variables revealed that about 95% of the sample was married. The average score for the number of children was about 1.76 with a standard deviation of .73, which suggests that the number of children for the majority of the respondents, on average, ranged from 1 to 3. Lastly, as it was presented in Table 2.3, the analysis of inter-correlations between
predictor variables demonstrates that the highest level of correlation was found between moral commitment and responsiveness, which was about 0.36. The correlations between all other variables were lower than 0.36. This indicates that multicollinearity should not be considered a problem for the current study.

Table 2.2 Descriptive Statistics.

<table>
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<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
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<td>.65</td>
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<td>Institutional Commitment</td>
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<td>.88</td>
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<td>Moral Commitment</td>
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<td>.89</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occupational Commitment</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>3,807</td>
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<tr>
<td>Responsiveness</td>
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<td>.82</td>
<td>3,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>3,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Rights and Benefits</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>3,807</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
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<td>2.23</td>
<td>3,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>3,807</td>
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<tr>
<td>Service Years</td>
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<td>4.75</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>.95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Children</td>
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<td>.73</td>
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Table 2.3 Inter-correlations among independent and control variables.

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<td>Institutional</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(table cont’d).
Table 2.4 presents the OLS regression results showing the associations between motivation to serve and the other variables. As was stated above, two different models were created for this analysis. In both models, about 66 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, motivation to serve, was explained by the independent variables, which indicated that both models fitted the data well (See R-Squared values). In Model 1, only the independent variables were entered into the analysis and their relationship to motivation was analyzed. The results of Model 1 indicate that all types of commitment were significantly associated with the motivation to serve. While the direction of the associations was positive for institutional (B = .13, p < .001) and moral (B = .17, p < .001) commitment, occupational commitment had a negative relationship with motivation (B = -.07, p < .001). Along with commitment and in support of initial expectations, organizational responsiveness (B = .28, p < .001), perceived

<table>
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<td>Responsiveness</td>
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<td>0.36</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fairness</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Benefits</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
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<td>0.34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unit</td>
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<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
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<td>-0.07</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Years</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
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<td>0.05</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Children</td>
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<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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**OLS Results**

Table 2.4 presents the OLS regression results showing the associations between motivation to serve and the other variables. As was stated above, two different models were created for this analysis. In both models, about 66 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, motivation to serve, was explained by the independent variables, which indicated that both models fitted the data well (See R-Squared values). In Model 1, only the independent variables were entered into the analysis and their relationship to motivation was analyzed. The results of Model 1 indicate that all types of commitment were significantly associated with the motivation to serve. While the direction of the associations was positive for institutional (B = .13, p < .001) and moral (B = .17, p < .001) commitment, occupational commitment had a negative relationship with motivation (B = -.07, p < .001). Along with commitment and in support of initial expectations, organizational responsiveness (B = .28, p < .001), perceived
fairness ($B = .09, p < .001$), and satisfaction with social benefits ($B = .02, p < .05$) were all significantly and positively associated with motivation to serve.

In Model 2, military background and sociodemographic controls were added to the analysis, which did not change the percent of the variance in the dependent variable explained by independent variables. Holding the other variables constant, the results indicate that all types of commitment were significantly associated with the motivation to serve. Specifically, institutional ($B = .13, p < .001$) and moral ($B = .18, p < .001$) commitment were positively associated with motivation to serve. Occupational commitment, on the other hand, was negatively associated with motivation to serve ($B = -.06, p < .001$). The results regarding the effects of commitment on motivation to serve confirmed our first hypothesis, which proposed that institutional and moral commitment to the military would be positively associated and occupational commitment would be negatively associated with motivation to serve (Bremner & Goldenberg, 2015; Griffith, 2008; Moskos, 1977).

Table 2.4 Predictors of Motivation to Serve among TMO and NCOs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Model 2</th>
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</thead>
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<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE (b)</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE (b)</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Commitment</td>
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<td>.009</td>
<td>.184***</td>
<td>.132</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.179***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moral Commitment</td>
<td>.176</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.239***</td>
<td>.183</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.248***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occupational Commitment</td>
<td>-.072</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>-.090***</td>
<td>-.067</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>-.082***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Responsiveness</td>
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<td>.351***</td>
<td>.286</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>.357***</td>
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(table cont’d.)
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<th>Variable</th>
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<th>Model 2</th>
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<td>b</td>
<td>SE (b)</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE (b)</td>
<td>β</td>
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<td>Service Years</td>
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<td>.009</td>
<td>.004</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>.067***</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>R2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjusted R2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3,807</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Ordinary least squares regression coefficients followed by robust standard errors and standardized regression coefficients. TMO - Turkish military officers.

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Along with commitment, organizational responsiveness (B = .28, p < .001) was positively associated with motivation to serve, which was a finding supporting the second hypothesis that the army’s responsiveness to personnel would be positively associated with motivation to serve (Griffith, 2002; Lebel, 2008). The third hypothesis of the study suggested that satisfaction with fairness in the military would be positively associated with motivation to serve (Caglayandereli et al., 2016; Fennell, 2014). Supporting this hypothesis, findings revealed that perceived fairness (B = .08, p < .001) was significantly and positively associated with motivation to serve. Finally, the fourth hypothesis of the study proposed that satisfaction with the
social benefits provided by the military would be positively associated with motivation to serve. Findings supported the hypothesis by revealing that satisfaction with social benefits was positively and significantly associated with motivation to serve, if all else was kept equal (B = .02, p < .05). The contribution of social benefits to the variance in the dependent variable, however, was too little given the large sample size. Every one-point increase in the level of satisfaction with social benefits resulted in only .02-point increase in the level of motivation to serve on a scale ranging from 1 to 5. With respect to the relative contribution of each scale to the variance in the dependent variable, the standardized coefficients (β) reveal that organizational responsiveness was the most important variable (β=.357), followed by moral commitment (β=.248), institutional commitment (β=.179), perceived fairness (β=.118), occupational commitment (β=-.082), and social benefits (β=.025). Regarding the military background variables, service-year was significantly and positively associated with motivation to serve (B = .01, p < .001), while the others (i.e., rank, unit type, and status) showed no significant relationship. Analysis of the sociodemographic variables (i.e., marital status, and the number of children) also showed no meaningful relationship to motivation to serve.

2.5 Discussion

This study examined motivation to serve among a sample of military officers and NCOs in TAF. One of its primary goals was to test the effectiveness of measures proposed by previous studies in explaining the motivation to serve in a different context—namely, TAF. According to Caforio (2006), military sociological studies were generally conducted in the first-level countries including the United States and some European countries. Findings of the current study demonstrated that the predictors of motivation to serve derived from previous studies that have been conducted on Caforio’s first-level countries could also be valid for a TAF-specific
measurement of motivation to serve. More specifically, based on findings of previous research, we developed the first two hypotheses, proposing that (1) the institutional and moral commitment to the military would be positively associated and occupational commitment would be negatively associated with motivation to serve (Bremner & Goldenberg, 2015; Griffith, 2008; Moskos, 1977) and that (2) the military’s responsiveness to personnel would be positively associated with motivation to serve (Griffith, 2002; Lebel, 2008). We found that organizational responsiveness, institutional commitment, and moral commitment had significant and positive relationships with motivation to serve. Occupational commitment, on the other hand, had a significant and negative association with motivation to serve. Griffith (2008) suggested that soldiers who were committed to the military as an “occupation” and motivated by the material advantages of it were less likely to remain in the service for a long time and to report to serve the country. The same idea was also presented in multiple studies (i.e., Eighmey, 2006; Moskos, 1977; Woodruff et al., 2006). Thus, findings of this study concerning institutional, moral, and occupational commitment and organizational responsiveness were in parallel with previous studies and supported our first two hypotheses.

The second goal of the current study was to build on the existing body of knowledge by revealing the impacts of perceived fairness and satisfaction with social benefits on motivation to serve among military personnel, which represented the first attempt to incorporate these variables into the literature on motivation to serve. While these variables have not been separately examined as potential predictors of motivation to serve before, findings of some studies may imply that perceived fairness and satisfaction with social benefits in the military institution—especially in the Turkish context—may have a potential to positively affect the level of motivation to serve among military personnel (Caglayandereli et al., 2016; Kunter, 2014;
Ozturk & Teber, 2006). From this point of view, our third and fourth hypotheses proposed that (3) perceived fairness in the army would be positively associated with motivation to serve and that (4) satisfaction with the social benefits provided by the army would be positively associated with motivation to serve. Findings revealed that both perceived fairness and social benefits derived from the unique characterization of the TAF had significant and positive relationships with motivation to serve, which confirmed our third and fourth hypotheses.

The current study may enhance the general understanding of the motivation to serve in the military and contribute to the relevant literature in several ways. First, Turkey, as a member of NATO, has a predominantly Western military education system, though its institutions have been changed dramatically after the failed coup attempt on July 15, 2016. TAF also has a long military history, culture, traditions, and characteristics that proceed with the influence of the West, and thus the TAF is not, strictly speaking, a regular Western army. From this point of view, by examining the issue of motivation to serve in the Turkish context, results of the current study support and reinforce the findings of previous studies with respect to influences of different forms of commitment and organizational responsiveness on motivation to serve in the military. Second, this study introduced new variables including perceived fairness and satisfaction with social benefits to the literature of motivation to serve and revealed that both variables were positive significant predictors of motivation to serve. These findings may provide important implications for future research that will be conducted in other countries’ military organizations. Third, prior research on motivation to serve has generally lacked sizeable active-duty samples and access to units beyond infantry. This study provided a substantial body of active-duty data and covered some different units. Finally, this study had utilized the Institutional Belonging Survey, which was conducted to TMO and NCOs only two months before the coup
attempt that took place on July 15th, 2016 in Turkey. Thus, its findings are invaluable in terms of showing the motivational atmosphere among military officers and NCOs just before the coup attempt.

Aside from the crucial contributions of the current study, it is important to note some limitations. The first concern was the generalizability of the results. Since this study was limited to the context of TMO and NCOs, the results cannot be generalized to military institutions of other countries or conscripts of the TAF. Despite the generalizability issue, however, this study still represents an important attempt as its results might have implications for the effectiveness of existing measures and the feasibility of utilizing perceived fairness and satisfaction with social benefits in explaining the motivation to serve. In addition to the generalizability issue, this examination comes up short on certain segment factors when contrasted with comparative investigations led in different nations. Race and ethnicity, for example, were excluded from the investigation. This is on the grounds that there were not exacting lines recognizing one ethnic group from others in the Turkish Army, meaning that identifying different ethnicities was very difficult. Likewise, since about 99 percent of the sample was male, gender was also not included in the analyses to prevent potential biases. Finally, some of the coefficients that were found to be statistically significant (e.g., social benefits and service years) were relatively small in value, and they might be significant largely due to the large sample size of the study.

Given the consequences of this examination, further research is expected to build up its discoveries. First, as was stated earlier, this study was not able to measure racial/ethnic differences regarding the motivation to serve. Future research should address this issue since the motivational predictors of Kurdish military personnel in TAF serving in predominantly Kurdish areas may be different from those of other personnel. Second, though the survey included female
military officers and NCOs, they were insufficient in number; their representation was less than 1%. Future research should encourage women to participate or conduct a separate study solely for female army personnel. Finally, replicating this study in other countries’ military organizations would be of great importance to reinforcing the findings of this study with regards to the feasibility of utilizing our new variables (i.e., fairness and social benefits) in explaining the motivation to serve in the military.
Chapter 3. Migration Policies and Practices at Job Market Participation: Thoughts, Feelings, and Experiences of Highly Educated Turks in the US, Canada, and Europe

3.1 Introduction

Since job market participation is crucial for the integration, this study examines the labor market participation of highly educated Turkish ex-state officials who moved or stayed in the US, Canada, and European countries after July 15th, 2016 Coup attempt and following significant social changes in Turkey. Drawing on qualitative research conducted among highly educated forced migrants and political exiles, the second research analyzes migrants’ thoughts, feelings, and lived experiences with destination countries’ policies, practices, contact with state officials, and private sector environments during their incorporation to job markets at destination countries. Also, this study discusses the role of migrants’ higher education in their motivation, development, and belonging in the employment process.

3.2 Background

Highly Educated Turks

Turks are one of the known ethnicities in the labor migration literature who immigrated to Western countries, especially to Germany in the 1960s. Turkey and Germany signed a temporary recruitment agreement to provide the needs of growing industries in Germany. Then, the Turkish population in Germany increased rapidly and passed half a million at the beginning of the 1970s. Austria, France, and the Netherlands followed Germany at the Turkish migrant population after signing recruitment agreements. Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland were the other countries that had similar bilateral agreements with Turkey at that time. Consistent with the semi-skilled or unskilled labor force needs of receiving countries, the majority of the first-generation Turkish migrants were uneducated (almost \( \frac{3}{4} \) primary school).
and came from rural areas, and only around 3% of them were highly educated (Fassmann & Içduygu, 2013). After the termination of agreements in 1974, new migration flows from Turkey to European countries decreased, but the Turkish migrants continued to stay at the destination countries, although their temporary statuses ended. The migration continued with family reunification and irregular migration. Therefore, the Turks created the largest ethnic groups in Denmark, Germany, and the Netherlands. At the end of the 1970s, there were around 2 million Turkish migrants in Europe.

On the other hand, Turkish migration to the U.S. and Canada was different in the characteristics of the flow in the same period in the 1960s and 1970s. The majority of the Turkish migrants who moved to these two countries were skilled and highly educated. Also, the population of them was tiny in numbers. Roughly 4,500 Turkish immigrants came to Canada in the 1960s and 1970s (Powell, 2016). Turkish immigrants who came to the U.S. were around 23,000 in the same period. In the late 1970s, the total number of Turks were approximately 100,000 in North America (Akcapar, 2009).

In the 1980s and 1990s following the Military Coup and Kurdish conflict in Turkey, the migration flow took a different pattern from labor migrants to asylum seekers.

The hundreds of thousands of displaced people were mostly Kurdish origin Turks who had to leave their homeland due to long term political disputes and conflict in their living areas (Kirisci, 2000).

Their first choice to move also was Western European countries and other European countries. The profile of these people was more skilled and educated on average than the prior guest workers to European countries. Also, some of the Turkish immigrants could be migrated to Canada and the U.S. According to Powell, 11,240 Turkish migrants, moved to Canada between
1981 and 2001. Many of them were unskilled (2016). In this period, the U.S. has experienced a shift in Turkish immigrants from skilled to unskilled or semi-skilled. This trend was similar to guest workers in Germany and called as “Germanification” by some scholars. Different sources agreed that the Turkish immigrant population to the U.S. was more than 100,000 in these two decades (Akcapar, 2009).

Meanwhile, some highly educated famous Turkish elites also forced to leave their homeland or refused to return to Turkey and stayed abroad due to their political thoughts, especially after 1980 Turkish coup d'état and the following Turkish-Kurdish conflict for decades. Some elites like Cem Karaca (prominent rock musician) could return to Turkey years after while some other elite immigrants such as Yılmaz Güney (Kurdish origin award-winner film director) and Ahmet Kaya (Kurdish-Turkish origin famous folk singer) lost their lives in destination countries.

These incidents were not unusual examples for highly educated Turks in Turkey’s history. Even the Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had been ordered for arresting by the last Ottoman Government in 1919 and condemned to death by Sultan in 1920. However, Atatürk disobeyed the order of the government for dissolving the remaining military forces, resigned from the army, and after following the war of independence and elections, he founded the Turkish Republic in 1923.

Atatürk’s presidency continued until his death in 1938. After Atatürk, İsmet İnönü – Atatürk’s close friend and former military officer – succeed to the presidency, preserved Atatürk’s neutralist policy by not taking part actively in World War II, and ruled Atatürk’s Republican Party until loses first free elections to Adnan Menderes’ Democratic Party in 1950. Turkey abandoned Atatürk’s neutralist policy and joined NATO in 1952. The military coup
against the Democratic Party happened in 1960, and Adnan Menderes executed. Following this date, Turkey witnessed similar coups in 1971, 1980, and military memorandums in the 1990s and 2000s. In terms of the power struggle of modern Turkey, military coups have been used as if check-balance tools for the protection of the republic’s foundation rules. However, democratic institutions and democratic practice in Turkey never could genuinely be accomplished. Zülfü Livaneli\(^1\) (a world-famous Turkish musician, author, politician, and ex-UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador who forced to leave Turkey after 1971 Coup and exiled in Europe and the U.S., then he could return to the country in 1984) summarizes Turkey’s experience with elites as follows:

“... millions of people in this country who are interested in art, books, and culture and who want to create a better, fairer world have been systematically destroyed by constant hunting, arrested and driven out of life. In the meantime, people dressed in the guise of nationalism and religion robbed the country, they had great power and money; murderers with blood on their hands climbed to high positions in politics, they were respected; in short, Turkey has come to this day as a country that stifles its good sons and rewards the bad ones” (Livaneli, 2012, p. 15).

Turkish elites have experienced this film, again and again, many times. Following coups, many intellectuals were arrested, some of them fled from the country, and some others exiled. Therefore, the reasons for Turkish elite migrations - especially to European countries - are mostly related to security, restriction of freedom of thought, and significant social changes in the country rather than pure labor purposes. The population of these highly educated immigrants was relatively fewer in numbers.

\(^1\) He is also one of the publicly supporters and mentors of Ekrem İmamoğlu who defeated AKP at Istanbul’s Mayor Election in 2019.
However, the characteristics of the 2016 coup attempt as well as migration flow from Turkey to western countries were dramatically different than the previous coups and migrations. July 15th, 2016 coup attempt was called as a ‘gift from heaven’ by President Erdogan. The ruling AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-Justice and Development Party) declared a state of emergency right after the coup attempt. AKP jailed or sacked hundreds of thousands of highly educated people (lists are prepared in advance) from public servants due to their alleged link to the Gulen movement – proclaimed as terrorist organization by the government – which accused by orchestrating the coup attempt with its supporters in Turkish Armed Forces or these people’s opposition to ruling party in some way such as signing a peace petition to cease military operations in Kurdish populated areas. Also, AKP closed thousands of schools, including military schools and hundreds of media outlets, and started to build hundreds of prisons due to overcrowded prisons after July 15. While these incidents are happening inside, Turkey’s relations also began changing outside. As a key NATO ally country, Turkey started to close to Russia and had a hot conflict with western NATO allies. Turkey had an increasing alignment with Russia, Iran, and China and had a growing dispute with democratic countries in this period. However, these ‘hot’ relations with Russia, Iran, and China did not conclude with real cooperation, and Turkey became alone in the region with increasing corruption scandals, economic problems, and the highest migration rates in the modern time of Turkey.

The profile of new Turkish immigrants was different in some ways. First, the majority of immigrants were highly educated people. Second, the primary reasons for their migration were their opposition to the ruling party and/or economic instability, unhappiness, and polarized relations in the country. Lastly, they never think of moving to another country before the social changes in the country due to their prestigious statuses and belonging to their homeland. One
survey which collected data from almost 5,000 state officials just two months before the 2016 Coup attempt supported these people’s high-level of belonging and motivation to work in a Turkish institution (Aydiner, Orak, & Solakoglu, 2019).

The sacked people from public servants mostly were professionals such as professors, judges, teachers, doctors, journalists, police, ministry staff, and soldiers, including cadets and retired officers. If not jailed, most of them had passport bans, deskill, humiliated, and labeled in the country. It was an ordinary case to see highly educated dismissed people at unskilled jobs, such as judges while working as market vendors or award-winning professors while driving a taxi. This atmosphere forced many people to move from the country via legal or illegal ways though it is hazardous and applying for exceptional ability visas or asylum in western countries. Also, thousands of businesspeople and rich people migrated via legitimate ways to western countries and asked for business or property buying visas.

During these vast state crackdowns, many state officials abroad, including diplomats, ministry staff, academics, state officials, and students, refused to return to their homeland after they got state order calling them right back. Because they have learned the people like them called back and returned have been jailed and sent to prisons with flimsy evidence. It was enough reason to be labeled by the government as a traitor or couper to been at Western countries on July 15, 2016 Coup Attempt.

Many of these exiled professionals and forced migrants have been granted exceptional visas, green cards, asylum, or other refugee statuses.

These highly educated people had exceptional experiences in destination countries due to their higher education and skills. Most of the exiled professionals were fluent in English because it was an essential requirement to get a post or education aboard. So, the administration of
justice, management of the migration, and offering appropriate jobs for new migrants was a tough task for destination countries’ policies and officials, especially in Europe.

However, new migrants, as well as destination countries’ migration officials, experienced this process together. Finally, some new arrangements, policies, and practices developed to deal with the integration and job market participation of these migrants.

In terms of education in migration history, Russian Jews and Castro’s Cubans may resemble these highly educated Turks. Russian Jews came especially to Manhattan/New York at the beginning of the 1900s. Some elite Miami settlers came from Cuba by fleeing away Castro’s regime. These elite Jews and Cubans opened their banks, published their media outlets, and created active diasporas in the U.S.

These new Turkish flows create a compelling case for researching the connections of higher education and the administration of justice in migration policies/practices related to job market participation of the highly educated people. This connection is unique and has been studied less among forced migrants comparatively. This study examines the experiences and thoughts of highly educated (at least university graduate) Turkish migrants in eight different countries, including Germany, Belgium, Austria, Holland, the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and Canada. The lived experiences of forced migrants are rarely studied in the literature since the reasons such as movers’ fear of case approval, protecting their relatives at homeland, and trust to the researcher. This article provided confidence in informants and accomplished to collect important data. Drawing on qualitative research and migration theories, it aims to analyze how higher education affects migrants’ job market participation, connection with the state officials and practitioners, as well as how they make sense of, cope with policies/practices, networking and find jobs appropriate with their previous statuses.
By presenting this comparative study, I broaden the discussion on migration policies, practices, job market participation, and how they perceived by highly skilled migrants in various contexts. Not only does this study provide a detailed analysis of how higher education affects informants’ job market participation experiences, but it also contributes to understanding the complexity of highly educated migrants’ incorporation into destination countries and their feelings, thoughts, and lived experiences with policy and practice. This study demonstrates that the European refugee policies and standardized practices may delay the integration time of highly educated people and may lessen the desire of them to incorporation when compared with the U.S. and Canada. In spite of their privileged status, highly-educated migrants cannot easily participate to job market consistent with their former statuses, experience deskillation, develop new skill sets appropriate with the needs of destination countries’ job market and their previous statuses, even prefer to switch their career to entirely new one (mostly they got data science jobs, or at the process, they began to jobs which they do not have any previous experiences).

Also, the policies/practices discredit highly educated migrants by pushing them to low level ‘migrant jobs’ in European countries. Furthermore, the article suggests that pioneer job market participants of the same migration flow may accelerate other migrants’ participation in the job market and their decision at job preferences.

I also claim that policies and practices such as status decisions, positive experiences with migration authorities, networking with people in similar situations are significant to find a job and the eagerness to integrate into the destination country. Besides migration policies, the first entrance place for asylum application matters for asylum seekers. In Europe, Germany was the most preferred state to apply for asylum due to its faster decision processes and affordability. Also, migrants’ language abilities, dreams, and skill sets were essential factors for their decision
to move other countries – mostly to the U.S., Canada, or Germany – if they have an opportunity to accomplish it.

**Employment (Job Market)**

The academic studies about immigrants’ incorporation into destination countries have increased in the last two decades and almost doubled after 2015. The immigrants’ job market participation is one of the top topics in integration studies. However, these researches pay little attention to migrants’ perspectives in the incorporation process, though it is important for smooth integration (Aydiner, 2018). Employment is a crucial fundamental element of integration and has a positive effect on the other sectors and the overall process (Waters, Kasinitz, & Asad, 2014). In general, the studies have found the positive impact of labor migrants, especially in the US context. Yet there are specific barriers that migrants often encounter in the labor market. Also, the characteristics (i.e., market conditions, work conditions, wage conditions) of destination countries in the economy can cause different experiences (Xypolytas, 2018).

Given the immigrant integration process, employment has historically been one of the most researched issues (Ballarino & Panichella, 2018; Cheung & Phillimore, 2014). Labor market integration, underemployment, the ideal number and selection of migrants, economic performance, employment conditions, and public belief about immigrants and their employment process have all been discussed extensively (Fussell, 2014; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Janus, 2010; Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). However, the sociology of immigration literature has improved mostly in terms of voluntary migration (Castles, 2003), and to a lesser degree, has

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2 van Tubergen and his collaborators’ study makes a distinction among labor market participation studies by examining multiple migrant ethnicities in multiple receiving countries for more than two decades. They find that political suppression in homeland, wage gap, and geographic distance have an influence on migrants’ job market participation (2004).

3 The findings of Hainmueller and Hiscox is significant because contrary to former literature they find that even in the job market competition highly skilled and educated natives across Europe support all forms of migration regardless of their ethnicity (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007).
covered involuntary or forced migration (Fussell, 2012). Although forced migrants are significant in number, similar to that of internally displaced persons, they are mostly excluded from the scope of migration research. Some scholars have argued that the reasons for this reduced interest are related to the dependent decision process of these forced people (i.e., suppressive regimes) and their sensitive political status in receiving countries (Bakewell, 2010).

Svasek (2010) summarized possible answers to questions about the relationship between immigrants’ economic disparities and their emotional decisions. This study showed that the profound need that motivates forced migration is regularly denied or misconstrued because of expert codes that support passionate separation and prevent the offering of proper preparation programs. Inequality is perpetuated when forced immigrants first meet with authorities.

Job market participation of immigrants was a common topic for the past few decades, especially in the USA, Canada, and Europe. However, existing research on the migrants’ job market participation pays little attention to forced immigrants and exiled people.

Beine stressed the extensive data collection and measurement problems scholars face in the field (2016). He argued that existing policy literature is limited due to the domination of small-sample qualitative studies, selective measurement approaches, (i.e., taking one type of immigrant policy instead of the entire set of admissions regulations), a disregard for the effects of time and space, and improper or ambiguous coding (Beine et al., 2016).

Also, some studies have some crucial conceptual flaws while evaluating existing data (Donato & Armenta, 2011). Also, there is a lack of immigrants’ (including immigrants’ organizations) data about the incorporation and policy, though the existing studies cover some

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4 For example, some studies have used the apprehensions data to examine illegal migrant flows, but these data just show the people who failed to pass the borders not the successful flows (Donato & Armenta, 2011 as cited in Espenshade, 1995).
parts of the immigrants’ data in topics such as human rights, international communication (Clark & Hall, 2011), their inefficient roles in policy decisions (Freeman, 1995).

Moreover, there is a less comparative study to compare and discuss the policy and practice at labor market participation and integration to destination countries, though there are some individual efforts toward developing better datasets (Solt, 2009). Other characteristics of the migration literature showed that the migration process has been examined mostly in the eyes of the destination public rather than the migrant people who experienced this. By focusing on a non-Western Muslim, highly educated Turks, the article addresses this gap. More specifically, it contributes to growing literature on migration by examining immigrants and their thoughts, feelings, and experiences with policy and practice at destination countries in three ways.

First, while most studies on immigrants’ labor market participation and highly educated immigrants focus on voluntary migrants, this study examines underrepresented groups of involuntary migrants, namely forced migrants and exiled people.

Second, the trouble in the Middle East continues, and regimes change softly or harshly. There is a growing tendency to examine these topics from the immigrants’ perspective nowadays, especially from these war-torn areas. This article adds to this discussion by reviewing the immigrants from Turkey, the non-Arab Muslim state of the Middle East.

Lastly, drawing on the relationship between social change in the origin country and migration, and addressing the lack of reliable and comparative data, this study focuses on same-origin immigrants comparatively in eight different countries including Germany, Belgium, Austria, Holland, United Kingdom, France, United States, and Canada.

Although highly educated Turkish immigrants and exiled people mostly accomplished the job market participation faster mainly in the U.S. and Canada, their job market participation
was sturdy or took a long time, especially in Europe. I showed that systematically. Legal status was a turning point for state help and other opportunities. Working authorization appeared as a plus for the U.S. and Canadian immigrants though it has a risk of misuse. Also, the integration process of migrants and refugees after their status granted is managed mostly by Not-for-profit organizations and charities in the U.S. and Canada. These organizations are designated by federal offices and have many officials with migration background. So, they could alleviate the integration process of migrants and affected migrants’ experiences positively by creating a mutual understanding and better communication when compared with subjects in Europe. Migration process managed by the state officials in related municipalities of migrants in Europe. Immigrants’ experiences mostly were not very positive in European countries. Migrants’ language ability and education recognized by the destination country appeared as another important factor in the labor market participation process.

3.3 Methodology

The focus of this study was the mobile people who involuntarily or forcefully move to developed countries, which is covered lesser than voluntary or labor migration in the literature (Fussell, 2012). The primary source of the data was the interviews with the highly educated Turkish immigrants and refugees in Western countries, including Germany, Belgium, Austria, Holland, United Kingdom, France, United States, and Canada, which allow having comparative data from the same origin people.

I have followed the grounded theory structure, which allows understanding meaning lies behind feelings, thoughts, and lived experiences of the highly educated migrants (Charmaz, 2014). Then I compared findings with the related literature and theories for the same destination countries. Time and space were crucial elements of the human movement. Turkish subjects in the
study have two common characteristics. They were highly educated (at least college graduates) involuntary migrants and have decided to move or stay in developed countries after the 2016 Coup attempt in Turkey.

Data

This study used qualitative methodologies to collect in-depth data from the sensitive community. The high-education was described as graduation from 4-year colleges, which recognized by destination countries.

I know in advance twelve out of thirty subjects, and they have asked to invite more people they know in their destination countries to participate in the study. Each of them has agreed to do an interview. I have conducted face to face interviews with five of them at home or public places such as a library meeting room and café in the USA. I have met with other twenty-five informants via the social communication application of Zoom. I have selected Zoom because it provides recording, an interviewee has a chance to accept or deny record any time during the interview. I have seen informants up the body and facial expressions during meetings and analyzed their emotions, feelings, and body language while transcribing the interviews.

All interviews have been recorded and erased after transcribed. I did not register the names of the participants and generated different names used commonly in the Turkish language to provide the anonymity of them. Also, I excluded countries and identifying information provided by participants to ensure their confidentiality and used Europe or Northern America while quoting informants.

I conducted interviews between March and December 2019, which lasted between 45 to 135 minutes, were semi-structured. My methodological tools were driven by the obstacles to
collect data from politically sensitive, forced or exiled migrants. I used snowballing techniques, social media, and personal network to reach my samples and conduct an interview.

I have spoken with 30 forced or exiled people (including exceptional visa holders, asylees, refugees, and asylum seekers) from Germany (2), Belgium (3), Austria (2), Holland (2), United Kingdom (2), France (2), United States (15), and Canada (2 people).

Almost half of the interviewees were from the U.S. and Canada, and the other half of them were from different European countries. They were all at legal statuses in destination countries, but a few of them had to move from their homeland (Turkey) with illegal ways through Greece, Bulgaria, or Georgia.

Their ages are mainly thirties and forties, and the small number of them were in their twenties. Five of them were female, and 25 of them were male. Some of the women moved independently with or without children, which is rare in the literature. Many immigrant women in receiving societies are seen as dependents and often admitted to temporary pink-collar jobs. Immigrants – including highly skilled and qualified migrants – tend to be employed in lower-paying jobs that do not equate to their knowledge and skill. Barriers and under-employment can undermine refugees’ relationship with their host society, and negatively influence integration (Xypolytas, 2018).

They were all middle-class elites and white Muslims, but no one has Islamic identifiers such as headscarves for women and beards on men. So, they did not report that their religion matters in a good or bad way during their job process.

Most of them were married with children, and a smaller group of them have endogamous marriages in destination countries or were still single during the interview process. Informants’ length of residency in destination countries varied from 1 year to 6 years.
When six of the informants decided to stay abroad, they moved from their first entrance European countries to Germany, Canada, or the U.S. due to reasons such as language barrier, fewer job opportunities, red taping, and slower asylum process in their first destination countries.

Ex jobs of the informants were academics, professors, doctors, teachers, engineers, and state officials, which represent the professions who experienced the hugest crackdown after July 15, 2016, coup attempt in Turkey.

A phone call, a text from social platforms such as LinkedIn or WhatsApp, or an email describing the purpose of the study has sent to people I know. Also, using the snowballing technique, I wanted them to share my research message with applicable people they know in their communities. They have been informed that participation is voluntary. They also have been guaranteed that their responses would be recorded without individual identifiers, and results will be accounted for just as grouped data. I got Institutional Review Board permission and informed samples about the licenses and study goals. Also, I obtained informed consent by asking first at video conferences or got signed consents in face to face interviews.

I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with the subjects. The participants have been asked to describe their job market experience, immigration process, feelings, and thoughts about the origin and destination countries. Also, they have asked about their relations/contact with institutions, officials, and other networking efforts during job participation, and the strategies they developed to cope with the process.

The interview language was Turkish (native language) for the immigrants in European countries, but almost half of the interviews with the immigrants in the U.S. and Canada took place in English since they were speaking very fluent and using English more in their daily lives.
The qualitative data have been transcribed, coded, and analyzed according to the grounded-theory design of Charmaz (2014), using Atlas Ti. Also, I have used a qualitative study process while doing the analysis and interpretation of qualitative data (Hesse-Biber, 2016). I could use an outsider or other researchers to evaluate interpret or separately code for the findings to increase the quality and credibility of the study, but the anonymity and confidentiality of the informants were a more pressing issue for the study due to their sensitive positions.

3.4 Results

After ten months of interviews and analysis, four broad concepts appeared as the subheadings of thoughts, feelings, and lived experiences of highly educated migrants during their job market participation. These are: making sense of being a good-fit and accepting unskilled jobs, re-seeking the valued self, networking and collaborating, and belonging or crawling into the shell.

Making sense of being a good-fit and accepting unskilled jobs

While politics and public announcements tend to favor highly skilled migrants, and they have a privileged status, highly educated migrants could not easily participate in job markets consistent with their former statuses in a short time as they expected. Most frequently provided reasons for high unemployment rates of migrants are the language barrier, different labor market characteristics of the host countries/regions, and human capital. However, the findings of most literature are disputable and limited since they frequently compare two or three countries and do not evaluate the changing factors among host institutions (Kogan, 2006). This study appeared two main reasons for the late unemployment of highly educated migrants. First, immigrants and refugees should wait for the state’s official documents to begin at regular jobs. Second, they have to get proper level language certificates, especially apply for a career in Europe. The literature
showed that language barriers and other obstacles cause late labor market integration for immigrants and can result in the production of new inequalities (Fuller & Vosko, 2008). So, most of the highly educated immigrants and refugees entered the job market with unskilled jobs until they accomplish the main requirements. They experienced deskillation. Most of the immigrants reported their experiences with unskilled jobs, deskillation, and their coping strategies,

… We started unskilled jobs, such as driving. I was making $9 for an hour and $60 a day and taking intensive courses in data science (Data Analyst in the U.S).

… I have a family network in the U.S. My language and education were better for the USA. People told me if you cannot do anything there, you can do UBER, but it was not as they said. When I first moved to the USA, getting official documents, SSN and license took almost one year. I sold books and made Grub Hub with other people’s accounts (Data Scientist who moved to the U.S. from Europe).

I was driving UBER, selling toys at malls. … I spent eight focused months to get the first real job in data science (Senior Data Scientist in the USA).

Most of the immigrants understood the requirements of the job market, and instead of insisting on their ex jobs in the homeland, they developed new skillsets for the destination countries’ job markets. The following statements show how migrants are making sense of being a good fit for the market:

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5 However, Fuller and Vosko do not search for self-employed groups. Therefore, when these groups’ data are added to the study, the levels of inequality among groups (e.g., immigrants and natives, men and women) are likely to be more than what the findings indicate.
The teacher should have two degrees in different branches such as math and biology to become a teacher in here [Europe]. Also, they need to get a C1 Language Certificate. I far from both criteria now. So, I need time (Woman in Europe).

Trump’s policy about H1B visa restriction has affected Indian and Asian candidates and created a significant gap in data job positions. All we need to do was to provide the requirements for the data job. I took intensified courses in a data camp, and I found a job in the fast-growing data job market (Senior Data Scientist in the U.S.)

Language is a barrier. I’m still working on getting a B2 certificate … [European] language. Even I could get the certification. I should show my fluency in a job talk to get the job as a teacher (Woman in Europe).

I was completing my Ph.D., but one month before my defense, I had to leave from the country due to social changes in the country. I started from the beginning here because my degrees, certificates, and experience do not fit well with the market here (Woman – Assistant Doctor in Health Sciences in the USA).

The different labor market characteristics of the host countries was another critical point to become a good fit for the receiving country. Hasan stated,

In many parts of Europe … for example, here is an industrial nation. College graduation rates are around 14% because they don’t need it. They need more people in the industry, and industrial jobs require at least two years of training. Highly educated people can understand this.

**Re-seeking the valued self and strategies to reach prior statuses/life standards**

Job market participation was not a natural process for forced or exiled immigrants. Most of the migrants found themselves discredited or deskilled, and they could not have a chance to
make mental or psychical preparation as labor migrants. So, the job-seeking process usually begins for these highly educated immigrants with self-comparisons with previous jobs and statuses. The interviewees first tried to reach prior standings and living standards as fast as they could. Most of the highly educated immigrant informants who moved to Northern America could reach their job-related goals while the immigrants in Europe have faced harder policies and had to obey the general rules for every immigrant.

Most of the informants looked for higher education jobs as academics, managers, or data science jobs as data scientists, test automation engineers, and business analysts. Also, some of them preferred to open a shop or online business. Many of them thought that these jobs were the most appropriate jobs for their skill sets, prior statuses, or living standards they want to reach as soon as possible.

Opening a business or making online trade appeared as a highly risky way in Europe, while it was easier to have success in the U.S. One informant, Faruk in the U.S. reported that he opened a warehouse with his friends and made significant progress after a year and opened another store. However, none of the informants reported a successful experience in doing business in Europe. Salim told that he once thought of opening a business but gave up later. He stated,

… opening a business is so comfortable in here [Europe], but the taxes are so high …life standards are high …company will be under full control of the state. If you’re not leading a big company, it is tough to enter the business. I don’t know anyone who tried or succeeded in this. Highly educated people are trying to work in education and developing their languages.
Academic jobs required a long way and longer time to participate in the job market while data science jobs providing faster opportunities to participate in the job market, especially for Northern America. In the American context, highly educated immigrants (that are mainly Asians) seem similar to their native counterparts since their participation in the labor market follows the same path (i.e., graduate school to the job market) as natives. The professional immigrants educated abroad transit job market after accomplishing required experience and language ability (Alba & Nee, 1997). It was also true for Turkish immigrants in the study. Levent is a faculty member at an R1 university in Northern America. He completed his Ph.D. in there. He stated,

You follow the same way with other people in academia. To find a research job is so competitive in the market. It varies according to college and department but generally around six years for my department. Especially your scholarship and peer-reviewed articles are significant for the research faculty positions. Also, your fluency in English and a variety of the courses you thought are preferred requirements for teaching faculty positions. However, the network matters a lot and facilitate the process.

However, academic job market participation in Europe was harder than Northern America for the Turks due to some reasons. Serkan and Kemal stated their experiences as follows:

It is hard to find a full-time faculty job here at social sciences even you have a fluent Flaman and French, it is very competitive. You also have expatriate rivals from English speaking countries such as Britain, Canada, and the US. I’m only teaching two courses in English and working at a fashion company as an operation manager (Adjunct Professor in Europe).
Academic jobs are highly competitive, especially in some fields. I’m working in security studies. There is less competitor with me, but it is still hard to compete with someone from Oxford. So, professors recommend me to go to post-doc in England to get a faculty job in Europe (Researcher at a European University).

It usually took from 6 months to 2 years of focused hardworking and many sacrifices to find a data science job for the informants in Northern America. The exciting thing most of these data science job applicants did not have prior education or knowledge about data science until they came to Northern America. For example, Ahmet, Mustafa, and Ali from Northern America said the following statements about the length of time to job market participation. Ali also provided his lack of background in data science,

... I spent eight focused months to get the first real job (Senior Data Scientist).
I went to Bootcamp for six months (11:30 pm to 6:00 am) then had 1.5 months for interviews almost one year after an intensive work I found my first job in a leading company (Turkish Data Scientist moved from Europe to Northern America after residing permanently abroad).

... I don’t have any background about it, coding, software, testing,… I can speak about politics for 2 hours but not coding. However, the data course manager told me that he has many students like me and if I study hard, I would succeed ... After Intensive courses from 7 pm to 10 pm courses for six months and personal hard work at nights and after many applications, I got an offer from one place. That place was famous for its cold weather, but it was not an essential issue for me at that time (Data Analyst).6

6 He moved to a better job in a hot climate after working there for a year.
While some data certificate programs were completely free for refugees, some data camps were thousands of dollars. People mostly made side jobs to afford these courses. Another topic appeared as “lies and exaggeration” in the data science market. The changes, modifications, manipulations, or false information on the resumes considered as a high standard procedure and titled as the ‘rule of the game’ by the most recruiters and data science company directors who contacted the informants. The immigrants dealt with this in different ways. Some judged the ethical perspectives of the topic and developed new strategies, while some others did not think much about that. Yasar and Arif shared their personal experiences with this,

Yes, the recruiter did some small manipulation at my resume. I had a recommendation from an experienced data scientist while writing my resume. Resumes filtered by keywords, so if you do not have some key things, then your resume cannot reach HR. … I did data analysis, manipulation, and visualization at my previous job. So, it helped me with my resume (Data Scientist moved from Europe to the USA).

We wrote our resumes… Then the manager told us: “Look if you want a job in this market you have to lie. I said, what? What kind of lies? He said: You will assume the job interviewee lies about your experience like 7-10 years of experience. I said no! I’m not that kind of person. I cannot do that because you know this is not for me, I changed everything in my resume I said okay I have genuinely done this project, but I don’t have any experience, and then I started applying for the jobs. Nobody allowed me because the market depends on lies. Everything is lying; why? Because of our Indian guys. I guess 95% of data jobs dominated by Indians in the U.S. and under seven years of experience in this field, you’re not qualified to get an H1B visa. I’m working with Indian people in my company now. For example, I have a friend, and he is 24 years old. He says that he has
seven years of experience on his resume (Laughing) I said, how can it be? When did you graduate? (Laughing again). You graduated two years ago, right? But you have seven years of professional experience, come on. So, I told the CEO at that time; I am what I am I can’t tell lie about my experience. They told me you couldn’t find jobs. I applied, and as they said, I couldn’t find any jobs at first. I spoke with my wife. If we say lie maybe, we can get the job, but it is not for us. She supported my decision. Then, my wife told me that she would work to get money and wanted me to focus on the data job. In our courses, the sources were not open. Governmental companies pay 10 k yearly. My friend told me Java Selenium is an open-source you can do that. Then, my wife did the delivery, and I closed to study for two months. I learned java selenium. I’ve applied for over 1000 jobs. Finally, one company accepted me (laughing). This was a very stressful process (Test Automation Engineer).

Highly educated people in Europe who want to reach their prior statuses had to walk on a more rugged road than the U.S. and Canada. The successful immigrants in Europe have used innovative ways or accomplished unique successes, and these unique examples forced local and state officials to create new regulations or rules for these people. I’ve titled these narratives as “I was the first … narratives.”

**I was the first … narratives.** One native European professor impressed with the things she witnessed in a panel organized by a think tank who founded recently by highly educated Turks in Europe and shared her feelings with all listeners when she began her panel speech. Osman who worked for this European think tank recalled that speech and told the professor’s view by her own words,
Suppose a Thinktank which established by refugees just one year ago, and now they are solving the problems of immigrants and more by granting by European Commission Funds. It should be the first case of its kind. This case should be taught as a course in the college (a prominent scholar in Europe).

Kemal told his unique case as follows,

When you applied for political exile status, it takes 9 to 12 months. You can have a working authorization during this process. Nobody invests in you because your situation is unclear. The system forces you to stay in immigration camps. This process could be understood from the state’s perspective, but it was hard for highly educated people. Although I was accepted for Ph.D., my enrollment stopped until the process completed. I got a no-contact order with my supervisor. They [officials] told me that I could not do a Ph.D. but work in a restaurant. After applying for the asylum, I went to the state’s center for refugees. It was a part of the process. The officials offered me to work in a bicycle repair shop as an assistant. When I told them I’ve already got an offer from a university as a researcher and from a famous research center as a contracted policy analyst, they shocked and said to me that I was the first of its kind (Scholar and Researcher in Europe).

Another informant, Mehmet from Europe, explained his experience with the job center: The official asked me three questions without looking at my face: What can you do now? What can you do in a close future (5 years)? And what is your dream job? I told her: I am a pilot. I can fly a helicopter now. I can do any management job in the near future. And, my dream job is becoming an astronaut. She raised her head from the documents in front of her and looked at me as if I was kidding with her. When I showed my tens of certificates and licenses both as a flyer and a trainer, she began to look at them fast and
called some people sitting on the other tables. They looked at the documents together and called their director. They’ve discussed my case with the director. After a while, other people return to their places and the official told me that they could only offer me a truck driver job if I meet the requirements (He is now a project manager in a European Think Tank founded by these Turks and working on a project for highly educated migrants’ faster job market participation).

Deniz was the first refugee who could hire an apartment and allowed to stay out of refugee camp at his region in Europe.

I was living here for a few years until the social change in Turkey, and my mission ended with unrealistic reasons by the current government. When you apply for refugee status, you should stay at the camp. It is the process. But I got an offer from a university before applying to asylum. Then, I forced the policies with my lawyer. Finally, we accomplished for the first time here to stay outside, the municipality created new legislation, and we went to refugee camp one time in a week to sign a form until granted (Project Researcher).

The complicated job market process affected some of the informant’s decision to move to the U.S. or Canada from Europe.

Ekrem’s story also was unique since he could make a self-exploration at his process in the U.S.

We were not aware of some of our talents. This situation taught me that I could do whatever I want and the hardworking would be crowned (Senior Data Scientist).

These lived experiences, thoughts, and feelings of highly educated migrants showed how they managed this process to regain their valued selves. Also, the cases stressed what kind of
strategies they developed to reach their previous statuses and life standards. The literature shows
the job market participation of highly educated people is hard in Europe but not very bad in the
US; these lived experiences approves that. Even they had to do some unskilled jobs (almost all of
them had some unskilled jobs such as Amazon Flex, UBER, Grub Hub, market vendor ship) at
the beginning. However, while doing unskilled jobs, most of them continued to data camps,
certificate programs, or graduate degrees and finally could reach their goals in a short time.

**Networking and collaborating**

Some studies argued that social media not only creates an easy and fast communication
channel in migrants’ networks but also it reshapes the structures of immigrants’ networks and
makes migration easier (Dekker & Engbersen, 2014). Ertugrul approved this in his statement,

> We have not established an official organization yet, but we have a close connection with
> people who came here. We call the people who experienced similar stories like us or had
> the same jobs as us. We help each other and organize on social media platforms, and we
> visit our friends or friends’ friends when we are traveling for a job or conference. You
> know it is very beneficial for networking and decreasing expenses. Even we set mock
> interviews for our friends before their job talks by selecting experienced immigrant
> people who can help the candidate. Many people provided references for each other after
> they entered a company or school. When someone is moving to an upper-level job,
typically, that person tries to find someone like himself before leaving his position. It is a
> new but developing practice (UBER Driver and Online Trader).

Ekrem is a live example of this new collaboration among the highly educated network.
He reported,
There are some friends. I’m still frequently having a phone or video conference about their focus points and where they can find some essential materials. If I believe they are a good fit for some specific position in my company, I immediately send their resumes to the HR rep. Trying to make them part of society (Senior Data Scientist).

Also, experienced migrants helped newcomers with similar backgrounds and informed them about the job market and finding the fastest good job after taking official documents such as Social Security Number and Working Authorization for the USA. Nihat supported this by stating,

Some of my friends told me: “Look, there are IT jobs. It is open to immigrants. You can visit the center.” I went to that workplace. … The workplace is like this… They ask what is your background, what is your profession? Then, they give you an idea of what can you do in the future (Data Analyst).

The examples in Europe also showed the importance of networking during job market participation. Kemal stated,

I contacted directly with professors at my field. One turned back and asked me how you can finance your study. My UAF [Foundation for Refugee Students] and SAR [Scholar at Risk] applications have been granted. SAR pays 30% of my tuition, and the university pays the rest. I have two more friends who started to academic jobs or post-doc with the references of SAR or UAF … I met with someone in a workshop in my field. He offered me to work together on a project related to my expertise. After the first project, the think tank provided me to work part-time there and writing four reports each year (Scholar and Researcher in Europe).
**Belonging or crawling into a shell**

Immigration policies and practices have a profound effect on migrants’ feelings and experiences about belonging, communication, and job market participation. In Western immigration policy literature, the primary assumption that underscores many migration policies is the protection of “us” at the expense of “them” (Adamson, Triadafilopoulos, & Zolberg, 2011; Anderson, 2017; Castles, 2003). Some studies show the importance of ‘other’ to create or develop ‘us’ (Triandafyllidou, 1998). While some groups have in the past been excluded (i.e., Asians in the US), especially in times of crisis (Freeman, 1995), they may be normalized today; the inverse may also be true (i.e., Muslims in the US after 9/11) (Bloemraad, 2006).

Politics is primarily interested in easy short-term answers to historically multi-dimensional issues (Castles, 2003). Also, interest groups and capital have roles in the policy process, promoting politicians’ positions (Castles, 2004; Cornelius & Rosenblum, 2005). This cost-benefit approach especially shows itself in the labor market and the legacy problem of some immigrants. So, irregular immigrants could be suitable for the market’s interests, and some policymakers enjoy having controllable immigrant labels such as good-bad illegals, wanted-unwanted, or deserving-undeserving undocumented people (Chauvin & Garces-Mascarenas, 2012; Cornelius, 2005; Holmes & Castaneda, 2016).

Immigrants – including highly skilled and qualified migrants – tend to be employed in lower-paying jobs that do not equate to their knowledge and skill. Barriers and under-employment can undermine refugees’ relationship with their host society, and negatively influence integration (Xypolytas, 2018). This study also distinguished the different feelings of immigrants about belonging to destination countries during the job market participation process. Poyraz recalled,
I like US citizens’ behaviors, trustworthiness, and hospitality. I feel I belong here... ... when we first came here. We did not get any official support. But the people we met were really candid. They did their best. When my landlord learned my story, she let me stay at her apartment free for a few months until I find a job (Data Scientist in Northern America).

Ali reported similar positive experiences about people,

Local people were a supporter. ... They supported children in piano courses, women for English courses free (Data Analyst).

Whereas experiences of immigrants were highly favorable in Northern America, people who moved to Europe reported different views about the belonging. Even historical immigrant-receiving countries of Europe, such as Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, do not understand policy practices in the same way7 (Koopmans, 2013). Also, some regional/territorial implementations of migration policies may be different than countries’ practices and against civil rights (Gilbert, 2009; Varsanyi, 2011). Huseyin talked about his feelings in Europe positively,

When I lost my job and legal status abroad, I felt insecure. Then, I started a new job. I forgot my loneliness. I found myself in a humanistic and free atmosphere.

Bulent stressed the role of the social state on highly educated migrant’s integration process. He reported,

It [social benefits and help] is good at first because you are at a shock when you first come here. But then it makes you lazy because it doesn’t allow you to integrate with society soon. When you try to make everything fast, it is futile because the country

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7 For example, while German Chancellor Merkel describes Multiculturalism as “Multikulti.” She refers to the “attitude of celebrating diversity”, French President Sarkozy refers to “something alien” to his country, and British Prime Minister Cameron sees the term as “state multiculturalism” (Koopmans, 2013, p. 147).
created a prolonged system, and they do not want you to incorporate it into society soon. Their investment is not for you but for your children. One official told this to me (Graduate Student).

Fatma contributed this discussion by stating,

There is a great system here. However, the bureaucracy is terrible and two officials sitting next to themselves are not aware of other’s work. They are not practical or intellectual. They do not know or intentionally hiding the information from you (Part-time worker in Europe).

Ayse stated,

I have tried to contact people related to my job/hobby. I decided to have contact with the families of my children’s friends. However, these efforts were futile. Europe crawled into its shell. So, we have contacted with only other elite Turks … But, if you know people beforehand, the situation is different. They help and support you. Maybe we have a different religion, language, and culture but the same heart.

Fikret’s experience was negative. He also reported the reasons for the immigrants’ crawling into their shells in Europe. He stated,

Refugee centers and municipalities discredit your self-confidence. They expect you to comply with the migration/refugee system. They never ask what you can contribute to the system or what you want. You’ll do this … You’ll do that … They give orders. These policies and practices cause you to be crawling into your shell. Many educated people crawled into their shells after these practices. Europe does not assign migrants as educated or non-educated. You have the same pattern as the other 180-country people. It is a dictating system.
Kazim’s statement was not very harshly like Fikret’s comments, but he also critiqued the process:

They [officials] do not dictate educated people what to do, but it changes from municipality to municipality. They offer to work in a bakery or a cleaning company. They want you to show your bank account statement to examine your transactions. When you get social benefits, you should do these. I didn’t have to do that since I got a job offer in a research project though it is contracted for two years. If I had to show my bank statements, it would be so hard for me… one of my highly educated friends extremely disturbed by showing his bank statement each month. He felt as if they [officials] don’t trust him. He began to work at a warehouse, he is still working there and couldn’t move to a better fit job yet (Researcher in Europe).

The literature showed that there is the question of when “others” or “strangers” begin to matter to a receiving country. The size and capital of the immigration flow can widely change the perception. The most important question is: Do “they” have the potential to change “us”?

When we look at the populations of immigrants in receiving countries, this begins to make sense. For example, Islam has a prominent place in discussions of European migration policy, while the Spanish language is a concern in the US (Zolberg & Woon, 1999). Also, immigrants’ social capital matters to the politics of the receiving countries (Andreouli & Howarth, 2013). While highly educated and skilled migrants tend to be welcome in developed countries, non-elite immigrants and asylum seekers are seen as a problem and a potential burden.

Another explanation for the different feelings of immigrants about belonging could be related to the globalization paradox. The globalization “produce larger and more diverse flows of migrants from developing to developed countries; it simultaneously creates conditions within
developed countries that promote the implementation of restrictive immigration policies” (Massey, 1999, p. 312). Castles supported this idea by claiming that migration policies follow national perspectives, though many drivers of migration require a global perspective (2004). Also, another study stresses the strong ongoing support for nationalistic citizenship policies for the settlement of immigrants rather than global (post-national or multiculturalistic) ones (Koopmans & Statham, 1999).

No informants in this study reported racist problems against them in the U.S. and Canada. Although they were Muslim, no women were wearing headscarves among subjects, and their clothes were in Western-style like most of the other highly educated people in Turkey. The informants reported that if you are legal and white, you do not feel like an immigrant in the U.S. They said that nobody judges you and respect highly educated people. Also, native people could not figure out the Turkish people’s accent, and they mostly think that these immigrants are German, Russian, or French.

In Europe, one informant, Hakan who has blue eyes and European skin told,

I look like them, so I didn’t have any problem, but some of my friends had some issues while applying some places or even at public transportation because they look like more Turkish with dark hair, with dark eyes, and a pale skinned (Data Analyst).

The U.S. and Canada appeared as more tolerant countries about the differences than European countries. Diversity has seen as a richness, and Northern American countries applied affirmative action programs for the immigrants at the job market. Many informants reported their perspective and diverse approach valued by people at the job markets.
3.5 Discussion

Drawing on qualitative research, this article focused on the under-researched theme of highly educated migrants’ (forced or exiled) job market participation in a comparative context from eight different countries in Europe, Canada, and the U.S. Its empirical contribution lies in providing a detailed examination of various job market participation process comparatively and examining the process in the eyes of the people who experienced this by showing their coping strategies and innovative methods to reach their prior statuses and life standards. Beyond this empirical contribution, the article has five broader findings.

First, by documenting the wide range of comparative incidents experienced by highly educated migrants, this article challenges the assumption that incorporation into job market participation is a smooth process for highly educated migrants who moved to Western countries. Most of them worked at unskilled jobs until they found a job compatible with their education or status level. There was a profound difference between Europe and Northern America during the immigrants’ employment process. Most of the highly educated immigrants in Europe faced difficulties at job market participation and involved the same pattern as less educated people did. Immigrants’ experience in Northern America during job market participation was better than in Europe. Thus, this study provided a more nuanced understanding of highly educated migrants’ incorporation to destination countries in a comparative way. Immigrants’ feelings about belonging to destination society affected by their experiences with migration policies, practices, and officials.

Second, highly educated immigrants tried to reach their previous statuses and life standards as fast as they could by hardworking, making sacrifices, and developing innovative strategies. Most of the highly educated immigrant informants who moved to Northern America
could reach their job-related goals by taking intensified courses and camps at data science-related jobs. Trump’s policies for restricting H1B visas helped forced and exiled highly educated Turks by creating more data jobs available for the people who have working authorization. The immigrants in Europe have faced harder policies while participating in the job market. However, the unique characteristics, human capital, and skills of immigrants could create new systems and better procedures at destination regions in Europe though it was hard. Some immigrants could find high-status jobs during the refugee process and refused unskilled jobs assigned by the officials without asking immigrants’ capabilities or skills. These immigrants showed that it was possible to modify immigration policies in democratic European countries.

Third, the importance of networking and the active usage of social media platforms to communicate with other immigrants in similar situations facilitated the job market participation and job preferences of highly educated migrants. The organizations such as SAR, UAF, and direct personal connections with related experts appeared as valuable networking tools, especially for immigrants’ first job market participation process. People who found jobs fast pulled the other immigrants to their companies, institutions, businesses, or organizations.

Fourth, language appeared as a barrier for highly educated Turks who forced to move to Europe, as the literature suggested, but in a different way. Because in Europe, they faced with a standard schedule for each immigrant regardless of their education levels. This standard process retarded the participation of immigrants in the job market. The immigrants could not take up language examinations before the scheduled time (6 months for many European countries) even they were ready to pass exams with their efforts. Then, they had to wait a long time again to learn the exam results. Some of the immigrants learned European languages too fast and passed the exams as soon as possible. But some immigrants’ regions in Europe, did not allow them to
take exams early. Thus, the migration system deskilled immigrants and delayed their job market incorporation by forcing them to follow appointed standards.

Fifth, although my study focuses on the feelings, thoughts, and lived experiences of highly educated Turks in a comparative context in eight different countries, it was also a more extensive contribution as a case study about migrants’ feeling of belonging to new societies. While fast job market participation experiences of immigrants in Northern America were increasing their positive feelings regarding belonging, people who have similar skill sets in Europe experienced more problems in this process and felt alone. This study also allowed me to draw a conclusion regarding the policy and practice effect on the job market participation of highly educated immigrants/refugees.

In addition to these findings, I discuss that implementing of data science to immigrants’ job market process by collecting, analyzing, and sharing migrants’ data with appropriate institutions can decrease the unemployment rate of highly educated immigrants in Western countries. The characteristics of the migrants’ flow in terms of their origin, transit, and destination states, as well as migrants’ legal status, language ability, age, health, gender, skills, and education, may require different approaches and policies for their better job market participation. Immigrants’ fast and smooth job market participation may affect their belonging and integration to destination countries positively. The steady job market participation may also help to keep away migrants from becoming alone and being vulnerable to radicalization, violence, or crime. Consequently, higher education may be a more vital decision point in migration policies and practices.
Chapter 4. Analysis of Academic Studies on the Integration of Displaced Persons and the Role of Gender in this Process

4.1 Introduction

In the last two decades, the world has witnessed the greatest migration of displaced persons since the Second World War; the majority of displaced persons are from Asia and Africa. As of 2017, 64% of international migrants resided in high-income countries, primarily in the West (United Nations, 2017). Many nations have been affected by these recent changes, due to an influx at their borders and their efforts to meet their responsibilities under the 1967 UN Refugee Convention and its protocols. Political developments in this area have been followed by increased security and humanitarian concerns. As a result, the migrant crisis has become a top national priority in recent years, running in parallel with increasing academic interest. While there is a relatively institutional understanding of migration in the Western world (Achiume, 2016), the conceptual consensus on terms like “integration” and “displaced persons” has yet to be properly structured (Korac, 2003).

The purpose of the study is to examine the most prestigious academic indexes for articles addressing the integration of displaced persons into host countries, in order to illustrate any conceptual confusion and identify common research perspectives and less-examined areas of analysis. This work focuses on the Thomson Reuters Web of Knowledge (WoK), Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI), Science Citation Index – Expanded (SCI-EXPANDED), and Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI). After identifying the general body of academic studies, the author analyzed the content of the main...
sociological articles published in the last 20 years, including a content analysis of 257 articles published in English and abstract and/or keyword analysis of 41 pieces published in other languages. Sociology was the most common academic discipline generating studies on the integration of displaced persons, followed by works considering demographics.

Also, this study gave special consideration to gender. After presenting and analyzing the role of gender in general concepts/drivers of global migration, I focused on how gender shapes the major causes of global migration and the connections of gender with international migration, from migration decision-making to integration/assimilation processes.

4.2 Background

Conceptual Framework of Integration

Scholars have used many different terms to describe the settlement and reception process of displaced persons. Besides academics’ personal reasons for preferring certain terms, policy variances in specific countries have an effect on this multiplicity of concepts. Some research has stressed possible conceptual and practical reasons for this complexity and the resulting ambiguity (Korac, 2003). Most work has used integration (R. Alba, Sloan, & Sperling, 2011; Dribe & Lundh, 2008; Korac, 2003; A. Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009; Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998) and assimilation (R. D. Alba, Logan, Stults, Marzan, & Zhang, 1999; Harker, 2001; Safi, 2010; Stodolska, 1998; Waters & Jimenez, 2005) as substitute terms. Webster’s definition of “integrate” is “to form, coordinate, or blend into a functioning or unified whole, to unite with something else, to incorporate into a larger unit, and to end the segregation of and bring into equal membership in society or an organization” (Integrate, 2005). The “equal membership” element of this definition represents the mutual shares held by guests and hosts, though in practice the term differs among European countries. Webster’s defines “assimilate” as “to absorb
into the cultural tradition of a population or group” (Assimilate, 2005). This term is predominantly used in American contexts and measured according to “socioeconomic status, spatial concentration, loss of mother tongue, and inter-marriage” (Waters & Jimenez, 2005). The notion of equal opportunity and American immigration practices may have an effect on the common use of the term in American contexts. The term “segmented assimilation” refers to post-1965 America. It differs from classical assimilation, which locates displaced persons’ success in their “assimilate[ion] [in]to mainstream culture” (St-Hilaire, 2002).

The related literature uses additional concepts to define the settlement and reception process of displaced persons in and by host countries. These concepts can be divided into acculturation (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Gerhards & Hans, 2009; Kosic, Mannetti, & Sam, 2005; Navas, Rojas, Garcia, & Pumares, 2007; Neto, 2002), adaptation (Hofstra, van Oudenhoven, & Buunk, 2005; Portes, Haller, & Guarnizo, 2002; St-Hilaire, 2002; Vedder & Virta, 2005), adjustment (Bobowik, Basabe, & Paez, 2014; Markovic & Manderson, 2000; Portes & Hao, 2002; Zlobina, Basabe, Paez, & Furnham, 2006), segmented assimilation (de Graaf & van Zenderen, 2009; Sassler, 2006; Segeritz, Walter, & Stanat, 2010; Vermeulen, 2010; Zhou & Xiong, 2005), transnationalism (Al-Ali, Black, & Koser, 2001; Caglar, 2006; Landolt, 2001; Portes et al., 2002), orientation (Bernard, 2006; Magnan, Grenier, & Darchinian, 2015; Rubin, Watt, & Ramelli, 2012), multiculturalism (Gieling, Thij, & Verkuyten, 2011; Koopmans & Statham, 1999; Leong & Ward, 2006; Schalk-Soekar, de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004), and enculturation (Weinreich, 2009). Acculturation refers to the “cultural modification of people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture,” while enculturation is associated with one’s own culture (Acculturation, 2005). Webster’s summarizes the main differences between assimilation and acculturation as follows:
Acculturation is often tied to political conquest or expansion and is applied to the process of change in beliefs or traditional practices that occurs when the cultural system of one group displaces that of another. Assimilation refers to the process through which individuals and groups of differing heritages acquire the basic habits, attitudes, and mode of life of an embracing culture (Acculturation, 2005).

The terms adaptation, adjustment, and orientation were used similarly in these studies. They generally showed the transition process from the old environment and/or condition to the new. Transnationalism and multiculturalism are related to diversity. Conversely, the reverse meanings include discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Perhoniemi, 2007; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999; Roder & Muhlau, 2011; Stevens, Hussein, & Manthorpe, 2012), segregation (Catanzarite, 2000; Driedger, 1999; Khazzoom, 2005; Park & Iceland, 2011), and isolation (Cherng, 2015; Nawyn, Gjokaj, Agbenyiga, & Grace, 2012; van Hook & Baker, 2010). These negative concepts refer to the inequality between displaced persons and residents of host countries.

**Gender**

Immigration does not have a single, comprehensive, generally accepted theory (Castles, 2003; Massey et al., 1993) to explain its dynamics. Moreover, generally little work on immigration unequivocally researches for gender issues (Morrison, Schiff, & Sjoblom, 2008). Migration studies have neglected gendered characteristics of displaced people, and generally examined migration processes with a male-dominated perspective (Kanaiaupuni, 2000).

Migration studies began to include gender in the 1980s. The first-wave of these studies typically added women to the existing studies on migration, oftentimes as a variable. However, newer studies in the 2000s examined the relational role of gender and accomplished a more coherent perspective on gender and migration (King, Dalipaj, & Mai, 2006). Early studies predicted that women moved as dependents while men moved for labor purposes. Later research
complicates this by showing different reasons such as the movement for marriage (Kofman, 1999) and women’s increasing single migration (Lutz, 2010). Kofman claims that many academics do not examine gender in migration studies due to not the lack of data, “but rather to resistance to acknowledging autonomous female migration” (1999, p. 274). So, it is possible to find some evidence for gender division in the existing inequalities of migration by scrutinizing literature. Also, some recent studies examine gender analysis of forced migration (Krystalli, Hawkins, & Wilson, 2018) and explore the experiences of forced migrants who move due to their gender identities or sexual orientation (Alessi, 2016).

Most of the studies have not considered the role of gender in popular migration theories. A few exceptions of gendered perspectives in migration theories are related to micro-level theories of labor migration theory and recent studies on the integration of immigrants. Major theories of integration have not interested in gender except some partial contribution of segmented assimilation theory regarding the gender gap in the educational incorporation process of girls and boys (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan, & Pessar, 2006). While micro-level structures tend to focus on the decision processes of individuals and families (e.g., neoclassical economics) in widely cited migration theories, researches have based their theories predominantly on male migrants and have neglected the role of gender in family decisions. Macro-level theories advocate that global forces give rise to migration, such as in world-systems theory (Massey et al., 1993). However, the literature has almost no attention to gender in classic macro theories with a few exceptions such as Mahler and Pessar’s (2001) gendered geography of power, which refers to the role of gender across transnational spaces beyond immigrants’ origin states.
Recent gender and migration studies have attempted to fill in the gaps in these theories by combining different methods and understanding the topic as relational and contextual (Donato et al., 2006). Migration theories mostly come from the discipline of economics, oftentimes neglecting gender. Donato et al. describe the problem as follows:

“[A]lthough more women are migrating than in the past, traditional explanations for men’s migration do not apply to women. Decisions to migrate are made within a larger context of gendered interactions and expectations between individuals and within families and institutions. Therefore, gender is critically important to consider before the development of theory” (2006, p. 12).

However, some gender and migration studies have examined the possible role of gender in initiation and perpetuation theories. For example, Shauman and Noonan support new economics theory and examine migration as a family decision. They found that the relationship between family migration and job success depends on job market characteristics in gender-specific ways in addition to individual and familial differences (2007).

Lutz’s study is an important example of gender analysis in the migratory process since she examines micro, meso, and macro perspectives. Her paper focuses on gender in the migratory process by showing the absence of women in previous studies and presenting a new conceptual framework to show gender within social change. Lutz treats gender as a key element in the migratory process. She examines three aspects of gender (labor market, organization of work, individual practices/identities) in three analytical levels (macro, meso, micro) (2010). She examined gender in the migration process and provided possible explanations for the invisibility of women in the theorization of migration. She proposes a gendered model in each scale (macro, meso, and micro level) and takes masculinities and femininities of origin and destination
countries into account for the evaluation of the gendered migration process (2010). This analysis helps to understand how immigrants follow gender-specific migration patterns (2010, p. 1658). Castles stresses the importance of gender in two drivers of international migration, inequality, and politics. According to him, national migration rules separate people based on gender and other differences. So, he argues that international migration is the outcome of this inequality (2013, p. 127). Also, Castles explains that gender is one of the variables in the stratification of the global labor market. It helps to understand why some people have unlimited mobility, while others controlled or excluded (2013).

The experiences of international migrants are shaped by factors such as gender, race, age, and class. Gender has a deep impact on the unequal migration experiences of migrants and their incorporation process to destination countries. Thus, it is important to evaluate the experiences of gender groups in each dimension of integration. This study discusses that women’s participation in job markets and integration to destination countries may be different than the traditional findings, especially in terms of new migration flows and forced migration. Due to western countries’ job market characteristics, needs for specific jobs (e.g., doctors, nurses, caregivers in aging Western countries) dominated by women, encouraging and compelling policies for women’s job market participation, better gender gap conditions in host countries, and policy of affirmative action for traditionally underrepresented groups including women could affect the immigrant women’s better employment and integration to destination countries. Therefore, my hypothesis is as follows:

**H: Other factors being equal, when compared with their women counterparts in origin countries as well as their immigrant men counterparts with the same skill sets in destination countries, highly educated immigrant women may have faster labor market participation.**
4.3 Methodology

The author accessed the WoK, SSCI, A&HCI, SCI-EXPANDED, and ESCI databases through an American research university in July and August of 2018, and via the advanced search option, examined the academic studies mostly related to displaced persons’ experiences in their host countries. *Migrant, immigrant, and refugee* were the base search terms used for manifest coding. Concepts such as *integration, assimilation, acculturation, adaptation, adjustment, segmented assimilation, transnationalism, orientation, multiculturalism, and enculturation* were employed to identify positive points in the literature, while *discrimination, segregation, and isolation* were searched to unearth the negative. The vocabulary groups consisted of combinations of integration and displaced person-related terms in the study titles (e.g., integration migrant, acculturation refugee, etc.). The date range was limited to January 1998 through September 2018. After a general evaluation of the academic studies, the field of sociology was selected for latent coding to reflect the underlying meaning of research items so that the current research would have a consistent focus. The 298 articles constituting the basis of this research were classified according to the language of publication. While the 257 articles written in English were subjected to complete content analysis, the 41 written in other languages were analyzed from their English-language abstracts. Also, *gender, female, woman* and *women* terms used for identifying the role of gender in these articles. In addition to recent studies of gender in the integration process, 54 articles which include search terms have been examined. Finally, the research question was classified, analyzed, and visualized.

4.4 Results

A total of 2,673 academic works published between January 1998 and September 2018 were found in the SSCI, A&HCI, SCI-EXPANDED, and ESCI databases. These articles
constituted 80% of the greater body of academic studies. Book reviews and conference abstracts followed (see Table 4.1). When the articles were examined according to the research category, sociology and demography were the first two subjects and very close in number. These two research categories comprised 28% of the greater body of publications (see Table 4.2). More than 90% were written in English.

Table 4.1 Document Types

![Graph showing document types]

Table 4.2 Article Categories

![Graph showing record count by area]
Academic articles on the integration of displaced persons that were published in the field of sociology – the focal point of the current research – accounted for 11% of the total number of academic studies and 14% of all articles (298 of 2,149). When the studies were classified by language, it was found that 83% were written in English (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Publication Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Croatian</td>
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<td>Italian</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Slovak</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The annual distribution of academic articles published from 1998 to 2005 did not exceed 50; there were between 50 and 100 published from 2005 to 2009 and 100 to 150 from 2009 through 2014. From 2015 through September of 2018, the number of articles published was approximately 200. It is possible that more than 200 articles will be published in this date range; more are likely to appear in the four months of 2018 following the creation of the trend graph. Harmony was found between change per year and an increase in the number of displaced persons worldwide (see Tables 4.4 and 4.5).
Table 4.4 Publications by Year

The sociological studies concentrated more on tangible topics (64%) such as housing, health, education, labor, identity, and language. Human-based topics made up a smaller group (16%) and addressed issues such as social capital, community participation, and shared networks.

Table 4.5 International migration (in millions)
Gender articles on the integration of displaced persons accounted for 5.5% of the total number of academic studies (54 of 298). These studies focused more on gender differences in the labor market, stress during integration, and women related issues such as maternity, pregnancy, marriage, and spousal violence.

Although they were less in numbers, research in the social connection of migrants has generally considered immigrants to be social actors and examined their relationships, social networks, and participation in the host community. The bonds, social networks, and levels of participation of stakeholders are the most common integration parameters. Also, these parameters show differences based on gender. Curran and her collaborators argue that “gender relations affect the migration process, in part, because gender influences the information and trust available through migrant social capital, as measured by trips and experience and as observed at different levels – household and village” (Curran, Garip, Chung, & Tangchonlatip, 2005, p. 227). Moreover, family networks are more important for women’s migration than men’s move (Kanaiaupuni, 2000). Social bonds (i.e., family, ethnicity, and religion) have various benefits (e.g., providing employment, housing, feelings of safety, etc.) and promote successful integration (Cheung & Phillimore, 2014). Through activities such as birthday parties, meals, sports, tours, etc., social bridges can be built between migrants and local hosts. However, analyses still reveal strong segregation and polarization (Windzio, 2012). This diversity in studies may be related to social capital’s “episodic, socially constructed and value-based” characteristic (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, & Solomos, 2007).

Language as a facilitator has been considered central for integration and discussed extensively in the literature (Akresh, Massey, & Frank, 2014; Nieuwboer & van't Rood, 2016). The importance of language skills for integration can vary based on gender. A study on
immigrants in European countries suggests that language proficiency is more crucial for men than women in the integration process. Also, the authors found that migrants’ earnings can be less if their native languages are not the same or close to their destination countries’ languages. This income gap narrows to native people’s earnings approximately after 18 years (Adsera & Chiswick, 2007). “Language assimilation is viewed as an ongoing, cumulative process and proficiency is a necessary but insufficient condition for integration” (Akresh et al., 2014, p. 9). The inability to speak the local language is considered an obstacle to integration and leads to segregation. In addition, it causes mental health problems and social distress.

The immigrants’ legacy in receiving countries may have a significant effect on each dimension of the integration. Illegal immigrants make less money, work in unsafe jobs, refrain from government institutions, and do not search for health care when compared with legal counterparts (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). Also, immigrants have different experiences in terms of citizenship and rights based on their gender. For example, lesbian and gay migrants have difficulties in getting citizenship and rights of residence due to destination countries’ laws in Britain and the Netherlands (Binnie, 1997). Another study found that Mexican immigrant men experienced a more privileged arena in practicing their citizenship than their women counterparts (Goldring, 2001).

The immigrants’ religions labeled “as a threat to social cohesion” (Castles, 2007, p. 356), have seen problematic especially in West European context (Foner & Alba, 2008), seen as an influencer of the incorporation time (Portes & Borocz, 1989), and the strengthener of the nationalistic character (Triandafyllidou, 1998) with other traits of language and culture in early acculturation contexts in western societies. In recent studies, religion appears as one of the main identifier of immigrants (R. Alba, 2005; Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008) and mostly
seen as a main issue/problem especially in European context (Foner & Alba, 2008; Freeman, 2004) in contrast to American context⁸ (Hirschman, 2004). Also, some European countries’ migration policies based on gender and religion have created discrimination against ethnic minority women, in particular, Muslim women, by forcing them to abandon their religious practices (A. C. Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013). Recent studies stress the hostility against Islam in the integration process (McLaren & Johnson, 2007). It seems Muslims’ racialization appears as a hot topic in integration discussions now, similar to Catholic and Jewish displaced persons of the past.

In labor market studies, little attention has been given to the experiences of people with different gender identities. One possible reason for this is the lack of disaggregated migration data based on gender. There is a growing interest on sex-disaggregated data, especially in the last decade. The migration institutions under the United Nations and European Union have been collected more migration data based on sex and age. These data allow for the analysis of inequalities and employment experiences of women and men. However, gender is more than women — more data needed to understand the unequal experiences of each gender group and practice appropriate policies for their vulnerabilities. There are certain barriers that migrants often encounter in the labor market. Also, the characteristics (i.e., market conditions, work conditions, wage conditions) of destination countries in the economy can cause different experiences for each gender group. For example, many immigrant women in receiving societies are seen as dependents and often admitted to temporary pink-collar jobs. Immigrants – including

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⁸ Some possible explanations of why religion is different in Europe and USA include the religiosity of the societies, the role of religion in social construction, the size of the people from different religions (Most scholars say, it is Islam now). Zolberg and Woon show how size matters in their comparative study of Islam and Spanish (1999). The illegal immigrants, mostly Mexicans have surpassed 12 million and they settle different geographic places than the past in US contextual debates (Marrow, 2009). Also, Foner and Alba point another possible reason, integrity of state and church in Europe perceive other religions as an obstacle for immigrants’ integration (2008).
highly skilled and qualified migrants – tend to be employed in lower-paying jobs that do not equate to their knowledge and skill. Barriers and under-employment can undermine refugees’ relationship with their host society, and negatively influence integration (Xypolytas, 2018). Gender groups other than men are more vulnerable to experience inequality in labor markets of destination countries.

Recent studies argue ongoing problems such as the obstacle to participating specific skilled jobs (Erel, 2010), segregation towards refugees (Tian, Wang, & Chia, 2018), language domination in particular jobs (Lan, 2011), the disregarding talents/qualifications of highly-skilled immigrants (Tian et al., 2018) even they accomplish required things of the labor market, and gender gap (Donato, Wakabayashi, Hakimzadeh, & Armenta, 2008; Ho & Alcorso, 2004; A. C. Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Read & Oselin, 2008; Yuval-Davis, Anthias, & Kofman, 2005). Donato and her collaborators found problematic employment conditions, especially for women, and showed significant gender differences in the US labor market after 1993 (2008). Ho and Alcorso have examined the migrants’ labor market experiences based on their gender in the Australian context. They found evidence of gender effects in job market participation. According to their findings, skilled women’s job market participation was less than their male counterparts, even in the same visa category (2004). Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos have shown job market gender inequalities in the European context (2013). Another study has found that “highly educated migrant women are twice as likely as highly educated native-born women to be employed in low-skilled jobs, with highly educated third-country migrant women having the highest incidence of de-skilling.” (Rubin, Rendall, Rabinovich, Tsang, Janta, & Oranje-Nassau, 2008, p. 33). All these studies are essential to show the job market’s participation gap between women and men. However, some studies in recent years supports the hypothesis of highly
educated immigrant women’s faster job market participation in Western Europe and North America.

Women migrants of gender-unequal countries face better opportunities in gender-equal countries in terms of economic participation, educational attainment, health, and political empowerment (Global Gender Gap Report 2020, 2019). Also, the aging population of Western countries requires more workers in the health sector which are dominated by women (WHO, 2016). Another opportunity for immigrant women appears as job market policies in host countries. These policies encourage women to participate job market and implement affirmative action for women. The second study supports highly educated immigrant women’s faster integration to destination countries especially in times of forced migration. However, more data needed to evaluate the women’s experiences in recent migration flows and forced migration to show the general tendency in women’s integration process.

4.5 Discussion

Most studies focused on tangible and measurable material issues. A likely reason for this is that the data can be easily obtained. These studies dealt with issues from a single point of view, either that of the displaced group or residents of the host country. The focus was mainly on immigrants’ basic needs, such as housing, health care, participation in the labor force, language acquisition, and education, as provided through the reception and settlement process. Information about how many people became employed; received social services such as education, health care, and housing; and learned the local language is easily accessed from aid institutions, and therefore it is a simple process to measure such issues and assess them scientifically.

Another significant topic was migrant identity. In particular, ethnic issues such as gender, age, and a sense of belonging were examined. Researchers appeared to attribute
immigrants/refugees a common identity and not consider them as individual human beings. A common approach was to assess the impacts and consequences of policies applied to a particular group in a given host country. There were two main forms of integration policy: (1) pluralistic, multicultural, flexible, and soft; and (2) rigid and assimilation based. A common finding was that sufficient success was not being achieved; displaced people were not fully able to participate in society and instead tended to be isolated in their own neighborhoods.

Conversely, there were several studies that considered immigrants to be social actors and examined their relationships, social networks, and community participation in the host country; these comprised 49 of the 298 articles and 16% of the total number of studies. After Putman developed and conceptualized social capital theory, research in that field increased. Instead of a one-way approach, these studies adopted a bilateral method that included both residents of the host country and displaced people. Such articles emphasized intangible issues such as trust, respect, and equality between migrants and residents, rather than material issues such as health, housing, language, and education. The relationships, social networks, and community participation of migrants and residents were the most common measurement parameters. Of the total, 27% of the studies (81 articles) could be categorized as social psychology. This illustrates that the human-based approach to integration is not sufficient but is improving.

There are many different approaches to and policies regarding the integration of displaced people. The complexity and ambiguity of the topic are not only conceptual but also practical. There is no common method for or notion of integration. Tangible and emotional issues should be examined together when developing integration policies. Future studies should endeavor to provide conceptual unity and examine the material and moral issues as a unified whole.
After presenting the ignored areas, the study focused on the role of gender in the international migration process. This work also hypothesized the changing role of gender in this process. This study showed the interconnectedness of migration topic with broader mainstream issues of gender at multi-levels. Also, it analyzed that the role of gender has generally been ignored in theorization and examination of the migration process from migration decision-making to integration to destination countries. It hypothesized the importance of separate explanations for women’s migration rather than traditional explanations derived for men’s labor migration and accepts women as dependent individuals with children. Also, it discusses the women’s role at migration decision and their willingness to take risks to create a better future for their children. During the integration process, skilled women had more disadvantages than their men counterparts and skilled women faced more de-skilling than their native women counterparts.

However, more comparative data needed to evaluate the role of women, especially highly educated ones in current migration flows. This study discusses that women’s participation in job markets and integration to destination countries may be different than the traditional findings especially in terms of forced migration. Due to western countries’ job market characteristics, needs for specific jobs (e.g., doctors, nurses, caregivers in aging Western countries) dominated by women, encouraging and compelling policies for women’s job market participation, better gender gap conditions in host countries, and policy of affirmative action for traditionally underrepresented groups including women could affect the immigrant women’s better employment and integration to destination countries when compared with their women counterparts in origin countries as well as their men counterparts in destination countries.
Finally, seeking independent and inter-disciplinary research bodies to examine the whole migration process for each gender group may be more productive for the development of the migration studies.
Chapter 5. Conclusion

This study examined interdependencies between higher education, motivation, belonging, and development of highly educated Turkish migrants at the job market process before and after their forced migration to Western countries. Also, the study covered the literature on integration and gender in international migration studies to examine the topic in a broader scale.

The first goal of the study was to test the effectiveness of measures proposed by previous studies in explaining job motivation of Turkish state officials to demonstrate the motivational atmosphere before the coup attempt and building on the existing literature by revealing the impacts of two new variables on job motivation.

Findings showed that the predictors of motivation derived from previous studies could also be valid for the Turkish state officials’ measurement of motivation. More specifically, the study found that organizational responsiveness, institutional commitment, and moral commitment had significant and positive relationships with job motivation. Occupational commitment, on the other hand, had a significant and negative association with it.

Also, the findings revealed that the proposed variables, perceived fairness, and social benefits had significant and positive relationships with job motivation. The first part of the current study may enhance the general understanding of motivation in a Turkish context by examining Turkish military officers as a state officials’ sample and contribute to the relevant literature in several ways. First, the results of the current study support and reinforce the findings of previous studies with respect to the influences of different forms of commitment and organizational responsiveness on motivation. Second, this study introduced new variables including perceived fairness and satisfaction with social benefits to the literature of job motivation. These findings may provide important implications for future research that will be
conducted in other countries. Third, prior research on this issue has generally lacked sizeable active-duty samples. This study provided a substantial body of active-duty data and covered some different units. Finally, this study had utilized the Institutional Belonging Survey, which was conducted to Turkish state officials only two months before the coup attempt that took place on July 15th, 2016, in Turkey. Thus, its findings are invaluable in terms of showing the motivational atmosphere among state officials just before the coup attempt.

The second goal of the study was to examine the journey of highly educated state officials who forced to move to Western countries or had to stay abroad due to social change following the coup attempt in Turkey. Drawing on qualitative research, this part of the thesis focused on the under-researched theme of highly educated migrants’ (forced or exiled) job market participation in a comparative context from eight different countries in Europe, Canada, and the U.S. Its empirical contribution lies in providing a detailed examination of various job market participation process comparatively and examining the process in the eyes of the people who experienced this by showing their coping strategies and innovative methods to reach their prior statuses and life standards. Beyond this empirical contribution, this part of the dissertation challenged the assumption that incorporation into job market participation is a smooth process for highly educated migrants who moved to Western countries. Most of them worked at unskilled jobs until they found a position compatible with their education or previous status level. There was a profound difference between Europe and Northern America during the immigrants’ employment process. Most of the highly educated immigrants in Europe faced difficulties at job market participation and involved the same pattern as less educated people did. Immigrants’ experience in Northern America during job market participation was better than in Europe. Thus, this study provided a more nuanced understanding of highly-educated migrants’
incorporation to destination countries in a comparative way. Immigrants’ feelings about belonging to destination society affected by their experiences with migration policies, practices, and officials.

Also, highly educated immigrants tried to reach their previous statuses and life standards as fast as they could by hardworking, making sacrifices, and developing innovative strategies. Most of the highly educated immigrant informants who moved to Northern America could reach their job-related goals by taking intensified courses and camps, especially at data science-related jobs. The immigrants in Europe have faced harder policies while participating in the job market. However, the unique characteristics, human capital, and skills of immigrants could create new systems and better procedures at destination regions in Europe though it was hard. Some immigrants could find high-status jobs during the refugee process and refused unskilled jobs assigned by the officials without asking immigrants’ capabilities or skills. These immigrants showed that it was possible to modify immigration policies in democratic European countries.

Another finding showed that the importance of networking and the active usage of social media platforms to communicate with other immigrants in similar situations facilitated the job market participation and job preferences of highly educated migrants. The organizations such as SAR, UAF, and direct personal connections with related experts appeared as valuable networking tools, especially for immigrants’ first job market participation process. People who found jobs fast pulled the other immigrants to their companies, institutions, businesses, or organizations.

Moreover, language appeared as a barrier for highly educated Turks who forced to move to Europe, as the literature suggested, but in a different way. Because in most parts of Europe, they faced with a standard schedule for each immigrant regardless of their education levels. This
conventional process retarded the participation of immigrants in the job market. The immigrants could not take up language examinations before the scheduled time (6 months for many European countries) even they were ready to pass exams with their personal efforts. Then, they had to wait a long time again to learn the exam results. Some of the immigrants learned European languages too fast and passed the exams as soon as possible. But some immigrants’ regions in Europe, did not allow them to take exams early. Thus, the migration system deskilled immigrants and delayed their job market incorporation by forcing them to follow appointed standards.

Another finding appeared as migrants’ feeling of belonging to new societies. While fast job market participation experiences of immigrants in Northern America were increasing their positive feelings regarding belonging, people who have similar skill sets in Europe experienced more problems in this process and felt alone.

Consequently, the second part of the dissertation demonstrated that higher education might be a more vital decision point in migration policies and practices.

The final goal of the study was to examine the literature on integration and gender in international migration studies. After identifying the general body of academic studies, this research analyzed the content of the main sociological articles published in the last two decades, including a content analysis of 257 articles published in English and abstract and/or keyword analysis of 41 pieces published in other languages to reveal the current body of research topics and less-studied areas. After presenting the ignored areas, the study focused on how gender shapes international migration from migration decision-making to the integration process. This work also hypothesized the changing role of gender in the migration process.
The findings showed that most studies in the literature focus on tangible and measurable material issues. The focus was mainly on immigrants’ basic needs, such as housing, health care, participation in the labor force, language acquisition, and education, as provided through the reception and settlement process. Information about how many people became employed; received social services such as education, health care, and housing appeared as top variables in these studies.

Another important topic was migrant identity. In particular, ethnic issues such as gender, age, and a sense of belonging were examined. Researchers appeared to attribute immigrants/refugees a common identity, and most of the studies did not consider them as individual human beings. A common approach was to assess the impacts and consequences of policies applied to a particular group in a given host country. There were two main forms of integration policy: (1) pluralistic, multicultural, flexible, and soft; and (2) rigid and assimilation-based. A common finding was that sufficient success was not being achieved; displaced people were not fully able to participate in society and instead tended to be isolated in their own neighborhoods.

Conversely, several studies considered immigrants to be social actors and examined their relationships, social networks, and community participation in the host country; these comprised 49 of the 298 articles and 16% of the total number of studies. Instead of a one-way approach, these studies adopted a bilateral method that included both residents of the host country and displaced people. Such articles emphasized intangible issues such as trust, respect, and equality between migrants and residents, rather than material issues related to health, housing, language, and education topics. The relationships, social networks, and community participation of migrants and residents were the most common measurement parameters. Of the total, 27% of the
studies (81 articles) could be categorized as social psychology. This illustrated that the human-based approach to integration is not sufficient but is improving. Also, the research discussed that tangible and emotional issues should be examined together when developing integration policies. Future studies should endeavor to provide conceptual unity and review the material and moral issues as a unified whole.

After presenting the ignored areas, the study focused on the role of gender in the international migration process. This work also hypothesized the changing role of gender in this process.

This study showed the interconnectedness of migration topic with broader mainstream issues of gender at multi-levels. Also, it analyzed that the role of gender has generally been ignored in theorization and examination of the migration process from migration decision-making to integration to destination countries. It hypothesized the importance of separate explanations for women’s migration rather than traditional reasons derived for men’s labor migration and accepts women as dependent individuals with children. Also, it discusses the women’s active role at migration decision and their willingness to take risks to create a better future for their children. During the integration process, skilled women had more disadvantages than their men counterparts, and qualified women faced more de-skilling than their native women counterparts.

However, more comparative data needed to evaluate the role of women, especially highly educated ones in current migration flows. This study discusses that women’s participation in job markets and integration to destination countries may be different than the traditional findings, especially in terms of forced migration. Due to western countries’ job market characteristics, needs for specific jobs (e.g., doctors, nurses, caregivers in aging Western countries) dominated
by women, encouraging and compelling policies for women’s job market participation, and policy of affirmative action for traditionally underrepresented groups including women in Western countries could affect the immigrant women’s better employment and integration to destination countries when compared with their women counterparts in origin countries as well as their men counterparts in destination countries. The second part of the thesis approved highly educated women’s faster participation in specific jobs in destination countries especially in times of forced migration. Further research needed to test this hypothesis since the second study has a small sample size of women in a comparative context.

Finally, seeking independent and inter-disciplinary research bodies to examine the whole migration process for each gender group may be more productive for the development of the migration studies.
Appendix. IRB Approval Form

ACTION ON EXEMPTION APPROVAL REQUEST

TO: Cihan Aydiner
Sociology

FROM: Dennis Landin
Chair, Institutional Review Board

DATE: March 27, 2019

RE: IRB# E11627

TITLE: Policy, Security, and Development: Integration of Highly Educated Immigrants/Refugees into Western Labor Market


Review Date: 3/26/2019

Approved X Disapproved

Approval Date: 3/27/2019 Approval Expiration Date: 3/26/2022

Exemption Category/Paragraph: 2b

Signed Consent Waived?: Yes for online; No for face to face. GDPR cannot be waived.

Re-review frequency: (three years unless otherwise stated)

LSU Proposal Number (if applicable):

By: Dennis Landin, Chairman

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING – Continuing approval is CONDITIONAL on:

1. Adherence to the approved protocol, familiarity with, and adherence to the ethical standards of the Belmont Report, and LSU’s Assurance of Compliance with DHHS regulations for the protection of human subjects*

2. Prior approval of a change in protocol, including revision of the consent documents or an increase in the number of subjects over that approved.

3. Obtaining renewed approval (or submittal of a termination report), prior to the approval expiration date, upon request by the IRB office (irrespective of when the project actually begins); notification of project termination.

4. Retention of documentation of informed consent and study records for at least 3 years after the study ends.

5. Continuing attention to the physical and psychological well-being and informed consent of the individual participants, including notification of new information that might affect consent.

6. A prompt report to the IRB of any adverse event affecting a participant potentially arising from the study.


8. SPECIAL NOTE: When emailing more than one recipient, make sure you use bcc. Approvals will automatically be closed by the IRB on the expiration date unless the PI requests a continuation.

* All investigators and support staff have access to copies of the Belmont Report, LSU’s Assurance with DHHS, DHHS (45 CFR 46) and FDA regulations governing use of human subjects, and other relevant documents in print in this office or on our World Wide Web site at http://www.lsu.edu/irb
References


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Vita

Cihan Aydiner was born and raised in Turkey. He attended the Turkish Military Academy, where he received his Bachelor of Science degree in Management in 2004. He received his first Master of Arts degree in National and International Security Management and Leadership from Turkish Army War College in 2013. He received his second Master of Arts degree in Sociology from Louisiana State University in 2017. He anticipates receiving his Doctor of Philosophy degree in Sociology from Louisiana State University during the Summer 2020 commencement.