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# Effects of Migration Experience on Labour Income in Turkey

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### Abstract

The migration experience helps immigrants to improve their skills when working or studying abroad. After returning to the home country, upskilling abroad provides benefits to the returnees in the labour market. Recent studies have found that returnee workers set up their self-employed businesses or work as wage earners in Turkey. This research tests the hypothesis that migration experience means higher wages upon return to Turkey using Turkey's Household Labour Force Survey data from 2009 to 2018. The findings confirm that migration experience has a positive impact on labour income in Turkey. Furthermore, the returnees earn more than the overall wage earners with the same education and skill levels. Additional findings show that women in Turkey earn less than men across all wage earners in the average, but that migration experience does not close the earnings gap between female and male returnees. Nevertheless, highly-educated and upskilled returnees contribute more to the economic growth of Turkey; so, the returnees are labour capital gains to improve the home country economy.

Keywords: Labour income; migration experience; returnees; return migration; wage earners

### Introduction

Millions of people have migrated from Turkey since the 1960s, mostly to European countries. The expectation of higher earnings abroad has played a key role in the decision to migrate and many, therefore, choose to remain in the host country. However, each year, a significant number of people return to Turkey. Some studies (Bijwaard, 2015; Dustmann, Fadlon, & Weiss, 2011), however, have found that the possibility of higher earnings in the home country is a crucial factor in the decision to return, and the return of skilled migrants strengthens the human capital of the home country.

The migration experience increases the skills of individuals in two ways: learning while working (Dustmann, Fadlon, & Weiss, 2011; Iara, 2006; Lianos & Pseiridis, 2013) and study abroad (Iara, 2006). Migrants who return to the home country have new skills and, as a result, earn more in the home country than they did before migrating. The human capital increased by skills gained abroad promotes economic growth in the home country (Domingues Dos Santos & Postel-Vinay, 2003) and, therefore, policies that encourage migrants to return to the home country may help to boost its economic development. This article provides evidence concerning the returnees' labour income for the use of Turkish policy-makers to attract skilled migrants to return for the first time.



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The goal of the present study is to investigate the effect of migration experience on labour income in Turkey. To this end, the Household Labour Force Surveys of Turkey from 2009 to 2018 are used, which contain information on the working-age population (aged 15 to 64) of approximately 3.3 million. The hypothesis is that migration experience increases the salaries of people returning to the home country. This study is limited to investigating the labour income of returnees by comparing with the overall wage earners in Turkey. Indeed, the findings suggest that migration experience has a positive impact on labour income in Turkey. The next section briefly reviews the literature. The section 'Data and Variables' provides descriptive statistics, while the section 'Analysis and Discussion' presents and discusses the findings. Finally, the last section summarises the findings and provides some policy recommendations.

## Literature Search

The literature shows that migration experience increases the income of migrants returning to their home countries (Barrett & O'Connell, 2000; Bijwaard, 2015; Co, Gang, & Yun, 2000; Domingues Dos Santos & Postel-Vinay, 2003; Iara, 2006; Lacuesta, 2006; Lianos & Pseiridis, 2013). Bijwaard (2015) states that returnees fall into the upper levels of income distribution in the home country. The migrants have increased their skills by working or studying in the host country.

Learning through experience of work or on-the-job training, through interactions and interpersonal communication, increases the skills of workers indirectly, who 'observ[e] different or better ways of doing, or of exchanging ideas and experiences with other employees' (Lianos & Pseiridis, 2013, p. 6). On-the-job training in a developed country increases the earnings of the returnees according to the following factors: individual characteristics (Bijwaard, 2015; Lianos & Pseiridis, 2013), the promotion of upskilling in the host country (Lianos & Pseiridis, 2013), the duration of stay in the host country (Reinhold & Thom, 2009; Lacuesta, 2006), the applicability of the skills gained in the host country to entrepreneurship in the home country (Bijwaard, 2015; Dustmann & Kirchkamp, 2001; Martin & Radu, 2012), the advanced technological working knowledge of the host country (Iara, 2006; Domingues Dos Santos & Postel-Vinay, 2003), the increase in productivity upon return (Barrett & O'Connell, 2000; Borjas & Bratsberg, 1996), and the network ties in the labour market of the home country (Martin & Radu, 2012).

Study abroad is another way to increase skills directly (Iara, 2006). Güngör and Tansel (2006) state that higher salaries, longer duration of stay, and the lifestyle in North America and England decrease the probability of Turkish students returning. Elveren and Toksöz (2019) further highlight that women students and professionals are more likely to remain abroad due to the gender gap in Turkey. The decision of highly skilled individuals not to return may cause a reduction in remittances for Turkey. However, Niimi, Ozden, and Schiff (2008) contend that high-skilled immigrants remit less than low-skilled immigrants. Therefore, the decision of high-skilled immigrants to remain in the host country means a 'brain drain' for the home country because these individuals do not contribute to the economic growth of the home country (Domingues Dos Santos & Postel-Vinay, 2003). Conversely, economic growth and the promotion of social freedoms in Turkey strengthen the motivation of immigrants to return (Sirkeci, Cohen, & Yazgan, 2012).



Other studies (Barcevicius, 2016; Mezger Kveder & Flahaux, 2013; Stark, 1995), however, have found that migrants may face difficulties in entering the labour market in the home country when they return. Asymmetric information concerning the returnee's skill level between potential employers in the home country and the returnee may result in the returnee not finding employment appropriate for her or his skill level in the home country. Returnees are, therefore, more likely to be involuntarily self-employed.

Migrants returning to Turkey comprise a significant part of the population because a substantial number of Turkish workers have emigrated since the 1960s. While labour migration continued into the 1970s, the political conflicts in Turkey caused further migration. After the military coup of 1980, the number of Turkish asylum seekers increased in Europe. In the mid-1980s, due to the long-standing conflict in the Kurdish regions (Sirkeci, 2003), the number of asylum seekers from Turkey increased constantly until the 2000s when, due to economic stability, the migration flow from Turkey stagnated. However, in the 2010s, the deterioration in democracy in the country and loss of economic stability increased the emigration of high-skilled individuals. According to UNDESA (2017), more than 2.5 million immigrants from Turkey (including the Turkey-born naturalised population and Turkish citizens) lived in the 28 countries of the European Union (EU) in 2017. However, in 2015, the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of Turkey (known after 2018 as the Ministry of Family, Labour, and Social Services) numbered the Turkish migrant population in 14 EU Member States<sup>3</sup> at almost 5 million (including more than 2.5 million dual citizens) (DİYİH, 2015). Since many Member States do not record the ethnic background of individuals in their censuses, there is insufficient information about the number of people of Turkish origin living in Europe.

The studies by Dustmann and Kirchkamp (2001) and Yetkin Aker and Görmüş (2018) examine the returnees' status in the Turkish labour market and these two crucial studies guide the present article. However, the present article differs by focusing on the returnees' wage income in Turkey.

Dustmann and Kirchkamp (2001) analysed the choice of economic activity of Turkish returnees, based on surveys initiated by the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) in 1984, 1986, and 1988. In line with Mezger, Kveder, and Flahaux (2013) and Martin and Radu (2012), Dustmann and Kirchkamp (2001) concluded that many returnees choose to be self-employed in the home country. Thus, Turkish returnees become entrepreneurs in Turkey. However, returnees with higher levels of education choose to be salaried employees because they expect higher wages in the home country.

In a recent study, Yetkin Aker and Görmüş (2018) examined the work status of Turkish returnees by using the Household Labour Force Survey conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) in 2014. The authors selected for the sample survey participants who had lived abroad for 12 months or more. The dependent variable was employment status, and the independent variables comprised age, gender, education, informal employment, workplace characteristics, and flexibility of work. The authors concluded that highly educated returnees find employment easily in Turkey, while lower educated returnees face some difficulties.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands, the UK.

### Data and Variables

The present study uses the data of the Household Labour Force Surveys of Turkey from 2009 to 2018 provided by TurkStat. The survey is conducted annually following an address-based system covering more than 40,000 households across Turkey. Between 2009 and 2018, the data included approximately 4.5 million observations in total. We used two samples derived from this dataset. Our first sample, the main sample, is the 'overall wage earners', aged 15 to 64, which includes 3,333,743 million observations.

The second sample, the subsample, is the 'returned wage earners'. The data include responses to two critical questions concerning returnees: (1) 'Where were you born?' and (2) 'Have you ever lived abroad for a period of six months or more?'<sup>4</sup> The possible responses to the first question are 'Turkey' and 'abroad'. Since 2011, as a result of the civil war In Syria, more than 3.5 million migrants from there have settled in Turkey (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2019). It is very possible, therefore, that the survey respondents also include Syrian migrants. However, since the survey does not record ethnic background, there is no information on how many Syrian migrants participated in the survey. We therefore selected the data of the participants who were born in Turkey to ensure that they are not migrants who are living in Turkey. We then obtained the data of those who had lived abroad for 6-12 months or longer. The possible responses to the second question are 'yes' and 'no'. Thus, we are sure that this sample consists of participants born in Turkey and with migration experience—that is to say, they were in Turkey, went abroad, and returned to Turkey.<sup>5</sup>

For the dependent variable, we took account the effects of inflation in the income question 'How much did you earn from your main job during the last month? (including extra income, such as bonus pay and premiums, in addition to salary, paid monthly or quarterly)', with answers recorded in Turkish Lira (TL). We calculated the real income by using the consumer price index (World Bank, 2019), and used real income—*Real Income*—as the dependent variable. We subtracted the people who were not in the labour force (1,554,463), unpaid family workers (224,617), and unemployed people (180,844) from the working-age population. Then we eliminated the outliers based on Real Income. In the end, we had 589,572 observations for overall wage earners, which included 9,683 people fitting our inclusion criteria (see Table 1).

The independent variables include demographic variables such as *Gender* (female or male), *Age*, *Birthplace* (Turkey or abroad), *Education* (literate but not completed schooling at any educational institution, primary school, secondary school, high school, higher education – undergraduate, master's degree, or PhD) and *NUTS1*<sup>6</sup> regions (Istanbul, West Marmara, Aegean, East Marmara, West Anatolia, Mediterranean, Central Anatolia, West Black Sea, East Black Sea, Northeast Anatolia, Middle East Anatolia, and Southeast Anatolia). In addition to demographic variables, the analyses include *Living Abroad* (migration experience of 6–12 months or longer), *Years Living in Turkey* (the years spending in Turkey after returning to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS) (Eurostat, 2020). NUTS1 refers to major socio-economic regions.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Since 2014, this question has been phrased as 'Have you ever lived abroad for a 12-month period or more?'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Household Labour Force Survey data of Turkey do not include the reasons for moving abroad or returning to Turkey. However, Eurostat provides data regarding the reasons for moving abroad. For example, in 2018, 48,829 Turkish nationals got their first residence permits (for 12 months or more) from the EU-28 in 2018 due to four main reasons: family (47%), education (13%), work (16%), and other (24%), includes diplomatic permits and all other passengers who are not included in any other category (Eurostat, 2021).

Turkey), *Social Security* (registration with any social security institution), *Experience* (the number of years between the year of starting the job and the survey year), *Employment Type* (full-time or part-time), and a dummy variable for the Syrian war, *Syrian War* (0 for 2009 and 2010 and 1 for other years). We also used ISCO<sup>7</sup> for the main occupations in the workplace. Since there are more than 30 groups of occupations, we created the *ISCO* variable (low-skill jobs, low to mid-skill jobs, mid to high-skill jobs, high-skill jobs) by classifying the occupation groups in accordance with the skills levels defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2012, p. 14) (see Table 1).

		<b>Overall Wage Earners</b>	<b>Returned Wage Earners</b>
Variables	Labels of Variables	Count (Percentage)	Count (Percentage)
	Male	428,691	7,907
Gender	Male	(73%)	(82%)
Genuei	Female	160,881	2,144
	remaie	(27%)	(18%)
	Turkey	580,889	
Birthplace	Тиксу	(98.5%)	
Dirtiplace	Abroad	8,683	
	Abioad	(1.5%)	
	Yes	17,231	
Living Abroad	105	(2.9%)	
Living horoad	No	572,341	
	110	(96.1%)	
	Illiterate	17,308	147
	Interate	(2.8%)	(1.5%)
	Primary School	123,405	2,821
		(20.5%)	(29.5%)
Education	Secondary School	156,836	1,878
	j	(25%)	(19%)
	High School	183,360	2,391
	0	(31.2%)	(25%)
	Higher Education	108,663	2,446
	0	(20.5%)	(25%)
	Low Skill Jobs	92,041	1,071
		(16%)	(11%)
ISCO	Low-Mid Skill Jobs	338,714	5,120
		(57.5%)	(53%) 955
	Mid-High Skill Jobs	55,872 (9.5%)	
		· · · ·	(10%) 2,537
	High Skill Jobs	102,945	(26%)
		<u>(17%)</u> 477,337	7,849
	Yes	(81%)	(81%)
Social Security		112,235	1,834
	No	(19%)	(19%)
		565,478	9,222
Employment	Full Time	(96%)	(95%)
Туре		24,094	461
- JPC	Part Time	(4%)	(5%)
		89,459	955
	Istanbul	(15%)	(9.9%)
		42,759	622
NUTS1	West Marmara	(7.4%)	(6.4%)
		78,662	1,185
	Aegean	(13%)	(12%)
		(1370)	(12/0)

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Factor Variables

<sup>7</sup> International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) (ILO, 2012).

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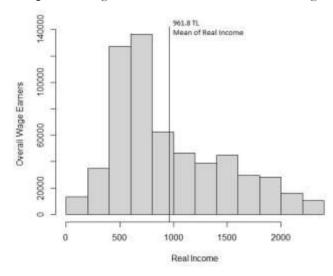
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	64,962	1,071	
East Marmara	(11%)	(11%)	
XX77 A 12	80,698	1,818	
West Anatolia	(14%)	(19%)	
Mediterranean	65,091	1,715	
Mediterranean	(11%)	(18%)	
Central Anatolia	30,969	716	
Central Anatolia	(5.2%)	(7.4%)	
West Black Sea	38,573	590	
west black sea	(6.6%)	(6.1%)	
East Black Sea	22,635	297	
East Diack Sea	(3.7%)	(3.1%)	
Northeast Anatolia	22,635	206	
Northeast Anatolia	(3.3%)	(2.1%)	
Middle East Anatolia	20,368	244	
Middle East Anatona	(3.4%)	(2.5%)	
Southeast Anatolia	35,415	264	
Southeast Affatolia	(5.7%)	(2.7%)	
	589,572	9,683	
	(100%)	(100%)	

Source: Elaborated with the data from Household Labour Force Survey of Turkey. TurkStat (2009-2018).

The mean income of the returned wage earners is higher than that of overall wage earners. Although income distributions appear similar between these two populations, the standard deviations of *Real Income* are different for all wage earners (515.5781) and the returned wage earners (557.3507). Moreover, more people of the returned wage earners earn over the mean income compared to overall wage earners. While 37.8% of overall wage earners earn more than the mean income of their group (961.8 TL), 42.8% of the returned wage earners earn more than the mean income of their group (1,076.6 TL) (Graph 1 and Graph 2).

Graph 1. Histogram of Real Income for Overall Wage Earners

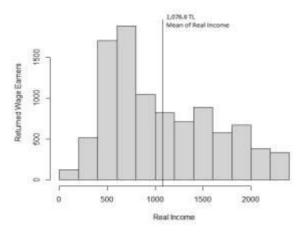


Source: Elaborated with the data from Household Labour Force Survey of Turkey. TurkStat (2009-2018).



Total





Source: Elaborated with the data from Household Labour Force Survey of Turkey. TurkStat (2009-2018).

### Analysis and Discussion

Eight models are used for the analysis: while Model 1, Model 1A, Model 1B, and Model 1C refer to the overall wage earners, Model 2, Model 2A, Model 2B, and Model 2C refer to returned wage earners (see Table 2). The models are transformed into log-linear form. We use the ordinary least square (OLS) method to estimate the following model:

$$lnIncomeReal_{i} = \beta_{0} + \beta_{k} \sum_{k=1}^{K} x_{ki} + \varepsilon_{i}$$

'Model 1', 'Model 1A', 'Model 1B', and 'Model 1C' include overall wage earners, while 'Model 2', 'Model 2A', 'Model 2B', and 'Model 2C' include only the returned wage earners. 'Model 1' and 'Model 2' refer to the benchmark models. 'Model A' has the benchmark model and the NUTS1 variable, 'Model B' includes the benchmark model and the Year variable, and 'Model C' consists of the benchmark model and the *Syrian War* dummy variable (see Table 2).

**Table 2.** Regression Analysis (OLS) for Overall Wage Earners and Returned Wage Earnersin 2009-2018

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1A	Model 2A	Model 1B	Model 2B	Model 1C	Model 2C
Constant	5.876***	5.997***	6.007***	6.179***	5.872***	5.989***	5.869***	5.995***
	(-0.005)	(-0.042)	(-0.005)	(-0.044)	(-0.005)	(-0.042)	(-0.005)	(-0.042)
Female	-0.147***	-0.131***	-0.151***	-0.148***	-0.148***	-0.132***	-0.147***	-0.131***
	(-0.001)	(-0.012)	(-0.001)	(-0.012)	(-0.001)	(-0.012)	(-0.001)	(-0.012)
Age	0.007***	0.002***	0.007***	0.002***	0.006***	0.002***	0.006***	0.002***
0	(-0.0001)	(-0.001)	(-0.0001)	(-0.001)	(-0.0001)	(-0.001)	(-0.0001)	(-0.001)
Born Abroad- Abroad	-0.029***		-0.052***		-0.029***		-0.029***	
	(-0.005)		(-0.005)		(-0.005)		(-0.005)	
Living Abroad-No	-0.032***		-0.045***		-0.033***		-0.033***	
0	(-0.004)		(-0.004)		(-0.004)		(-0.004)	
Primary School	0.011***	0.090***	0.017***	0.083**	0.013***	0.091***	0.012***	0.090***
,	(-0.003)	(-0.003)	(-0.003)	(-0.003)	(-0.003)	(-0.003)	(-0.003)	(-0.003)
Secondary School	0.005*	0.120***	0.015***	0.112***	0.005*	0.121***	0.005*	0.120***
	(-0.003)	(-0.035)	(-0.003)	(-0.035)	(-0.003)	(-0.035)	(-0.003)	(-0.035)
High School	0.143***	0.267***	0.156***	0.254***	0.144***	0.268***	0.144***	0.267***
0	(-0.003)	(-0.034)	(-0.003)	(-0.034)	(-0.003)	(-0.034)	(-0.003)	(-0.034)
Higher Education	0.417***	0.606***	0.431***	0.579***	0.418***	0.607***	0.417***	0.606***
0	(-0.003)	(-0.035)	(-0.003)	(-0.035)	(-0.003)	(-0.035)	(-0.003)	(-0.035)

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Social Security	0.346***	0.297***	0.334***	0.278***	0.344***	0.296***	0.345***	0.297***
	(-0.001)	(-0.012)	(-0.001)	(-0.012)	(-0.001)	(-0.012)	(-0.001)	(-0.012)
Experience	0.015***	0.014***	0.016***	0.014***	0.015***	0.014***	0.015***	0.014***
	(-0.0001)	(-0.001)	(-0.0001)	(-0.001)	(-0.0001)	(-0.001)	(-0.0001)	(-0.001)
Part Time	-0.631***	-0.466***	-0.619***	-0.469***	-0.632***	-0.466***	-0.631***	-0.465***
	(-0.003)	(-0.021)	(-0.003)	(-0.021)	(-0.003)	(-0.021)	(-0.003)	(-0.021)
Low-Mid Skill Jobs	0.103***	0.147***	0.090***	0.147***	0.103***	0.145***	0.103***	0.147***
	(-0.001)	(-0.014)	(-0.001)	(-0.014)	(-0.001)	(-0.014)	(-0.001)	(-0.014)
Mid-High Skill Jobs	0.233***	0.249***	0.214***	0.234***	0.233***	0.247***	0.233***	0.249***
	(-0.002)	(-0.02)	(-0.002)	(-0.02)	(-0.002)	(-0.02)	(-0.002)	(-0.02)
High Skill Jobs	0.377***	0.309***	0.365***	0.301***	0.377***	0.307***	0.377***	0.309***
	(-0.002)	(-0.02)	(-0.002)	(-0.019)	(-0.002)	(-0.02)	(-0.002)	(-0.02)
Years Living in		-0.003***		-0.004***		-0.003***		-0.003***
Turkey				-0.004				
		(-0.0005)		(-0.0005)		(-0.0005)		(-0.0005)
West Marmara			-0.194***	-0.223***				
			(-0.003)	(-0.024)				
Aegean			-0.182***	-0.162***				
			(-0.002)	(-0.016)				
East Marmara			-0.144***	-0.116***				
			(-0.002)	(-0.017)				
West Anatolia			-0.091***	-0.071***				
			(-0.002)	(-0.016)				
Mediterranean			-0.190***	-0.196***				
			(-0.002)	(-0.015)				
Central Anatolia			-0.144***	-0.166***				
			(-0.003)	(-0.02)				
West Black Sea			-0.172***	-0.219***				
			(-0.002)	(-0.022)				
East Black Sea			-0.165***	-0.150***				
			(-0.003)	(-0.03)				
Northeast Anatolia			-0.064***	0.04				
			(-0.004)	(-0.045)				
Middle East			-0.084***	-0.192***				
Anatolia			-0.064	-0.192				
			(-0.003)	(-0.031)				
Southeast Anatolia			-0.158***	-0.144***				
			-0.002	-0.029				
Syrian War							0.018***	0.006
							(-0.001)	(-0.009)
Observations	589,572	9,683	589,572	9,683	589,572	9,683	589,572	9,683
Multiple R <sup>2</sup>	0.515	0.463	0.532	0.478	0.516	0.464	0.516	0.463

Note: Year effects are controlled for. Standard errors in brackets; significance denoted by '\*\*\*' at 1%, '\*\*' at 5%, and '\*' at 10%.

The  $R^2$  values for all models are higher than 0.53. That is, all models fit the data well, which means that the independent variables explain more than 53% of the dependent variable for all models. Except the *Syrian War* dummy variable for returnees, all independent variables are significant in determining *Real Income*.

The findings show that women in Turkey earn less than men, but, interestingly, migration experience does not close the earning gap between genders: female returnees earn less than male returnees. Part-time jobs and the lack of social security (informal employment) negatively affect labour income for the entire working population, including the returnees. Earnings are higher in Istanbul for the overall working population and the returnees than in other regions of Turkey. After returning, each further year lived in Turkey decreases labour income for the returnees. Although the Syrian War has had a positive effect on the labour income for the overall wage earners, it is not significant for returnees' income. In Turkey, being born abroad negatively affects labour income. While the survey does not record ethnic background, we argue that many people born abroad could be Syrian.

As expected, age and longer work experience have positive impacts on income. However, these positive effects are lower for returnees than for the overall working population group,

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possibly because returnees have less work experience as they have spent larger in education. On the other hand, the returnees earn more than the overall wage earners when education level and skill levels are the same. This finding contradicts the work by Barcevicius (2016) and Stark (1995), which focused on asymmetric information. The findings of the present study are in agreement with those of other studies (Barrett & O'Connell, 2000; Bijwaard, 2015; Borjas & Bratsberg, 1996; Domingues Dos Santos & Postel-Vinay, 2003; Iara, 2006; Lianos & Pseiridis, 2013; Martin & Radu, 2012; Reinhold & Thom, 2009), which highlight that employers in the home country recognise the benefits of the returnees' on-the-job training abroad.

### Conclusion

Since the 1960s, Turkish citizens have migrated to countries across the globe but in particular Europe, where approximately 5 million Turkish citizens live as of 2015. While emigration continues, some emigrants return to Turkey each year and join Turkey's labour force. Migration experience contributes to improving migrants' skills in two ways: (1) indirectly, by on-the-job training, and (2) directly, by studying abroad. When migrants return to their home countries, they bring these new skills with them and thus increase the productivity of the labour market. This study hypothesises that migration experience increases salaries when migrants return to their home country for the case of Turkey.

The present study examined the effect of migration experience on Turkish returnees' labour income using the Household Labour Force Surveys from 2009 to 2018 with OLS analysis. Previous studies (Dustmann & Kirchkamp, 2001; Yetkin Aker & Görmüş, 2018) concur that the majority of Turkish high-skilled returnees are salaried workers due to their expectation of higher salaries. These findings are confirmed by the present study, which adds that migration experience increases labour income in general, especially for men. Part-time jobs, informal employment, each further year lived in Turkey after returning, and living outside Istanbul have a negative impact on earnings for the returnees.

For the returnees, in agreement with Lianos and Pseiridis (2013), Dustmann, Fadlon, and Weiss (2001), and Iara (2006), high education levels and upskilling abroad have a significant impact on labour income, compared with the overall wage earners in Turkey. In other words, highly educated and upskilled returnees contribute more to the economic growth of Turkey, as suggested by Domingues Dos Santos and Postel-Vinay (2003).

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