Political Participation and Media Use of Highly Qualified Migrants

Işıl Zeynep TURKAN IPEK [1]

[1] PhD., Asst. Prof.; Yeditepe Üniversitesi- Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler (Fransızca)

Abstract

The migration flow of high-skilled migrants and brain drain have been important subjects of research and drawing the attention of many researchers. Especially, in Turkey, by the change of the social structure and political system, we started to face more and more the migratory movement of high-skilled people from Turkey to live abroad. The main objective of this article is not to mention the main reasons or motivations of this immigration, which is the very subject of other published articles; however the main objective is to show the relation of high-skilled Turkish migrants with communication tools and examine their political participation patterns in home and host country. The data was collected by an online survey realized between 320 high-skilled Turkish migrants living abroad and having at least a university degree. The population of the research has not the aim to represent all Turks living abroad; instead it indicates the sharp reality of the continuing migration flow of Turkish high-skilled migrants. This study aims to show the relation between political participation and communication by the case study of a very specific population, Turkish high-skilled migrants, in order to understand the basic social and political tendencies of this population.

Keywords: High-Skilled Migrant, Brain Drain, Political Participation, Communication, Political Sociology.

Yüksek Nitelikli Göçmenlerin Siyasal Katılımı ve Medya Kullanımı

Özet

Yüksek nitelikli göçmenlerin hareketliliği ve beyin göçü önemli bir araştırma konuları olmakla beraber, aynı zamanda çoğu araştırmacının da dikkatini çekmektedir. Özellikle Türkiye'nin toplumsal yapısı ve siyasal sistemindeki değişimle beraber, daha sıklıkla, yüksek nitelikli kişilerin Türkiye'den yurt dışına doğru göç hareketliliği ile karşı karşıya kalmaktayız. Bu makalenin esas amacı, birçok yayınlanmış makalenin konusu olmuş olan, beyin göçünün veya yüksek nitelikli göçmenlerin temel göç nedenleri veya motivasyonları değildir. Buna karşın, bu çalışma, yüksek nitelikli göçmenlerin iletişim araçlarıyla olan ilişkilerini göstermek ve bu kişilerin ev sahibi ülke ve/veya misafir olunan ülkedeki siyasal katılım örüntülerini incelemektir. Bu çalışmanın verileri, gelişmiş ülkelerde yaşayan ve en az üniversite derecesine sahip yüksek nitelikli 320 Türk arasında çevrimiçi gerçekleştirilmiş anket sonuçlarından oluşmaktadır. Bu örneklemin yurtdışında yaşayan tüm Türkleri temsil etme iddiası bulunmamakla birlikte, amaç, hem basın yoluyla hem de güncel göç araştırmalarıyla da ortaya çıkan, yüksek nitelikli Türklerin gelişmekte olan ülkelere doğru sürekli devam eden göç hareketliliği gerçeğinin altını çizmektir. Bu sebeple, bu çalışma siyasal katılım ve iletişim arasındaki ilişkiyi, mikro bir örneklem olan yüksek nitelikli Türk göçmenleri üzerinden, bu grubun toplumsal ve siyasi eğilimlerini anlamaya da çalışarak, göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Yüksek Nitelikli Göçmen; Beyin Göçü; Siyasal Katılım; İletişim; Siyaset Sosyolojisi.

Corresponding Author	:	Işıl Zeynep TURKAN IPEK
		Yeditepe Üniversitesi, İnönü Mah. Kayışdağ Cad. No:326A 34755 Ataşehir/Maltepe/İstanbul
E-mail	:	isilturkan@gmail.com; isil.turkan@yeditepe.edu.tr
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Introduction

In the 1990s and in the beginning of the 2000s, immigration was a political case due to some cases such as the mass migrations after decolonization, consequences of the fall of Berlin wall in 1989, foundation of European community with the treaty of Maastricht in 1992, creation of Schengen space in 1995, cultural and economic globalization that has been changing borders and national identities and 9/11 attacks in 2001 that changed the global security. On the other hand, immigration is related to the economic field, and with the development of new technologies, financial flux become dematerialized and economic production of consuming goods starts to be organized in global level instead of local. International mobility of migrants has helped the internationalization of the labor force. This situation also facilitates the circulation and migratory movement of high-skilled migrants. Qualified people have the possibility to migrate due to the complex division of labor and the need for specialization. Highly qualified migrants due to their developed language, education and professional experiences have the opportunity to adapt and integrate easily to host countries. Besides, new technologies and digital media tools have helped them to create fast connections to their home countries. From a sociological perspective, this fluidity of high-skilled migrants all over the world has become more and more a complex mobility that creates new virtual existence in social and political context. Migrants continue their connections to homelands and frequently use social media and other digital communication tools to maintain their relations with social and political agenda of home country. The use of social media, such as Facebook, Twitter and the digital version communication tools such as newspapers or TV channels' websites, has a positive impact on migratory experience both for the integration to host country and belonging to home country. On the other hand, frequent use of social media and digital communication tools helps people to introduce into very different network of socialization and enhance political participation and civic engagement practices.

This paper tries to tackle with a phenomenon, that has recently become very popular, brain drain. This is not a very recent subject of study for developing countries which are used to sending their qualified citizens to developed countries and within the same case, Turkey has been a receiving country but also a sending one. The latest research of Turkish Statistics

Institute (2017) indicates that the percentage of migrants emigrated abroad has augmented 42,5% in 2017 compared to last year and primarily the young generation, between the ages of 25 and 29 years old, has more frequent emigration potential. Brain drain studies have been focusing on the mobility of specific professions also on general migratory movement of high-skilled people to developed countries. Brain drain studies and studies on high-skilled migrants have mostly been conducted by economic perspectives and under the diaspora studies emphasizing their voting and associative behaviors. This study aims to point out the political participation and media use of high-skilled Turkish migrants living in different developed countries. It has also the objective to make a contribution to two disciplines one is migration studies and specifically to brain drain studies and the other one is political sociology.

In this paper we aim to analyze the political activity and interest of high-skilled Turkish migrants and their digital media use. The research question has been designed on this purpose as followed: How much are high-skilled Turks abroad interested in homeland politics and how actively do they follow Turkey's agenda? The paper is interested in political interest, political participation type (active engagement or passive existence throughout voting) and in use of digital communication tools and social media. Regarding the research question, the hypothesis of the study is as followed: Turkish high-skilled migrants have a high political interest but a passive voting behavior without an active political engagement and they are frequently using social media as an informative source of communication. In the study, the context of digital media, as a source of information, includes newspapers and TV channels' websites where people may follow information or agenda and social media is defined as a network tool emphasizing social capital. Along the analysis, in the first part, a brief literature review on brain drain, and also political participation and the impact of media on political activity will be given. It will be followed by the methodology of the study and the analysis of young Turkish high-skilled migrants' political participation and media use.

Literature Review: highlights on brain drain of highly skilled migrants, political participation and media use

Most generally, the concept of brain drain is defined as the sending the educated elites abroad for a long term for the contribution to national development (Jałowiecki & Gorzelak, 2004). Especially by economic perspective, it also designates the international transfer of resources in the form of human capital, such as the mobility of relatively highly educated individuals from

developing to developed countries (Beine, et al., 2008). The first form of brain drain describes an educated, highly knowledgeable and qualified labor force that migrates at a significant rate to any country other than their own to work and reside; the second form describes a brain drain migration that is a result of the non-repatriation of graduates who have temporarily moved abroad to study (Şimşek, 2011). On the other hand, studies on brain drain indicate the inequal mobility of human capital amongst poor and rich countries. Giannoccolo (2009) emphasizes the fact that brain drain is a type of migration from poor countries to rich countries, in addition he underlines that, due to brain drain, the technology transfers have arisen. He, finally, points out the perspective that constitutes the main reason and motivation of brain drain, the differences in salary and research facilities. Finally, as another motivating reason of brain drain, he draws attention to the social and political differences between the poor and rich countries. However, with the most intellectual approach including the loss of human capital, Das (1978) defines migration of high-skilled people as "brain drain losses in the intellectual potential of developing countries, owing to the fact that students studying abroad do not come home once they graduate." Güngör and Tansel (2012) underline in their study the same point and they indicate the fact that "brain drain" is used to mean the emptying or exhausting of high skills and knowledge from developing countries to developed countries. The concept of brain drain has been mostly studied with an economic perspective as loss of human capital for home countries and with international migration perspective as a gain and social complexity for host countries.

Turkish brain drain studies were generally focused on the cases of the United States (Şimşek, 2011) and Germany (Süoğlu, 2012; Sunata, 2011; Sunata, 2014) where the Turkish high-skilled mostly immigrated. In the 1960s, limited studies in Turkey have been carried out on the brain drain issue and in the following years, early period studies, within a perspective of labor migration, examined the migration of qualified workers such as doctors and engineers (Oğuzkan, 1968; Başaran, 1972). Besides, in recent years researches on brain drain are examining more and more the migration of students and academicians (Tansel & Güngör, 2004; Altaş, Sağırlı & Giray, 2006; Cansız, 2006; Deviren & Daşkıran, 2014). Referring to the migration flow of young populations through education, Sunata (2005) noted a large part of the educated young population in Turkey were planning to migrate abroad. Students usually complete their undergraduate or graduate education in the countries they migrated to and they do not return to Turkey (Babataş, 2007). The first country that students and high-skilled Turkish migrants

prefer to settle down is the United States (Gökbayrak, 2009), for better work and educational opportunities (Erdoğan, 2003; Deviren & Daşkıran, 2014). The first migration motivation, work or/and education, has been followed by family relations and belongings. Tansel and Güngör (2003) demonstrated in their study that most of the young population, who are about to migrate or planning to migrate, is supported by their families and even encouraged about staying and not returning from the countries they migrated. Family encouragement and having children are the leitmotiv of living abroad. According to the previous studies, factors such as economic and political instability, occupational concerns, inadequacy of professional opportunities, and inadequacy of technological infrastructure are also listed as the main reasons of high-skilled citizens' migration.

High-skilled migrants have different attachments and belongings and their migration process, starting mostly with an education or work opportunity, has also been shaped by social and political attitudes. As they start to develop two different types of belonging to their home and host countries, they have continuously been influencing, socially, economically, politically and culturally, their home and host country. With a high knowledge, high-skilled migrants living abroad, have been contributing as a human capital to home and host country; their socialization with other Turks or native citizens of host country, help to create an intercultural communication and finally they have been participating in the politics of both countries. Social and economic aspects and belongings of migrants being subject of other studies, this article has the objective to analyze the political existence and media use of highly skilled Turkish migrants living abroad. In a contemporary age of migration, political participation has been in close relationship with international migratory movements. Within a political perspective, previous studies focused on immigrant's turnout, electoral participation, political attitudes in forms of engagement and participation to reveal their political integration to home and host countries (Akçapar & Yurdakul, 2009; Erdoğan, 2015; Mencütek & Yılmaz, 2015; Barker & McMillan 2017; Wass et al., 2015; Aalandslid, 2008; Bevelander & Pendakur, 2009; Messina, 2006; White, et al., 2008; Bauböck, 2005; Faist, 2000). New ideas on migrants' political participation and their engagement in home and host countries' politics have been drawing the attention of academics working in the field of political science, international migration and political sociology since it is crucial to develop a knowledge about the socio-demographic, educational and political profile of immigrants, especially highly skilled immigrants, for interdisciplinary studies. In order to understand the political impact of high-skilled migrants to

host country politics in the future, it is useful to know the political participation patterns of this group into their homeland politics, even if these patterns will be differentiated due to the national and international politics of these countries. However, immigrants must be citizens of the host country to vote and obtain social, civil, and political rights.

Citizens of the European Union have the right to vote and stand as a candidate in local, regional, and other elections in member countries. Non-European citizens or immigrants have no right to participate in political decision-making processes until their citizenship is approved. According to the New Citizenship Law passed in 2000, citizens living in Germany or other countries that are not EU members can only obtain their political rights after ceasing to be citizens of another country. As Kadıoğlu (2008) notes, the political participation of immigrants can be assured through obtaining the citizenship of the receiving country or through transnational citizenship, such as European citizenship. Turkish migrants have a remarkable potential for political participation, even if they are not highly engaged in civil society or political movements. Especially the young generation have a better potential of integration into the new culture and society than their parents do. This high level of political participation by Turkish migrants, in both elections in Turkey and their country of residence, indicates the political preferences of these voters.

As a principal impact factor of participative democracy, media, and especially digital media, has a contribution to the strengthening of representative democracy through increasing political participation. Diffusing political message, the media and digital media have a remarkable influence on especially young people and their political participation and engagement. Beside the informative role of the conventional media, with the development of different digital social media tools, the engaging and mobilizing factor of media has been growing. Previous researches (Dimitrova et al., 2014) indicate the strong impact of use of social media on political participation. It aims to argue higher frequency of use of digital media will lead to higher levels of political knowledge and political participation. Besides voting, on the other hand, by political participation we understand the leading effect of digital media leads to increased political activity among the public. Otherwise, Chen and Chan (2017) argued the cognitive impact of media, creating knowledge and identification and the positive influence of social media on political engagement and supporting oppositional ideas. While political participation can be influenced by a variety of structural, social and cultural factors, the conventional or digital media use of people give way to understand political participation

patterns such as voting and other political activities (participation to electoral campaign, reading election manifestos, donation for parties or candidates, etc.). Political participation via digital media or the use of media tools are not equally spread or represented. Socio-demographic characteristics determine the levels of participation and interest.

Regarding various authors (Lilleker et al., 2010; Moreira et al. 2009; Saglie & Vabo, 2009), people who are more active in political milieu are high age males, well-educated with high income; however the younger generations are more visible in the digital political sphere. Other studies indicate (Ellison, 2007; Valenzuela, et al., 2009; De Zuniga et al., 2012) the importance of social behavior, social capital and political context on political participation and civic engagement emphasizing the strengthening role of social media influencing voters (Effing et al., 2011). Assuming the determinant role of media and digital media, recently, researches (Loader, 2007; Marsh, O'Toole, & Jones, 2007; Loader et al., 2014) have started to refuse the disenchantment or apathy of young people with mainstream political parties and ideologies. Even if there is a feeling of miss representation of young people in everyday politics, the interest and participation of young people in political activity remain in different forms. It can be argued that the relation of young generations with mainstream political parties and voting may have changed (distance regarding old parties and candidates, misrepresentation or reluctance to vote); however, they have an increasing interest in political activity via different media tools and they are not disconnected from social and political change (Pruitt, 2017).

Methodology: an online survey amongst high-skilled Turks abroad

This paper relies on online survey data formed by open-ended and multiple choice questions and conducted amongst 320 highly skilled Turkish migrants living abroad. The basic aim here is to bring together two main research domains: political sociology and migration with a specific analysis of a sample formed by high-skilled migrants from Turkey. Two main research questions will be tried to be responded during the paper: How do high-skilled Turkish migrants participate in Turkish politics while they are abroad? Which media tools are they using to follow Turkish and international agenda? The main hypothesis shows that young high-skilled Turkish migrants have been using digital media as a source of information and connection to home country; however they do not present an active engagement in the political life of home country, except voting.

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Gender and residing country distributions of the study are as followed: the majority of our respondents are female (61,48%) and they are residing mostly in the United Kingdom (22,57%), Belgium (17,24%), Canada (15,36%), the United States (10,97%) and also in other European countries like France (7,52%), Austria (5,02%) and Germany (3,76%). Regarding the age range and birth year (52,65% was born between 1980-1989 and 21,21% between 1990-1999) of our respondents, we can clearly argue that an important part of high-skilled Turkish young generation, which is active in the educational and professional sectors, is living abroad and they constitute the main population of this study. 48,86% of our population was between the ages of 25 and 34 years old, 32,95% was 35-44 years old and 11,36% was 45-54 years old. Our sample, formed by young and highly educated people (43,01% have masters degree, 39,78% university degree; 12,19% have PhD), points out that they have much different relationship to homeland politics than the classic guest workers of the 1960s or other groups who had to emigrate several years ago for social or political reasons. Their political engagement, participation and media use may differ from their older generation, since they generate new relations with new communication tools such as social media and they grow up in a different political climate. They live in the dichotomy which includes on the one hand the lack of political representation or apathy for mainstream political ideologies but on the other hand the excess of information coming from multiple media tools. Therefore, data collected by skilled young Turkish migrants may shed light on future research on migrant youth and their political and communicational attitudes.

In the following part of analysis, this paper will discuss the political activity and media use of Turkish high-skilled migrant youth through two blocks of questions to understand the use of media and activity and interest in political life in Turkey. As our sample declared that they are not eligible citizens of host country, the analysis has been focused on their relations with homeland politics. The data collected has been realized by snowball sampling method because of the difficulty to access emigrants residing abroad. Atkinson and Flint (2001) have shown the snowball method to be advantageous. It may be considered as a useful tool, especially for brain drain studies, in order to reach people, form the same social network; however, its disadvantages can never be disregarded as a non-random sampling that may contain sampling bias. One of these biases may be the fact that the responders are not representing all social or political fractions and also they are representing one part of the all high-skilled Turkish migrant population living abroad. Another limitation of the study is that there is no official data on high-

skilled Turkish migrants even on Turks abroad and scientific publications generally use a few data on general numbers on Turks abroad without any socio-demographic specification. As this study shares the preliminary results, which will be developed in future, it has the ambition to give a general point of view about political participation and media use of high-skilled Turkish nationals living abroad. The data about young migrants have the objective to show the current situation, motivation and attitudes of these people through their demographic profile and to understand the brain drain process referring to sociological variables.

Young high-skilled migrants: new types of participation and media use

In this part, data collected from the online survey will be discussed throughout the hypothesis of the study. Hıgh-skilled Turkish migrants, frequently use social media and digital versions of news channel, nevertheless they are not presenting active citizenship engagement. As the sample of the study present a large group of young people, it will be possible to argue that the communication and engagement patterns of young migrants have been differentiated comparing those patterns of their parents. Before analyzing political activity and media use of skilled Turks abroad, it is important to mention the education level, foreign language knowledge, and job distribution to understand the main characteristics of our sample. As our sample is formed by high-skilled migrants, 39,78% of our population has a bachelor's degree, 43,01% has a master's degree and 12,19% has a PhD and all of the survey respondents know English and at least 50% know a second language. Regarding these percentages, our sample has a high level of education and language does not constitute a barrier of integration for them. In addition, 72,04% of our population is active in professional life, 10% work in the public sector and 27,96% does not work. The economic engagement of qualified Turkish migrants is a solid fact since 58,42% of our population resides in the host country with a work permit and 29,03% has a citizenship. The job distribution of our sample has more and more focused on engineers (24,5%) followed by academics (9,89%); students (7,33%); and IT specialists (5,49%). Previous researches on brain mentioned in the literature review have mostly indicated the mobility of certain sector such as engineers, doctors or academics, and on the other hand students continue to constitute the major group of people who are the very subject of brain drain. Finally the mobility of IT specialists indicates the necessity of specialization and the importance of division of labor due to the development of new technologies and to the social change.

Following the educational and professional status of young Turkish high-skilled migrants, the first point of analysis aims to show the political participation patterns. There are around 3.047 million Turkish voters registered abroad (YSK, 2018). The participation of Turkish electors living abroad in the general elections in June 7th, 2015 was 32,5% (Mencütek & Yılmaz, 2015, p. 8). Along with the cancellation decision of compulsory appointment system for voting from embassies, Turks abroad have been highly participating in Turkish elections. All Turkish citizens who have the right to vote, which is around 1 million, voted in the June 2015 elections. The highest participation was from Germany with 33,9% in June 2015 and this percentage raised to 40,4% in the November 2015 general elections. During April 2017 referendum on the presidential system, the total number of voters was 1.4 million and "Yes" votes reached its peak with 77% in Belgium, 73% in Austria, and 70% in Netherlands. However, "No" votes were mostly seen in the Czech Republic with 87%, Spain 86% and the United States with 83%. The total percentage of "Yes" votes from abroad was 59,05% and for "No" votes it was 40,95% (Euronews, 13.06.2018). During the latest presidential and parliamentary elections held in June 24th 2018, turnout raised to 1.35 million (44,62%) and official results indicated that around 60,24% of Turkish voters registered abroad voted for Recep Tayyip Erdogan as President (YSK, 2018). As Mencütek and Yılmaz (2015) demonstrated in their work, voting abroad has become an important point of diaspora politics. Emigrants demand to be active and visible in their homeland politics, they desire to be a part of homeland's identity which nourishes the feeling of belonging and also strengthens the solidarity of diaspora. On the other hand, home country government, within the inclusive citizen policies, has the objective to observe the political activity of its own citizens living abroad. These arguments generated here may be true for the case of Turks abroad generally speaking; however, this paper argues that it does not represent the political attitudes of high-skilled Turkish migrants and especially the young ones. For this reason the first part of our analysis will try to indicate political interest and participation of our sample.

In order to analyze or compare the level of democratization, voting may be considered as an indicator of political participation and also political interest. Verba, Schlozman, Brady, and Nie (1995) suggested the following definition of political participation: "Political participation is activity that is intended to or has the consequence of affecting, either directly or indirectly, government action" (p. 9). Even if turnout around Europe is in very low percentages, especially amongst young people, the turnout of Turkish people living in Turkey and abroad has always

been in high levels, around 85-87%. The first figure shows how much attention has been attributed to Turkey's political agenda by skilled Turks abroad. 46,77% of our population declared that it was very important and 37,42% rather important for them.

Another indicator that may be associated with political interest is voting. Researches (Fieldhouse, Tranmer & Russell, 2007; Van Biezen, Mair & Poguntke, 2012)   analyzing the apathy or disconnection of the young people to mainstream politics, indicate that young people are turning away from mainstream parties and candidates and prefer to abstain during elections. Nevertheless, this is not the case neither for Turkish voters living in the country nor Turks abroad, regardless of the education level. The data justify this argument and 92,8 % of the sample declared they voted during Turkey's elections. On the other hand, high voting behavior of high-skilled migrants is not associated with a strong party attachment and 22,94% did not mention a political party name when they were asked about their political party preference; however, they declared to have voted none of the listed parties or not to have decided yet. However, the ideological attachment appears strong because even our sample, who did not directly mention a political party, position themselves quickly in the political spectrum: 72% position themselves near to left wing and 12% near to right wing. Figure 2 represents the percentage of reading electoral manifestos during Turkish elections.
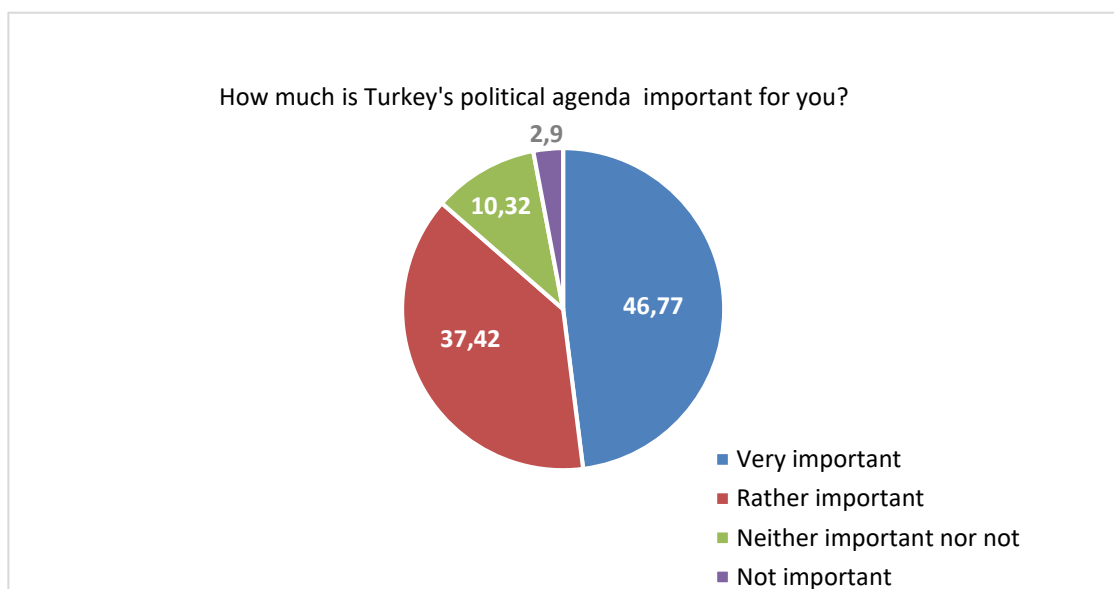

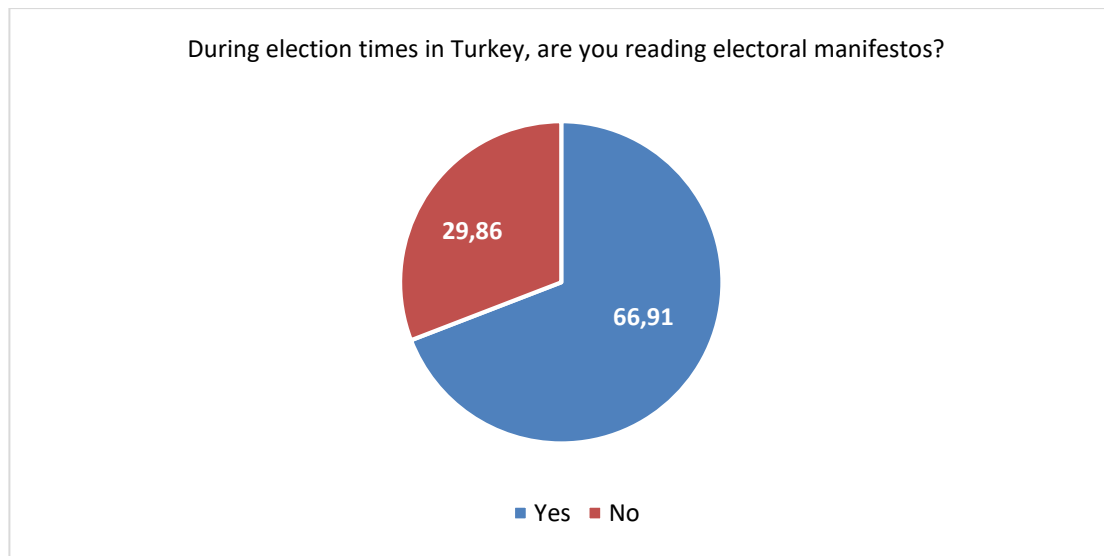
Figure 1. Importance of Turkey's political agenda

Figure 2. Reading of electoral manifestos

66,91% of our population declared that they read electoral manifestos of political parties and party programs while 29,86% declared that they were not reading. This result also justifies the hypothesis of strong political interest of high-skilled Turkish migrants. In this research, the aim is to measure the political behavior by different determinants such as voting, reading election manifesto, interested in political agenda, working for a political party, being member of a party. The final determinant indicates a non-correlation with interest level and political party membership due to the fact that 94,68% of our population declared that they were not a member of a political party. The high level of interest has been presented in voting and following; however, it has not been practiced with an active participation as membership to the political party.

Another point that supports the hypothesis of non-activity in politics has been studied through the work for a political party during election campaigns. In order to test this argument, the political activity during host country elections and political preferences in host country politics have been asked. 26,58% of our population who has the eligibility to vote for host country elections declared that they voted for liberals or left wing parties (green movements or labour party). 78,4% read electoral manifestos of host country's political parties but 70% declared they did not prefer to work for electoral campaign of the supported candidate or party.
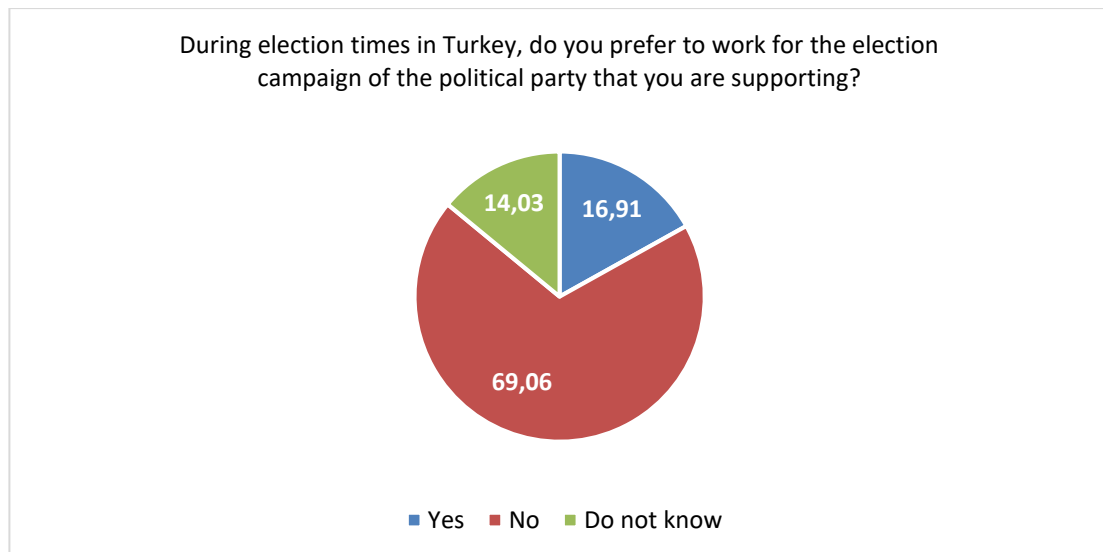
Figure 3. Working for electoral campaign

Figure 3 aims to demonstrate the political activity preferences of Turkish high-skilled migrants during an election campaign. 69,06% of our population declared that they were not willing to work for the political campaign of a political party or a candidate. Even if around 30% of our population declared a positive or neutralized tendency, it can be clearly argued that high-skilled migrants do not prefer to have an active engagement during election campaigns. Finally, Figure 4 has the objective to show some basic criteria that are determinant for the voting behavior of Turkish high-skilled migrants.
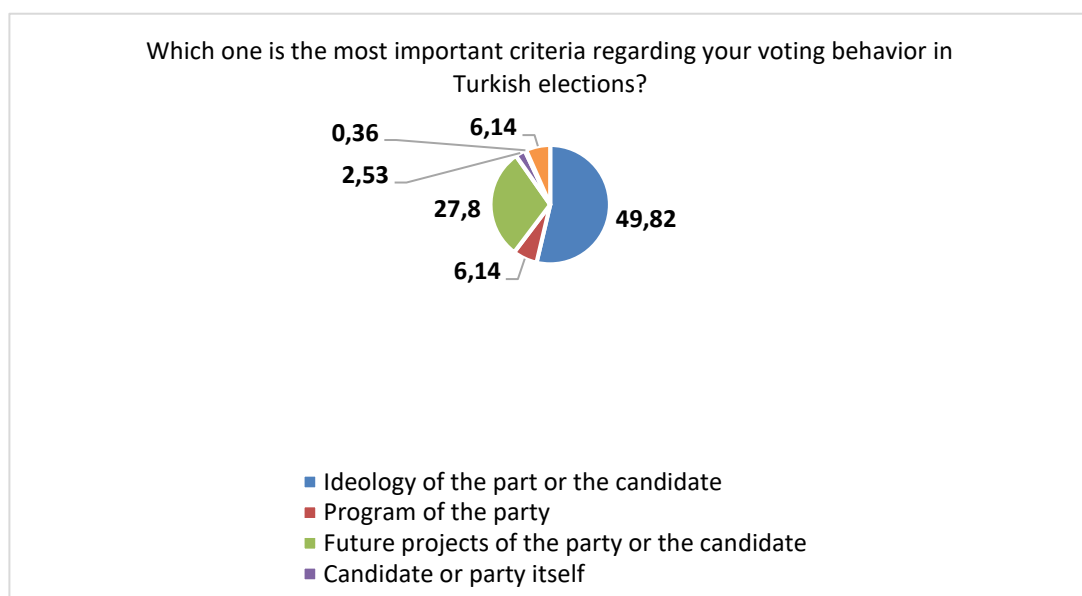

Figure 4. Voting behavior criteria

49,82% of our population declared that they voted regarding the party or the candidate's ideology; 27,8% declared that future projects declared by the party or a candidate were more

important; 6,14% declared the most important criteria as political party's program; 6,14% declared the possibility to win the election; 2,53% gives importance to the candidate or the party itself and finally only 0,36% declared that political campaign of the candidate or the party was effective for the voting behavior. Even though previous researches (Boulianne, 2009; Dalrymple & Scheufele, 2007; Tolbert & McNeal, 2003) have confirmed the positive correlation between digital media, political participation, political knowledge and interest especially during election campaigns our sample did not generate such pattern since they are not interested or their voting behavior is not shaped by political campaign.

The second part of this paper will analyze the media use of Turkish high-skilled migrants. As they are defined during the study, as a young group of migrants, they are active users of digital media tools and the practice of following Turkey's agenda has been made by digital media tools. The following Figure 5 aims to show the frequency of following Turkey's agenda. By that question the study aims to clarify and underline again the interest of high-skilled migrants in Turkey's actuality.
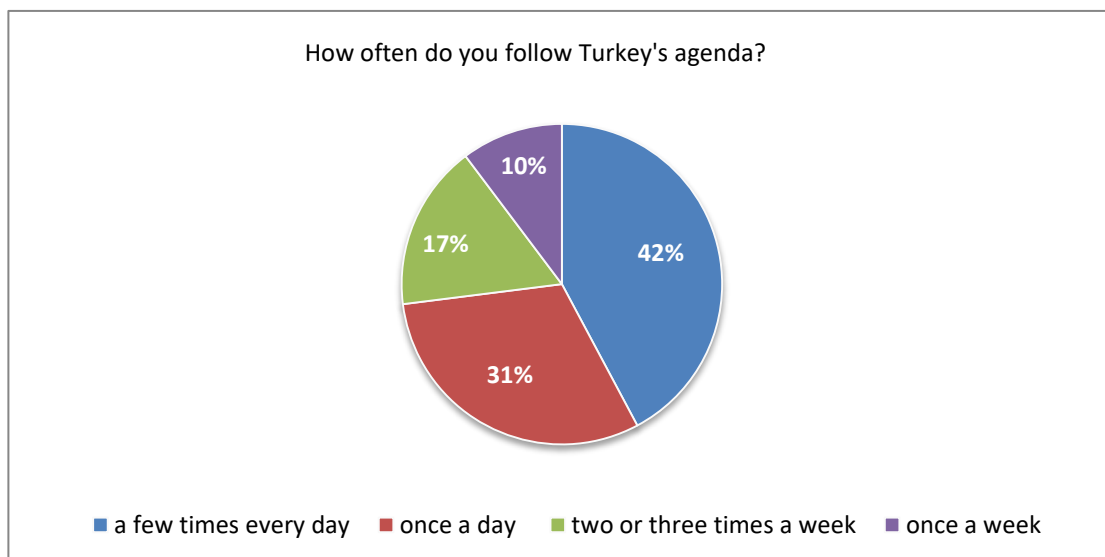

Figure 5. Following Turkey's agenda

Turkish high-skilled migrants mostly (42%) follow Turkey's agenda a few times every day, 31 % declared once a day, 17 % two or three times a week and 10% once a week. Even if our sample point out a pattern of not following or not being interested political campaign, they are frequently following Turkey's agenda. Final Figure 6 aims to demonstrate the media tools preferred by high-skilled Turkish migrants to follow Turkey's agenda.
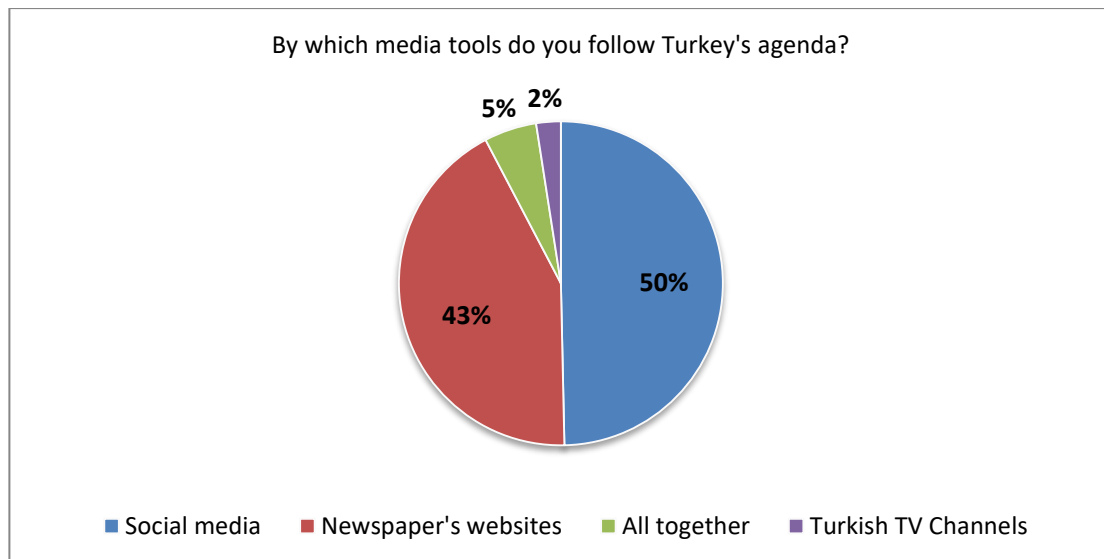
Figure 6. Use of media tools

As it is indicated by the figure 6, the sample of this study prefer to follow Turkey's agenda by social media networks (50%) and newspapers' online websites (43%). A few proportion (5%) use both of the digital media (social media and websites) and 2% of our population still watch Turkish TV channels. There is also a high majority of our population 50,86%, who declared that they follow Turkey's agenda by Turkish and foreign social media tools and newspapers' websites, as well as 30,58% of our population follow only via Turkish media. The use of host country media has been indicated as a tool of integration to the new country but few studies have tackled with the question of following homeland agenda or connecting to homeland media tools, as it is considered as an obvious fact that all migrants do. However, we can observe rejection pattern of homeland media tools by high-skilled young generation since they prefer to double check the news with Turkish and foreign media. Another result that is derived from this data is the use of social media as an information tool. Dimitrova et al. (2014) suggests the following "The rationale is that online news sites rank higher on the information function than political party web sites and social media", however it is not arguable for our sample's media use (p. 101). Digital media, as concept, includes itself in online news sites, political party web sites, and social media (including blogs, online video sites, and social networks); however, in this study the differentiation between social media network (Facebook, Twitter, etc.) and newspaper's websites has been made in order to detect the treatment of social media as an informative tool of communication.

A final point of analysis aims to show, even the sample represents only 8% of the population, the apathy vis-à-vis Turkey's political situation, the reluctance to vote and follow

Turkey's actuality. An open-ended question was asked in order to detect the reasons of not following Turkey's agenda or not voting in Turkish elections. Quotations below are taken from these responses and represent directly the respondents' ideas.

> I am voting but not following the issues in Turkey because it annoys me.
> Not voting in Turkish elections because I am following too much Turkey's agenda.
> Turkey's agenda is dark, no need to follow.
> I follow but become unhappy.
> As I am not allowed to have two citizenships, I quitted Turkish citizenship, I do not vote anymore.
> Turkey's agenda is not pleasing.
> I am not interested; I can not see a difference between the contradictory moves of government and opposition.
> As I am not living in Turkey, I do not want to have an influence on Turkey's political future.
> I vote but I do not follow because I become unhappy and it's breaking me down. That is why I came here, to be away from all of these. I am not reading newspapers and have unfollowed all Turkish accounts on Twitter.
> I do not think there are fair elections in Turkey; I do not follow what happens.
> I followed it during 13 years and I am exhausted. Following the agenda all time will prevent my adaptation here (hostland). I am happy not following Turkey's agenda because it bothers me psychologically.
> I do not think that something will change; I have no hope for my country.
> It breaks me down, because nothing goes well in my opinion.
> I follow the news because my family live in Turkey, if they were not I wouldn't follow.
> There is no consulate in my village that prevents me from voting and some news are depressing.
> I feel dark when I follow so I follow the news and agenda of host country which, I think, is a part of integration. I do not think it is good to be so much connected to Turkey, if you are not thinking to return there. Also I think people who are not living in Turkey do not have to vote.
> I do not trust democracy in Turkey and think that elections are bribed, only people living in Turkey has to vote during Turkey's elections.

One of the major ideas, derived from the quotes about abstention and reluctance of following Turkey's actuality, is Turkish citizens who are not living in Turkey shouldn't have the right to vote. This argument is a contradictory argument to previous diaspora studies that emphasize the positive effect of voting behavior of Turks abroad; however, it has to be discussed in future researches. Another common idea revealed from open-ended questions is the depressing and discouraging agenda of Turkey, which may be analyzed as the major factor of Turkish high-skilled migrants' brain drain.

Conclusion

All in all, the findings discussed above help to shed some light on a micro level analysis on brain drain and on political behavior of high-skilled migrants. Recent studies have started to analyze voting behavior or political activity of migrants in host countries; however, few of them focus on the case study of high-skilled migrants. This paper should be interpreted as an initial step in a novel and promising direction on the case study of high-skilled migrants and future studies have to be oriented through this sample since they generate new and different behavioral patterns compared to the groups of migrants with low educational level. Especially a young sample of high-skilled migrants must be studied in future researches because young people create new individualized strategies of media use and political participation and they want to be heard by political leaders and to be represented in political sphere. Therefore, young migrants' contribution to diaspora policies and political life in the host country has to be taken account by academics and policy makers. The contribution of young high-skilled migrants to home and host countries will have critical importance in order to develop two countries bilateral relations, the integration process of migrants and migrants' support to the political life of the host country.

The study has limitations: a small sample does not represent all high-skilled Turkish migrants and a snowball method has a bias of representing a homogenize group. Despite its limitations, this article makes a modest contribution to brain drain studies with a perspective focusing on political participation and on political sociology and voting behavior literature giving the case study of qualified migrants.

Political participation of young Turkish high-skilled migrants has been shaped by a high political interest (voting, reading electoral manifestos and frequently following Turkey's politics and agenda); however, this is not an active participation but a passive one since the sample of the study is reluctant to be a member of a political party, to work during electoral campaign of a supported candidate or party and to donate during electoral campaign. The main political ideology of the study sample is left oriented and strong ideology attachment may be detected however political party preferences may have change. This political ideology or attachment may be learned or acquired from family and it is not influenced by electoral campaign since the sample pays little attention to political campaign as a criteria. The media use of the sample also presented different characteristics, besides the frequent use of social media and interest in Turkey's agenda; we can argue that for young migrants social media tools became an

informative tool of communication and they are not satisfied with one source of information but they prefer to double-check the reality.

Future interdisciplinary studies, combining migration, political behavior and media, may use young migrants as a sample since they will create a comparison tool with older generations' samples. In addition, future study has to be focused on social media use of young migrants, the impact of social media on voting behavior or political knowledge. Finally, main reasons of brain drain from Turkey should be discussed with today's realities, analyzing Turkey's political and social environment, but also contemporary global risks, growing problems of terrorism and security.

ORCID ID

Işıl Zeynep TURKAN IPEK https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6979-2139

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