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Department of Political Science and International Relations

PSIR 402 - Graduation Paper

The Policies Affecting the Brain Drain Under the Justice and Development Party

Rule

Doğukan Çağlayan

Abstract

Today, the differences in income and living standards between developed and developing countries are increasing. Income inequality between countries has reached enormous proportions. Skilled manpower, mostly living in poor and authoritarian countries, migrates to developed and prosperous countries. The problem of brain drain has increased every year, especially during the period of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey. The aim of this study is to examine the policies affecting the brain drain during the Justice and Development Party rule. In the study, answers to the question of which policies of the Justice and Development Party affect the brain drain will be sought. Qualitative research method will be used in the research. In order to find more precise and accurate results in the study, interviews were conducted with academics who had migrated before. The results of the interviews will be shared in the study and nicknames will be used for those who do not want their names to be shared.

KeyWords: Brain Drain, Human Capital, Social Belonging, Turkey

Abbreviations:

AKP: Justice and Development Party

YÖK: Council of Higher Education

MEB: Ministry of National Education

USA: United States of America

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

TUBITAK: Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey

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Introduction

Migration mobility, which has become widespread with the effect of globalization, affects all countries of the world. In this study, the mobility of brain drain from Turkey during the Justice and Development Party rule will be evaluated in its historical development. In the evaluation, a weighted analysis is made of the policies that cause brain drain. The most important factors affecting brain drain are economic problems, security problems, and problems with the education system. In the study, it will be mentioned which of these problems are caused by the Justice and Development Party government.

History of Immigration From Turkey

The first major migrations from Turkey started with the effort to replace the workforce required for the rebuilding of Europe, which was destroyed after the Second World War, with foreign workers. With the destruction of the war, countries provided the workforce they needed from countries such as Turkey and employed these workers by giving guest worker status. In the same period, there was a wave of immigration towards the USA, like Europe. What distinguishes this migration from others is that these immigrants mostly consisted of qualified people, not workers. Between 1940 and 1965, 20,000 people immigrated to the USA(Bali, 2004). However, these numbers are too low to compare with those who went to Europe as workers. The number of people who migrated to Europe to meet the needed workforce was 3.6 million(Duran, 2006: 31). The immigration policy implemented by the European states between the 1940s and the 2000s varies(Aykaç and Yertüm, 2016). Between 1940 and 1970, a very open immigration policy was followed due to the need for labor force. Between 1970 and 2000, European countries followed restrictive policies towards migrant workers and these policies increased the number of illegal migrations.

Until the beginning of 1990, the main reason for migration was to meet the need for labor. After 1990, two more important factors emerged in migration. The first of these is the immigration of those who have thoughts contrary to the dominant political structure of Turkey due to political factors. The other factor is the migration movement that emerged as a result of the labor force demanded to meet the needs of highly educated workers such as engineering, especially in the developed countries of Europe. After 1990, when compared to other periods, the number of immigration decreased. But despite this, skilled human migration movements have increased. As of 1990, skilled worker migration to the USA and OECD countries has accelerated. The share of qualified manpower among immigrants from Turkey to OECD countries is between 46% and 86%(Carrington and Detragioche, 1998: 21). This qualified manpower migration started to increase after 2000 and peaked after 2015. The most important reasons for the increasing brain drain will be political policies and economic concerns.

Brain Drain Before the Justice and Development Party Rule

Turkey is among the countries that give brain drain to developed countries, and these numbers are too high to be underestimated. After the 1940s, Turkey sent unskilled labor abroad, mostly in Europe, and adopted a policy aimed at returning this labor force to the country in a qualified manner. How successful this policy was is debatable because some of the workers who left did not return. The biggest contribution in politics is the remittances that workers bring into Turkey. Turkey, which could not get enough efficiency from this policy, aimed to send students abroad through YÖK(Council of Higher Education) and MEB(Ministry of National Education), and it was aimed that this policy would contribute to human accumulation(Şimşek, 2003: 104). The purpose of this policy is to help students who go abroad to study and come back to Turkey to contribute to human capital.

Even the number of students sent abroad by Turkey with MEB scholarship is too high to be underestimated. However, the main problem is the return rate of the students sent. It was not possible to reach a clear statistics with these students, but approximately 8% of the students sent to the USA with the MEB scholarship do not return(Çolak and Gençler, 2003: 5). Considering that this statistic is only for students sent to the USA, it can be said that the rate of students who do not return to their countries is much higher. Considering that these students have stayed abroad for at least 4 years, when the foreign exchange and education expenses in 1994 are calculated, it is stated that the cost of the students sent abroad for education is around 2.5 million dollars(Çolak, Gençler, 2003:7). This expense is an indication that brain drain is a very serious problem for a developing country, especially considering the non-return rates of outgoing students. This both negatively affects the economies of developing countries and negatively affects human capital. It is interesting that developing countries finance the developed countries together with the brain drain.

Political Transformation of the Justice and Development Party

With the general elections held in 2002, one of the greatest transformations in the history of Turkey began. The Justice and Development Party, a political Islamist party, has succeeded in being the first party in all the elections it has participated in since its establishment. AKP received enough votes to be in power alone in 5 of the 6 elections it participated in. At the end of the 19 years that have passed, Turkey has undergone a sociocultural and sociopolitical appearance, which it is not accustomed to in its history. During the AKP governments, Turkey has undergone many institutional and structural changes. The segment that was most affected by these changes was the secular segment of the society.

The AKP government, which came to power in 2002, made statements that valued and embraced democratic and liberal values, tolerance and pluralism, and determined its

policies accordingly(Ersoy and Karakoç, 2021: 206). AKP is not the beginning of the political Islam movement. This ideology has been present in Turkey's political sphere for more than half a century. Political Islam first started with the National Order Party in 1970 and today shapes the ideology of the Justice and Development Party(Timur, 2015: 23). However, the National Order Party and most of the political parties affiliated with the political Islamic ideology established after it were closed due to their anti-secularism. The AKP has learned from these bad experiences and sought a position that is at peace with the system(Doğanay, 2007: 59). The AKP movement did not place a single understanding of religion at its center and did not make anti-secular discourses. Aiming to reach more voters, the party followed positive policies towards both voters with an Islamic lifestyle and defenders of secularism and democracy. The AKP administration described this new understanding of politics as conservative democracy(Buğra And Savaşkan, 2015: 98). This new understanding of politics was found to be quite satisfactory in both domestic and foreign policy. Although the AKP movement is shaped around the political Islamic ideology, the reason for its liberal and conservative rhetoric may be that it did not receive the reaction of the army and the secular segment. The AKP government reflected its liberal rhetoric in its policies, and the consensus-based policies that emerged at that time increased the welfare of the country. Negotiations for full membership to the European Union started in 2005 and political and economic development began to be felt in the country. However, with the influence of the right-wing parties that gradually increased in Europe after 2005, this process could not progress well and the EU reform process slowed down.

In the general elections held in 2007, the AKP received 47% of the vote and had an overwhelming majority in the parliament. In the same year, Abdullah Gül, one of the leaders of the AKP, became president. In the same year, an e-memorandum was published by the Turkish Armed Forces and the duty of the army to protect secularism was reminded. The

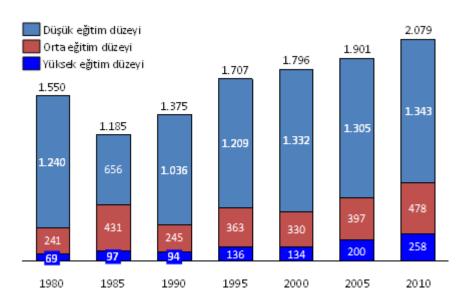
army was targeted and high-ranking soldiers were arrested by the AKP government and members of the Fethullah Gülen movement, which was later declared a terrorist organization(Oğuz, 2016: 101). With these operations, the AKP government weakened the tutelage of the secularist army over the elected governments(Özbudun, 2014: 156). The AKP administration, which defended liberal, democratic and conservative ideas until 2007, started to give up liberal and democratic discourses and to increase conservative discourses after 2007. In this period, the influence and decisiveness of the state on the lives of individuals increased. The AKP, which received the desired result from the constitutional amendments made in 2010 and the general elections in 2011, shows signs of authoritarianism. The AKP government has shaped its policies around conservatism since these years. With prohibitions such as alcohol and abortion, cultural interventions in daily life have begun to increase. In this period, religion began to play a more important role in politics. The AKP government, which used to defend conservative democracy, embraced an ideology called Neo-Ottomanism in these years, believing that the legacy of the Ottoman Empire should be embraced. In the same period, a polarizing policy was followed in the society and the secular part of the society was weakened by conservative discourses.

Brain Drain in the Rule of the Justice and Development Party

"We lose our brilliant minds to the West. In today's most important power source, information and information technologies, we are in the position of consuming, not producing. This situation makes us vulnerable in many aspects, especially in our national security(NTV, 2017)." This statement, which was made in 2017 when the brain drain peaked for Turkey, was made by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. This statement is one of the most important explanations about Turkey's brain drain problem. It shows that even the person in the highest office of the state is aware of the brain drain problem in the country. But being aware is not enough, it is necessary to take steps to solve this problem. Although 4 years have

passed since this statement, no steps have been taken to solve the problem. According to a study conducted by the Turkish-based Employment Research Institute, the proportion of Turkish immigrants living in 20 OECD countries with a higher education level or higher has tripled in 30 years(Brücker, Capuano and Marfouk, 2013). According to the same research, the rate which was 4.4 in 1980 became 12.4 in 2010. These statistics show us that the number of people who go abroad for a new life and purpose, especially those with a high level of education, is increasing every year.

TABLE 1 Number of Turkish-born immigrants living in 20 OECD member countries and their distribution by education level



Source: İstihdam Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Beyin Göçü Veritabanı, TEPAV

When we look at the statistics in Table 1, we can see that the problem of brain drain is increasing. Since these data are only until 2010, we do not know what the number is in the 11 years that have passed. Today, however, we can see that the desire of young people and middle-aged citizens, who both think about getting a good education and who have received a good education, to migrate abroad has increased. Every well-educated person who immigrates abroad also has economic consequences for Turkey. One person who immigrates abroad corresponds to a direct foreign investment of 90,000 dollars going out of the country

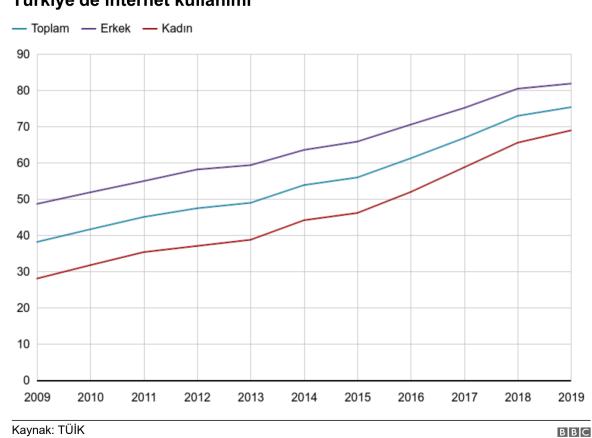
of origin(TEPAV, 2015). When this calculation is made on Table 1, the damage of the Turks living in 20 countries to the Turkish economy is 230 billion dollars. You may think that this money is not very high, but remember that Turkey's gross domestic product in 2010 was 776 billion dollars(TOBB, 2010. There are 2 main reasons for the brain drain, which causes such great damage to the economy of the countries that give brain drain. First, there are economic expectations. Well-educated people, who cannot find a job and wage in their own country, prefer to migrate to a country where they will receive higher wages. The other reason stems from the administrative problems in the country. Problems such as the rule of law, security and freedom of thought are forcing the creative class living in the country to migrate from the country. Because of these problems, people migrate to other countries for a better future and a safer life for themselves and their families. In countries like Turkey, where both problems are experienced, the brain drain is much greater.

Freedom

Freedom is seen as a huge problem, especially for young people. In democratic countries, the most important issue is the concept of freedom and it is seen as something that can never be restricted. But Turkey is a country that has problems with freedoms. Especially young people have become afraid of freely expressing and defending their ideas and thoughts. This is because of the fear that criticizing the government will be a sanction. This fear is even made fun of among young people. The phrase "Silivri is cold now" is uttered by young people for fear that those who criticize the government will go to Silivri Prison. This is more of a recreational rhetoric, but it also shows that Turkey has a lot of problems with freedom of expression. The reason for this fear is that those who criticize the government are generally described as members of a terrorist organization or traitors by the government and its supporters. However, a person who criticizes the government because of its policies felt the need to criticize the problems he/she criticized because he lived it himself. With the

developing technology and the globalizing world, people have found the opportunity to access information more easily. In particular, the use of social media has increased in this period, and people have started to defend and share their thoughts from the virtual environment. Turkey ranks at the top of the world in internet and social media usage.

TABLE 2 Internet users in Turkey



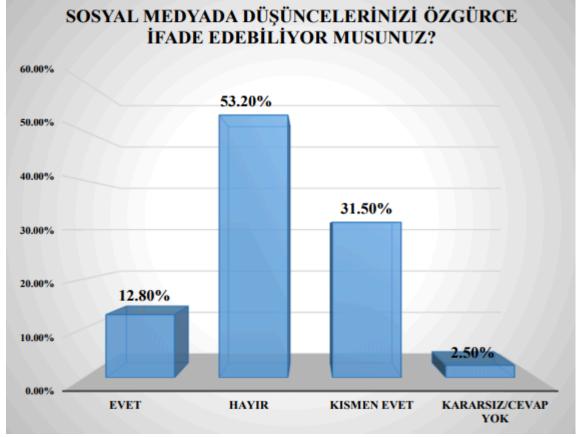
Türkiye'de internet kullanımı

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute(TÜİK)

According to TUIK 2019 data, 75.3% of the population in Turkey uses the internet. While this rate is 68.9% for women, this rate is 81.8% for men. Statistics show that internet usage has increased continuously in the last 10 years. This increase in the use of the Internet has also been observed in the use of social media. Social media is seen as an environment where people can freely share their ideas. However, the government imposed obligations on social media platforms with the changes it made in 2020, and these gave rise to censorship

claims(DW, 2020). With the claim that the regulation will control censorship and social media shares, people were afraid to express their thoughts freely.

TABLE 3 Can you freely express your thoughts on social media?

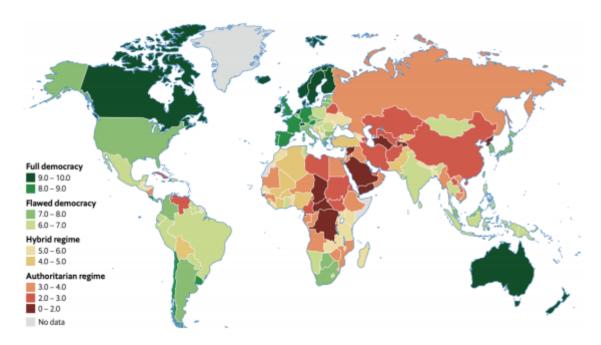


Source: Yeditepe University & MAK Consulting, Youth Research, 2020

As seen in the survey conducted with people aged 18-29 in Table 3, young people cannot freely express their views on social media. Democracy does not flourish where there is no criticism. Governments that are not criticized by young people with creative minds produce wrong policies and young people experience the result. Those who want to get rid of these wrong policies immigrate to other countries and the resulting damage is again to the country. Freedom of expression is a right accepted by many countries and declared by the United Nations in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights(OHCHR, 1966). The problematic freedom of expression also hinders Turkey's democratic development. In

governments where criticism is not accepted by governments, authoritarian regimes pave the way. Turkey's democracy index also shows that freedom is problematic.

IMAGE 1 Democracy Index 2019



Source: The Economist, Democracy Index, 2019.

As seen in Figure 1, Turkey has an average of 4.0 - 5.0. This shows the average hybrid regimens. The term hybrid regimes is used for countries with authoritarian regimes where democracy is relatively. Political repressions are intense in these regimes and there are problems with fairness and freedom of elections. Corruption is common in these regimes, including Turkey. Journalists are also under pressure in the regime and there are problems with judicial impartiality. Looking at this index, Turkey ranks 110th out of 167 countries(The Economist, 2019).

The problem of freedom in Turkey is one of the biggest policies affecting the brain drain. Well-educated people, afraid of being targeted or punished by the AKP government, migrated to live in countries where they could be more free. One of the immigrants is one of the US University of California San Diego lecturers, Deniz. The Academics for Peace statement was published by 1128 academics in order to end the violence over the terrorist

organization PKK(Kurdistan Workers Party)-Turkey conflicts that started in Turkey between 2015-2016. Deniz was one of the 1128 academics who signed the declaration. The declaration received a very strong reaction, especially from the AKP government and its supporters. Some academics were put on trial, many were dismissed and 3 academics were arrested. Deniz was one of the expelled academics. According to Deniz, expressing yourself is free in Turkey, but only if you don't criticize the government(Deniz, Doğukan, Interview, 2021). According to her, no matter who is against war, these should not be the result of defending peace. Deniz thinks that the most important policy that causes brain drain in Turkey is the restriction of freedoms and the understanding of autocratic administration. Deniz, who immigrated to the United States in 2016, argued that the biggest mistake of the AKP government in Turkey was its lack of tolerance for criticism. Seeing the critics bad instead of correcting the criticized points does not comply with any rule of democracy.

Another academician I interviewed about the brain drain problem is Halil İbrahim Yenigün. His father, Sedat Yenigün, who had an Islamic ideology, was killed in 1980 when he was 30 years old. He is an academician at Stanford University, one of the top 5 universities in the world, in the USA, where he immigrated. Yenigün was known as a dissident Islamist. He was expelled from his university for signing the Academics for Peace declaration like Deniz. According to Yenigün, Turkey is increasingly becoming an authoritarian and monophonic country(Halil, Doğukan, Interview, 2021). The AKP government's inability to tolerate other opinions both makes the country more lonely and the country's smartest people have to immigrate one by one. Saying that the corruption and nepotism in the country has reached incredible proportions, Yenigün states that this understanding of management is damaging both the people and the country. Saying that the AKP government is populist, Yenigün said that the result of this populism is experienced by the educated people of the country. According to Yenigün, brain drain will be a huge problem for Turkey in the coming years

because unqualified people hold important positions in the country and their decisions will one day affect the future of Turkey.

Another person I interviewed on brain drain is Kemal, who was expelled for signing the Academics for Peace statement. According to Kemal, freedom of expression in Turkey is free only to those the government wishes. Kemal stated that he signed the Academics for Peace statement and was expelled because he wanted peace, but that he could not understand the freedom of expression of a terrorist organization member making a statement on television(Kemal, Doğukan, Interview, 2021). Kemal stated that the reason for his emigration from the country was that he did not want to be arrested on unjust grounds. According to Kemal, brain drain has accelerated with the decrease in trust in the judiciary and this acceleration is dangerous enough to lead a country to collapse.

Change in freedom of expression and belief score 2009-19, on a scale of 0 (worst) to 16 (best)

Change in score

5 to 8
3 or 4
1 or 2
No change
- lor -2
- 3 or -4
- 5 or -6
No data
Source: Freedom House

IMAGE 2 Change in freedom of expression and belief score

Source: Freedom House

According to a study conducted between 2009 and 2019, Turkey is one of the countries where freedom of expression is getting worse. The AKP government, which tended to democratize until 2009, became increasingly authoritarian after 2009. In countries where

freedom is not guaranteed, the problem of brain drain begins. The number of academics and highly educated people who applied for immigration to the Netherlands alone in 2018 was 1020(Diken,2019). According to the study, the biggest reason for people migrating is the lack of freedom in the country. However, it should be noted that these statistics may have been prepared in a biased manner.

Economy

Turkey is the 19th largest economy in the world(IMF, 2019). When the Justice and Development Party came to power in 2002, the economy improved and the level of welfare increased with the rational policies it implemented. The Turkish economy has become problematic in 2013 and after. As of this year, exchange rates have appreciated against the Turkish Lira. By 2021, the economic problems have become much bigger. Well-educated engineers, lawyers, doctors and educators migrate from the country for better earnings due to poor economic conditions. Unemployment rate in Turkey was 13.1 in March(Sözcü, 2021).

IMAGE 3 Youth unemployment in Turkey

	2019	2020
Genç işsizlik oranı	%25,4	%25,3
Genç istihdamı	%33,1	%29,2
İşgücüne katılım	%44,4	%39,1
Ne eğitim ne istihdamda olan gençler	%26,0	%28,3

Source: International Labour Organization(ILO)

The youth unemployment rate in the country is around 25%. 1 out of every 4 young people face the problem of unemployment. This causes well-educated young people to migrate their future abroad. Young people who have graduated from university and want to contribute to the country and its economy by doing their dream job, find the problem of unemployment and nepotism. Young people commit suicide because of unemployment (Onedio, 2020). The youth unemployment rate is one of the highest in the history of the Republic of Turkey. The difficulty of finding a job under difficult economic conditions and the low wages earned in the jobs cause the young people to be badly affected both physically and psychologically. While young people struggle with unemployment, unqualified people can find jobs with high wages due to the problem of nepotism. People close to the AKP government can get jobs, not well-educated people in the country(CHP, 2018).

IMAGE 4 Which of the following do you think is more likely to happen to a talented young person in Turkey?



Source: SODEV (Social Democracy Foundation)

According to a study, nepotism is so great that even AKP supporters complain about it. Due to the difficulty in finding a job and the low incomes, well-educated people find the

solution to migrate abroad. Having a well-educated creative mind in the country is often not enough to find a job. This problem causes psychological problems and brain drain, especially among young people. The AKP government's views on the economy are quite positive(Birgün, 2020). However, the number of students who could not pay the loans given by the KYK(General Directorate of Credits and Dormitories) for undergraduate and graduate education has exceeded 5 million(Sözcü, 2021). However, the number of students who could not pay the loans given by the General Directorate of Credits and Dormitories for undergraduate and graduate education has exceeded 5 million. High interest rates are charged on these loans each year. However, young people who need to find a job after graduating from university have to struggle with the problem of unemployment.

The ever increasing exchange rates and the depreciation of the Turkish Lira against foreign currencies accelerated the migrations abroad. Due to the gradual increase in living expenses and the decrease in incomes, people have directed their preferences to look for a job in other countries. Due to the mistakes in the economic policies made by the AKP government, well-educated people are forced to migrate to countries abroad where they can earn more. Especially with the decision to dismiss the presidents of the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey, economic problems gradually increased and exchange rates broke records against the Turkish Lira(Ozsoy and Gokoluk, 2021). The result of these wrong policies both affects the country's economy and causes brain drain. This brain drain ultimately affects the country's economy badly.

Education

The education system in Turkey has changed many times over the years, but the right system has never been found. Each incoming Minister of National Education has changed the system in line with his own and his party's ideas, but the quality of the education system has

generally deteriorated. Constantly changing the exams required to enter high school and university also creates psychological pressure and future anxiety on young people.

Sociologist Ayşe, whom I interviewed on the subject, is an academic who was expelled and settled in Turkey after signing the Academics for Peace statement in 2016. According to Ayşe, the Turkish education system is a completely rote-based system that has fallen behind the times(Ayşe, Doğukan, Interview, 2021). Saying that the system presented to the students every year as better, is actually much worse. The fact that education is equipped with disjointed and unnecessary information, and that the necessary importance is not given to courses such as psychology and philosophy, which are extremely important in personal development, causes the quality of education to decrease constantly. Saying that the young people who grew up in this education system gave birth to people who are incapable of questioning, Ayşe stated that the important thing in the system is not what you find, but how you find it, and that this system is a system that pushes students to memorize. Another problem of the education system is that qualified education institutions are being turned into religious education institutions by pressure and policies. Instead of science high schools that focus on science, religious-oriented imam hatip high schools are opened.

When we look at the quality of the Turkish education system, we can see how big a problem education is facing. Turkey was below average in the OECD study, which tests the success of 15-year-old students through the Program for International Student Assessment every 3 years(OECD, 2018). The fact that some expelled academics, such as Ayşe, have the opportunity to work abroad at the best universities in the world, also causes the young people's sense of trust in the education system of the country to be destroyed. The placement of people whose qualifications were questioned instead of the dismissed academics also brought about discussions and caused the quality of the education system to decrease. This situation affected both the quality and the freedom of thought by eliminating the polyphony

in the university. Universities, which should be the center of science and research, have fallen behind in producing due to political turmoil. The problems of nepotism in university research job announcements also increased in this period and the belief in merit was shaken. The appointment of university rectors by the president also created controversy, and rectors with biased and questionable backgrounds were appointed to the best universities in Turkey. For example, the rector of Boğaziçi University, one of the best universities in Turkey, was appointed as the rector of the AKP, whose plagiarism was confirmed in the past(Teyit, 2021). The appointment of a biased person to a university that is entered with almost full scores in the university entrance exams has shown that the youth of the country is not cared about. When young people who have developed themselves cannot find the same level of development, they decide to leave the country. This situation also summarizes the recently increasing numbers of brain drains. Due to the high level of well-educated people in developed countries, young people with creative minds seek the life style they dream and hope for in other countries. The decline in the quality of education, especially in high schools and universities, and the fact that people who cannot understand the perspectives and thoughts of young people have a say in education make young people despair. According to the Education Quality 2018 report by the World Economic Forum, Turkey was able to rank 99th out of 137 countries(WEF, 2018).

Scientific discoveries made by young people with creative minds in Turkey are rejected by TUBITAK(Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey), the country's institution that aims to promote, direct and popularize science and technology. The value of scientific knowledge and inventions is unknown and these valuable young people are forced to migrate to other countries. For example, the project of two 10th and 11th grade students at TED College in Ankara to produce a band-aid from waste crab and shrimp shells for the non-healing wounds of diabetics was rejected by TUBITAK(Habertürk, 2016).

However, the same project managed to be the 1st among 2450 projects at the Genius Olympics held in the USA. At the end of the project, Oswego State University of New York gave students an annual scholarship of 10,000 dollars, giving them the opportunity to continue their education at their university. This is how creative minds who believe in science were forced to emigrate from the country and the country's trained manpower was weakened. The AKP government, which gives priority to religion instead of science, has also affected the scientific institutions in the country with this policy, and projects have started to be chosen based on religion. Successful projects produced by young people and received great acclaim abroad are rejected by the country's scientific committees, but these projects receive invitations from abroad(Hürriyet, 2018). While scientific projects were not accepted, the acceptance of projects in which religious ideas were at the forefront played an important role in losing creative minds to developed countries abroad(Sözcü, 2016).

TÜRKİYE'DE İŞ BULMAK İÇİN ÜNİVERSİTELERİN YETERLİ DONANIM SUNDUĞUNU DÜSÜNÜYOR MUSUNUZ? 70.00% 60.30% 60.00% 50.00% 40.00% 27.10% 30.00% 12.60% 20.00% 10.00% EVET HAYIR KARARSIZ/CEVAP YOK

TABLE 4 Do you think universities offer enough equipment to find a job in Turkey?

Source: Yeditepe University & MAK Consulting, Youth Research, 2020

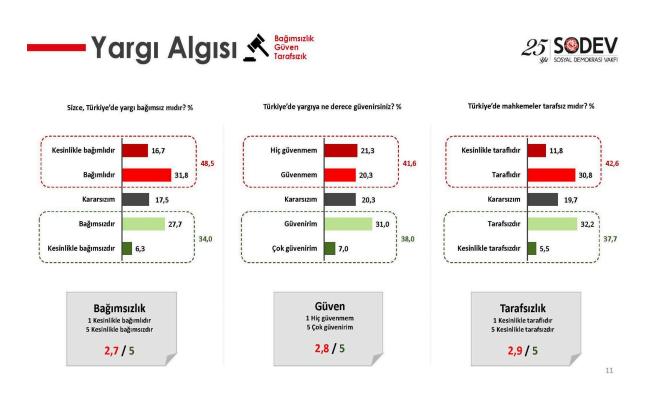
It is also debatable that universities in Turkey are adequately equipped to produce science and ideas. Table 4 shows that the results of the survey for the 18-19 age group show that universities do not offer enough equipment to find employment. While universities should have an autonomous structure, universities in Turkey are affiliated to YÖK(Council of

Higher Education Turkey). The results will be highly controversial, as research in non-autonomous universities will also be conducted under supervision. Young people who want to get a good education due to the inadequacies of universities find the solution by going to universities abroad.

Justice, Law and Inequality

The concept of justice in Turkey is quite problematic. Confidence in justice in the country is gradually decreasing. The law, which is above everything in developed countries, is not above everyone and everything in Turkey. Criticisms by the opposition say that the judiciary is under pressure from the government. It is said that instructions were given to members of the judiciary by the AKP government(Cumhuriyet, 2012). In addition, the increasing number of cases of violence, harassment and rape against women in the country, and the inadequate punishment of them, causes a decrease in the trust in the judiciary in the country.

TABLE 5 Confidence in the judiciary questionnaire



Source: SODEV (Social Democracy Foundation)

According to the research conducted by SODEV in Table 5, confidence in the independence, reliability and impartiality of the judiciary in Turkey is quite low. The reason for this is that some criminals in the public go unpunished. In addition, the fact that no lawsuit has been brought against the ministers accused of corruption undermines this credibility(Independent, 2021). It can be said that the increasing incidence of violence against animals and women in the country has an impact on trust in justice.

Turkey is a country where inequalities have reached incredible proportions. While someone who has just graduated from the university has to work for the minimum wage, another young person of the same age can find a job for high wages just because they are close to the ruling party. Turkey has been a very problematic country in terms of nepotism from the past to the present. Recently, however, this inequality has reached incredible proportions(Sözcü, 2020).

According to the research conducted in 2020, Turkey ranks 107th out of 128 countries in the rule of law index(WJP,2020: 9). In addition, inequality in income distribution is increasing exponentially every year(Euronews, 2019). This inequality has doubled during the pandemic period, which has affected all the countries of the world. The negative impact of this injustice and inequality on young people is very clear. Young people are faced with the threat of being detained for their criticism of the government, both on social media and elsewhere. Young and creative minds, who lose their confidence in the independence of the judiciary and get tired of inequality, choose to go to developed countries and contribute to the economies of those countries.

Conclusion

With the ever-developing technology and globalization, today's youth have adapted very quickly to this age. Especially young people have become individuals who try to improve themselves in every subject, produce and think. Developed countries give the

necessary importance to these creative minds and provide them convenience in every sense. Turkey, on the other hand, is in a very dangerous situation in terms of brain drain. On July 15, 2016, a military coup was attempted by a group of soldiers who defined themselves as the Peace at Home Council within the Turkish Armed Forces. The coup failed and the soldiers who were members of the terrorist organization were arrested. A state of emergency has also been declared for the detection and capture of the civilian extensions of the terrorist organization. During the 2-year state of emergency, 131,000 people expelled(Euronews, 2020). 6081 of those expelled are academic staff. The number of academics dismissed for signing the Academics for Peace statement is 404. The number of expelled terrorist organization members is quite high, but allegedly, opposition academics were also dismissed. These dismissals have increased the tendency of academics to go abroad. The vacancies of university cadres with dismissals could not be filled. This problem has revealed the problem of staff vacancies in universities and the quality of education has been affected. This situation has increased the number of students who want to study abroad.

The gradual weakening of the Turkish economy also affected the brain drain. The depreciation of the Turkish Lira against other currencies has reduced the purchasing power of citizens. The weakening of the economy also created the problem of unemployment. Well-educated young people have difficulties in finding a job, and when they find a job, they experience problems because of the low wages they receive. While engineers in an average country in Europe receive a salary of 3000 euros, the average salary of the same engineer in Turkish is around 4000 TL. Young people not only experience unemployment but also nepotism. Nepotism is particularly large in public institutions. Young people who are among the first 10 people in the exams are eliminated by interview, and people close to the ruling party are recruited instead. Young people, who can no longer tolerate this problem of nepotism and unemployment, are forced to migrate abroad to countries that value them.

One of the direct problems of Turkey is justice and equality. Due to the insufficient punishments for murders and sexist discourses against women, women have found the solution to leave the country. Turkey, where academics killed by their students, is getting worse every year in the justice index. The decrease in people's trust in justice is one of the reasons for emigration from the country. Increasing inequality in the country adversely affects the confidence of young people in the country. While well-educated young people work under difficult conditions with minimum wage, the fact that people close to AKP receive salaries from 3-4 different places shows the magnitude of inequality. Every person who immigrates from the country deals another blow to the already deteriorating economy.

It is clear that young people will change the future of Turkey. In policy making, steps should be taken to address the thoughts and wishes of these young people. Turkey, which has a very young population, should not send its creative minds to developed countries with wrong policies. Everyone should see that the brain drain, which is already a big problem today, is a situation that will determine the fate of Turkey in the future. Preventing and reversing the brain drain is a struggle for life for Turkey.

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