

*Double Discrimination: Attitudes toward Syrian and Ukrainian Immigrant Entrepreneurs' Job Postings in Türkiye**

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Abstract

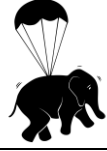
This study uses a vignette experiment to examine the discriminatory attitudes towards immigrant entrepreneurs. The aim is to assess how biases based on ethnicity affect the job application intentions directed towards immigrant entrepreneurs, specifically comparing those from Syria and Ukraine with their Turkish counterparts. The research addresses several objectives: to determine whether discriminatory practices against immigrant entrepreneurs differ from those faced by immigrant workers; to explore the presence and nature of discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs in Türkiye, including taste-based and statistical forms of discrimination; to investigate potential double discrimination between entrepreneurs of Middle Eastern (Syria) and European (Ukraine) origins; and to analyze whether ethnic cues in job advertisements influence job application intentions. Findings reveal that immigrant entrepreneurs experience significant discrimination, with Syrian entrepreneurs facing more bias compared to Ukrainians, influenced by geopolitical and cultural factors. This study offers a new perspective by examining how potential applicants respond to job advertisements from immigrant entrepreneurs, differing from previous research on discrimination faced by immigrant workers. The results highlight the need for inclusive policies and practices to support immigrant entrepreneurs and enhance their participation in the Turkish economy, contributing to a more equitable and diverse entrepreneurial landscape.

Keywords: taste-based discrimination, statistical discrimination, immigrant entrepreneurs, employment barriers

* This study was approved on 23.10.2023 by Human Research Ethics Committee of Aksaray University (2023/06-29) and adheres to the Turkish Higher Education Institutions Codes for the Responsible and Ethical Conduct of Research.

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Çifte Ayrımcılık: Türkiye'deki Suriyeli ve Ukraynalı Göçmen Girişimcilerin İş İlanlarına Yönelik Tutumlar

Öz

Bu çalışma vignette (kısa hikaye) deney yöntemi kullanarak göçmen girişimcilere karşı ayrımcı tutumları incelemektedir. Çalışmanın amacı, etnik kökene dayalı önyargıların, göçmen girişimcilerin işe ilanlarına başvuru niyetlerini nasıl etkilediğini, özellikle Suriyeli ve Ukraynalı girişimcileri Türk girişimcilerle karşılaştırarak değerlendirmektir. Araştırmanın hedefleri arasında; Göçmen girişimcilere karşı ayrımcı uygulamaların, göçmen işçilere karşı yaşananlardan farklı olup olmadığını belirlemek; Türkiye'de göçmen girişimcilere karşı ayrımcılığın varlığını ve doğasını keşfetmek, bu ayrımcılığın tercih temelli ve/veya istatistiksel temelli olmasını incelemek; Orta Doğu (Suriye) ve Avrupa (Ukrayna) kökenli girişimciler arasında potansiyel çifte ayrımcılığı araştırmak; İş ilanlarında girişimcinin etnik kökenine ilişkin ipuçlarının yer almasının başvuru niyetini doğrudan etkileyip etkilemediğini analiz etmek. Elde edilen bulgular, göçmen girişimcilerin önemli bir ayrımcılığa maruz kaldığını, Suriyeli girişimcilerin Ukraynalılara kıyasla daha fazla önyargı ile karşılaştığını, bunun nedeninin jeopolitik ve kültürel faktörlere dayandığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışma, göçmen çalışanların karşılaştıkları ayrımcılığı araştıran önceki çalışmalardan farklılaşarak, göçmen girişimcilerin iş ilanlarına karşı potansiyel başvuru niyetlerini inceleyerek ayrımcılık araştırmalarına yeni bir perspektif sunmaktadır. Araştırmanın sonucunda, göçmen girişimcileri desteklemek ve Türk ekonomisine katılımlarını artırmak için kapsayıcı politika ve uygulamaların gerektiği, daha adil ve katılımcı bir girişimcilik ortamına ihtiyaç olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: tercih temelli ayrımcılık, istatistiksel ayrımcılık, göçmen girişimciler, istihdam engelleri



1. INTRODUCTION

Understanding the challenges encountered by immigrant entrepreneurs in the job market and the impact of discriminatory attitudes on their integration and success is crucial because it provides insights into the systemic barriers that hinder their economic participation and growth. Research has shown that immigrant entrepreneurs often face significant hurdles, including biases and stereotypes, which can adversely affect their business opportunities and success rates (Vernby and Dancygier, 2019; Adida et al., 2016). These challenges not only limit their individual potential but also impact broader economic outcomes by reducing the diversity of entrepreneurial activities and innovation (Cooray et al., 2018). Addressing these issues is essential for developing effective policies and interventions that promote inclusivity and harness the full potential of immigrant entrepreneurs, ultimately contributing to a more dynamic and equitable economic environment (Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2016).

The experiences of immigrant entrepreneurs in Türkiye, particularly from Syria and Ukraine, underscore the necessity for greater comprehension and support. This study aims to investigate discriminatory attitudes among local populations towards immigrant entrepreneurs in job applications and to propose recommendations for creating a more inclusive and equitable environment for all job seekers. By addressing these issues, we aim to foster a welcoming and supportive workplace for immigrant entrepreneurs.

Discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs in job applications poses a significant issue requiring urgent attention and empathy. Negative attitudes towards immigrants have intensified, particularly in countries like Türkiye, which has welcomed numerous migrants from Syria and Ukraine due to regional turmoil (Özçürümez and Yetkin, 2014). Despite the potential economic contributions of immigrant entrepreneurs, they frequently encounter discrimination from local communities. Such discrimination may drive these entrepreneurs to seek opportunities in other countries.

Immigrant entrepreneurs have two primary positive impacts on the host country's economy. Firstly, they often employ other immigrants, thus addressing recruitment challenges specific to immigrants. Secondly, they stimulate economic activity in the host country. Türkiye has experienced a significant influx of undocumented migrants from Syria (Özçürümez and Yetkin, 2014) and Ukraine (Fedyuk and Kindler, 2016; Özgür and Deniz, 2023). Without appropriate measures to manage this influx, less educated migrants may remain in Türkiye, while skilled individuals may prefer relocating to European countries.

Discrimination against immigrants in job applications is well-documented. Studies indicate that job applicants with non-native names receive significantly fewer positive callbacks compared to those with native names, illustrating hiring discrimination based on ethnicity (Baert and Pauw, 2014). Furthermore, candidates with foreign-sounding names face greater challenges in securing job interviews, especially in sectors with low labor market demand (Baert et al., 2015).



These studies highlight the existence of discrimination against immigrant job seekers and underscore the complexities they face.

Moreover, research by Ganesan et al. (2018) discusses how job advertisements act as signals that influence job seekers' perceptions and attractiveness towards potential employers, thereby influencing their application intentions. This emphasizes the critical role of job postings in shaping job seekers' decisions.

While existing literature extensively covers discrimination faced by immigrant job seekers, it often overlooks the specific challenges encountered by immigrant entrepreneurs. Most studies focus primarily on issues like access to finance and cultural differences (Chidau and Khosa, 2022; Zighan, 2021), with limited exploration of discriminatory attitudes towards immigrant entrepreneurs. This study addresses a critical gap by focusing on both taste-based and statistical discrimination faced by immigrant entrepreneurs, providing a novel perspective on how these biases impact their job application intentions and business success. By employing a true experimental design and analyzing the effects of ethnicity on job application intentions, this research offers new insights into the dual forms of discrimination—taste-based and statistical—that uniquely affect immigrant entrepreneurs. This approach not only enhances our understanding of the barriers specific to this group but also contributes to developing targeted interventions and policies aimed at fostering a more inclusive and equitable entrepreneurial environment. Thus, this study's originality lies in its comprehensive examination of discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs and its implications for policy and practice, filling a significant gap in the current literature.

This study aims to achieve several objectives. Firstly, it seeks to determine whether discriminatory practices against immigrant entrepreneurs differ from those faced by immigrant workers, as extensively covered in existing literature. Secondly, it aims to ascertain the presence and nature of discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs in Türkiye—whether it is taste-based, statistics-based, or both. Thirdly, it aims to explore potential double discrimination against entrepreneurs of different ethnic backgrounds by comparing attitudes towards entrepreneurs from Middle Eastern (Syria) and European (Ukraine) origins. Lastly, it aims to investigate whether ethnic cues in job advertisements directly influence job application intentions, despite prior research indicating the positive impact of wage or environmental signals.

The rest of the paper continues as; section 2 is the literature review and presents the theories and hypotheses related to discrimination in recruitment processes and their specific application to immigrant entrepreneurs. Section 3 is the methodology section aims to clarify the experimental design, sampling approach, data collection process, and statistical power analysis, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of the study's methodological framework. Section 3 also provides a clear and structured overview of the measurements used in the study, their adaptation and validation processes, and steps taken to address potential methodological biases. Section 4 provides a clear presentation of the results, including statistical tests, correlations,



discrimination analyses, and mediation effects, emphasizing the study's findings on discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs and their implications.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Discrimination against Immigrants in Recruitment

Extensive research documents the pervasive discrimination against immigrants in recruitment processes, with historical roots tracing back to early 20th-century labor markets. Early studies reveal that discriminatory practices against immigrants were evident as immigration policies began to shape labor markets, with biases often manifesting through restricted access to employment opportunities and lower wages (Alba and Nee, 2003). Over the decades, research has highlighted persistent ethnic hierarchies and pronounced discrimination, particularly against Muslim immigrants (Adida et al., 2016; Vernby and Dancygier, 2019). A meta-analysis confirms significant discrimination against minority applicants, including immigrants, from 1990 to 2015 across various contexts (Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2016).

Research has emphasized organizational behaviors that exclude immigrants (Cooray et al., 2018; Lang, 2021) and systematic disadvantages in hiring (Auer and Ruedin, 2019; Binggeli et al., 2013). Biases based on accents and stereotypes are identified as significant barriers (Dietz, 2010), and stereotypes influencing hiring decisions are also highlighted (Birkelund et al., 2020). The distinction between statistical and taste-based discrimination is discussed (Busetta et al., 2020), along with implicit discrimination against immigrants (Oreopoulos, 2011). Exclusionary behaviors of co-workers (Enoksen, 2016) and the impact of discrimination on organizational citizenship access (Hainmueller and Hangartner, 2013) are additional concerns.

Recent studies have explored wage discrimination and economic disparities faced by immigrants (Bartolucci, 2014; Kampelmann and Rycx, 2016), with specific attention to wage gaps between Syrian immigrants and natives in Türkiye (Elgin and Elveren, 2024). While the literature comprehensively covers discrimination against immigrant job seekers, there is a notable gap in research on discrimination against immigrant employers. This gap is addressed in the subsequent section, which focuses on the unique challenges faced by immigrant entrepreneurs.

2.2. Immigrant Entrepreneurs

Immigrant entrepreneurs significantly contribute to host country economies by generating income, facilitating knowledge transfer, fostering innovation, and promoting economic growth (Brieger and Gielnik, 2020). They introduce new products and services reflecting their cultures, disrupting markets and enhancing local and national economies (Gölgeci et al., 2023). Immigrant entrepreneurs enhance competitiveness, contribute to innovation, and bring positive changes to host country entrepreneurial ecosystems (Brzozowski and Cucculelli, 2020).



They create opportunities for native entrepreneurs, correlating positively with the total number of non-immigrant firms in host countries (Duan et al., 2021). Leveraging their human and social capital, immigrant entrepreneurs identify business opportunities bridging their home and host countries, establishing successful ventures (Shinnar and Nayır, 2019). Their integration into host country economies contributes significantly to economic, social, and cultural dimensions (Barth and Zalkat, 2020; Vinogradov and Kolvereid, 2010).

In Türkiye, immigrant entrepreneurship emerges as a substantial economic force, with immigrants contributing not only through labor but also entrepreneurial activities (Shinnar and Nayır, 2019). Immigrant entrepreneurs positively impact trade, enhancing both exports and imports, particularly in cities like Izmir with significant immigrant populations (Eraydın et al., 2010). Ethnic entrepreneurship in Türkiye contributes to job creation, tax revenue, and local economic growth, fostering economic responsibility and community reinvestment (Ülker, 2019).

Research demonstrates immigrant entrepreneurship's critical role in local economic growth, as observed in Gaziantep, where immigrant entrepreneurs integrate local innovative entrepreneurs into diverse sectors, thereby stimulating local economies (Eren et al., 2012). Türkiye's role as a hub for foreign nationals influences demographics, society, and the economy, exemplified by Turkish immigrants' entrepreneurial activities abroad, particularly in Germany (Kavuş, 2019). Immigrant entrepreneurship in Türkiye significantly contributes to economic development, social inclusion, and local economic growth.

Despite their contributions, immigrant entrepreneurs face challenges such as discrimination in accessing formal funding, language barriers, xenophobia, and limited access to finance (Fatoki, 2018). They also encounter difficulties in securing mentoring, social capital, and funding for ventures (Awotoye and Singh, 2018; Cadenas et al., 2023). These challenges underscore the need for supportive policies facilitating immigrant entrepreneurs' success in navigating complex entrepreneurial landscapes.

Despite their significant contributions to the economy, immigrant entrepreneurs encounter numerous challenges that hinder their success. These include discrimination in accessing formal funding, language barriers, xenophobia, and limited access to finance (Fatoki, 2018). The underlying reasons for these challenges are multifaceted. Systemic factors, such as biased lending practices and exclusionary financial policies, contribute to the difficulty immigrant entrepreneurs face in securing formal funding. Cultural and linguistic barriers further exacerbate these issues, as immigrant entrepreneurs may struggle to navigate complex bureaucratic systems and build networks within unfamiliar environments (Awotoye and Singh, 2018). Xenophobia and implicit biases also play a crucial role, leading to unequal treatment and diminished opportunities compared to native entrepreneurs (Cadenas et al., 2023). Additionally, immigrant entrepreneurs often face challenges in accessing mentoring and social capital, which are vital for entrepreneurial success. These issues are compounded by institutional barriers that limit their participation in established business networks and support systems. Understanding



these underlying factors is essential for developing supportive policies that facilitate immigrant entrepreneurs' success in navigating complex entrepreneurial landscapes and addressing these systemic inequalities.

Previous studies document discrimination where immigrants receive fewer job interview calls compared to natives (Cooray et al., 2018; Lang, 2021; Vernby and Dancygier, 2019), and highlight immigrant employers' challenges like access to finance and language barriers (Awotoye and Singh, 2018; Cadenas et al., 2023; Fatoki, 2018). However, the literature lacks specific examination of natives' attitudes towards job advertisements from immigrant employers regarding discrimination. Thus, the first hypothesis of this study is formulated:

H₁: Job postings from immigrant owners receive fewer applications compared to those from native owners.

2.3. Double Discrimination Attitude in Recruitment

Double discrimination in recruitment occurs when individuals face bias based on multiple aspects of their identity simultaneously. This form of discrimination manifests when individuals belong to more than one marginalized group, compounding biases and challenges in the recruitment process. For instance, Black women may experience a "double burden" of race and gender discrimination, hindering their recruitment, professional development, and advancement opportunities (Melaku, 2022).

Studies demonstrate that individuals holding multiple stigmatized identities encounter heightened discrimination due to intersecting social identities (Ji and Bouguettaya, 2021). This double discrimination can lead to differential treatment, limited advancement opportunities, and biased recruitment decision-making. Refugee women, for example, may confront both racism and sexism, contributing to high rates of unemployment and underemployment (Psoinos, 2015).

Existing literature on discrimination in recruitment predominantly examines double discrimination based on race, gender (De Leon and Rosette, 2022; Melaku, 2022), and ethnicity (Sesko and Biernat, 2010). However, there is a notable gap in studying how double discrimination manifests specifically in the context of immigration status and ethnic origin. In Türkiye, the geographical and cultural differences between Syrian and Ukrainian immigrants play a significant role in the level of discrimination they face.

Syrian immigrants, coming from the east of Türkiye, may be subject to heightened negative biases due to ongoing geopolitical tensions, cultural differences, and stereotypes associated with conflict and instability. In contrast, Ukrainian immigrants, hailing from the west, might not face the same intensity of negative stereotyping and could benefit from relatively less cultural and political friction. These geographical and cultural distinctions contribute to varying levels of discrimination.



To address this gap, this study investigates double discrimination concerning both immigration status and ethnicity by comparing Syrian and Ukrainian immigrants. The hypothesis is formulated as follows:

H₂: Job postings indicating the owner is a Syrian immigrant entrepreneur receive fewer applications compared to those indicating a Ukrainian immigrant entrepreneur.

This hypothesis is grounded in the premise that Syrian entrepreneurs face more intense negative biases due to both their immigration status and ethnic origin, as opposed to Ukrainian entrepreneurs who may experience relatively less stigmatization based on their geographical and cultural proximity to Türkiye.

2.4. Theories on Discrimination in Recruitment

Taste-based discrimination, proposed by Becker (1957), and statistical discrimination, outlined by Phelps (1972), are pivotal theories shedding light on ethnic discrimination in recruitment processes. Taste-based discrimination occurs when employers prefer individuals from their majority group or similar backgrounds, leading to biased hiring (Adamovic, 2020). Statistical discrimination, on the other hand, involves decisions based on group averages rather than individual qualifications, often resulting in discrimination against certain ethnic groups (Laurence et al., 2023).

Taste-based discrimination can stem from personal prejudices or strong preferences favoring certain groups (Zussman, 2013). Statistical discrimination may arise when employers perceive certain groups as less productive or prefer to hire individuals from their own ethnic or national backgrounds (Laurence et al., 2023). Discrimination against ethnic minorities in recruitment manifests in biased resume screening based on ethnic salience and stereotypes (Derous et al., 2016).

Differentiating between taste-based and statistical discrimination presents challenges, particularly in real-world settings where multiple factors influence hiring decisions (Lane, 2019). Studies emphasize the importance of comprehending these mechanisms to develop effective strategies against biased practices in recruitment processes. By employing methods that distinguish between taste-based and statistical discrimination, researchers can uncover the underlying reasons for discriminatory behaviors in the labor market (Bryson and Chevalier, 2014).

Immigrant entrepreneurs frequently encounter unique stressors that can influence their decisions, intentions, and behaviors, potentially shaping their experiences in the labor market (Awotoye and Singh, 2018). However, discriminatory attitudes towards immigrant entrepreneurs in job applications have not been extensively studied. While there is ample research on discrimination in hiring decisions against ethnic and immigrant groups, a gap exists in understanding whether discrimination faced by immigrant entrepreneurs in the job



application process is taste-based, statistical, or both. To address this gap, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

H₃: Discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs is taste-based.

H₄: Discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs is statistical-based.

Understanding the mechanisms of discrimination faced by immigrant entrepreneurs in job applications is crucial for developing strategies to enhance their inclusion and success. This is because discriminatory attitudes influence applicants' decisions to apply for jobs (H₁ and H₂). Previous studies (Adamovic, 2020; Laurence et al., 2023) have shown that human resource professionals are less likely to invite minorities for interviews. This study aims to explore how these discriminatory attitudes mediate job application intentions, particularly focusing on the role of ethnic origin in these dynamics.

Taste-based discrimination refers to prejudicial attitudes that individuals may hold based on the ethnicity of an entrepreneur. This form of discrimination is driven by personal biases and prejudices, leading to negative evaluations of applicants based on their ethnic background. The hypothesis posits that such biases will mediate the relationship between the entrepreneur's ethnicity and the likelihood of receiving job applications. By examining this hypothesis, the study seeks to reveal how personal prejudices can affect hiring decisions and contribute to barriers faced by immigrant entrepreneurs. The hypothesis is formulated as;

H₅: Taste-based discriminatory attitudes mediate the effect of the entrepreneur's ethnicity on the job application intention.

Statistical-based discrimination involves making decisions based on generalized stereotypes or perceived statistical trends about certain ethnic groups. This form of discrimination rationalizes biases by assuming that certain groups are less favorable based on broader statistical data, rather than individual merit. The hypothesis suggests that such statistical biases will mediate the relationship between the entrepreneur's ethnicity and job application intentions. This hypothesis aims to uncover how rationalized, stereotype-based assumptions influence the recruitment process and impact immigrant entrepreneurs. The hypothesis is formulated as;

H₆: Statistical-based discriminatory attitudes mediate the effect of the entrepreneur's ethnicity on the job application intention.

By exploring these mechanisms, this study aims to deepen understanding of the barriers faced by immigrant entrepreneurs in accessing human resources. The independent variable is the ethnic origin of the entrepreneur, with mean scores for taste-based discrimination (TBD) and statistical-based discrimination (SBD) serving as parallel mediators. The dependent variable is the mean score for job application intention (JAI), as depicted in Figure 1.

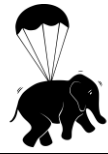
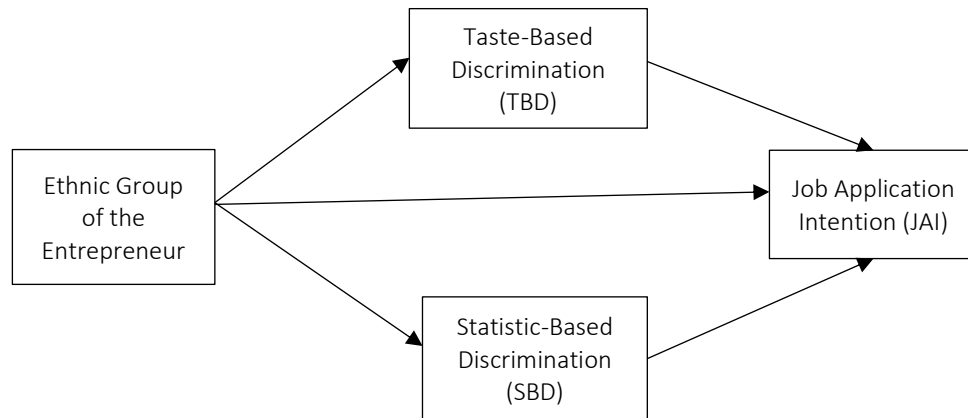


Figure 1. Conceptual model



3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Procedure and Experimental Design

A vignette experiment design was employed to investigate discrimination attitudes towards Ukrainian and Syrian entrepreneurs who have migrated to Türkiye. According to Baert and Pauw (2014), vignette scenarios closely correlate with real-world decision-making processes. Three distinct job postings were created, each accompanied by a different vignette and identical job advertisements, randomly assigned to participants.

The scenarios are as follows: The first scenario (control group) features "Mehmet Aydın," a Turkish entrepreneur who, after years of professional experience, establishes his company (Anadolu Foreign Trade Inc.) and advertises a job for an office manager position. Mehmet Aydın represents a typical native Turkish entrepreneur. The second scenario involves Ivan Petrovich, an entrepreneur of Ukrainian origin who immigrates to Türkiye and establishes his company (Kyiv Foreign Trade Inc.), also advertising for an office manager position. The third scenario features Ahmad Khalid, a Syrian entrepreneur who migrates to Türkiye due to turmoil in his home country, establishes his company (Al-Nour Foreign Trade Inc.), and advertises for an office manager position. Both the entrepreneur and company names reflect their Ukrainian and Syrian origins, respectively.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three scenarios: the first scenario (86 participants) served as the control group, while the second (90 participants) and third (126 participants) scenarios constituted the experimental groups. Random assignment in vignette experiments, as proposed by Atzmüller and Steiner (2010), ensures unbiased allocation and has been widely used in similar studies (e.g., Eifler and Petzold, 2019; Kunz and Fuchs, 2019). After completing the survey, participants were debriefed about the experimental manipulation. The job postings with vignettes are provided in the appendix.



The questionnaire comprised three sections: The first section presented the vignette (one of three random scenarios), detailing the entrepreneur's business background and the company's establishment, including a signal about the entrepreneur's ethnic origin. The second section included items measuring taste-based discrimination, statistical discrimination, and job application intention. The third section contained manipulation check questions and demographic items. Additionally, two attention check questions were incorporated among the scale items to identify and exclude careless respondents, following the approach suggested by Kung et al. (2018).

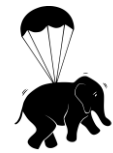
3.2. Sample and Data Collection

Convenience sampling was employed for this experimental research, targeting participants through online surveys. Participants were graduates or senior students from management-related departments such as business administration, management information systems, health management, and tourism management, as well as graduate students seeking managerial positions. The online survey link was distributed through relevant student groups, and 322 participants completed the survey.

After excluding 18 respondents who failed the attention check questions and three outliers, the final sample comprised 302 participants for analysis. Given that the dependent variable (job application intention) did not vary significantly across different departments or graduation statuses, all responses were included in the evaluation. Descriptive statistics with mean, skewness and kurtosis are presented in Table 1, and density histograms are depicted in Figure 2.

Table 1. Descriptives

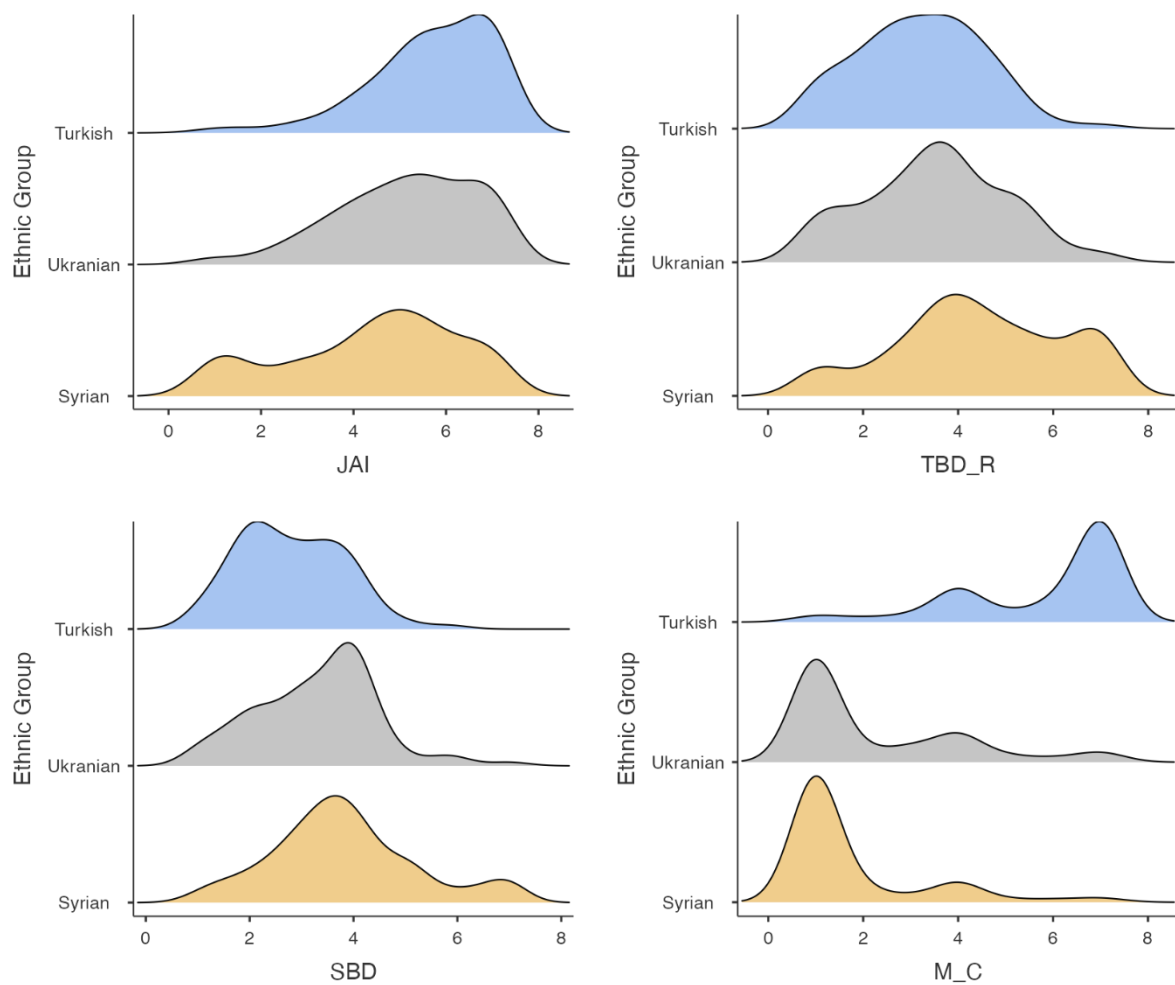
	Ethnic Group	JAI	TBD_R	SBD	M_C
N	Turkish	86	86	86	86
	Ukrainian	90	90	90	90
	Syrian	126	126	126	126
	Total	302	302	302	302
Mean	Turkish	5.71	3.21	2.81	5.79
	Ukrainian	5.15	3.52	3.31	2.26
	Syrian	4.4	4.44	3.83	1.75
	Total	4.99	3.81	3.38	3.05
Skewness	Turkish	-1.2	0.145	0.358	-1.23
	Ukrainian	-0.614	0.0685	0.172	1.28
	Syrian	-0.444	-0.171	0.472	2.02
Std. error skewness	Turkish	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26
	Ukrainian	0.254	0.254	0.254	0.254
	Syrian	0.216	0.216	0.216	0.216



Kurtosis	Turkish	1.62	-0.295	-0.254	0.515
	Ukrainian	-0.12	-0.472	0.495	0.572
	Syrian	-0.815	-0.708	0.121	3.35
Std. error kurtosis	Turkish	0.514	0.514	0.514	0.514
	Ukrainian	0.503	0.503	0.503	0.503
	Syrian	0.428	0.428	0.428	0.428

Abbreviations: JAI, job application intention; TBD_R, test-based discrimination (reversed); SBD, statistical based discrimination; M_C, manipulation check

Figure 2. Density histograms



A sensitivity power analysis was conducted using G-Power software based on parameters from a previous study on double discrimination (De Leon and Rosette, 2022) with $1-\beta=.80$, $\alpha=.05$, and 3 groups (Turkish, Ukrainian, and Syrian). The results show that the sample size 302 would be sufficient to detect Cohen's d effect size of .18 with a probability of .80 (De Leon and Rosette, 2022; Faul et al., 2009), surpassing the requirements of the previous study.



3.3. Measurements

The measurements were adapted from Baert and Pauw (2014). The original scale items in English were translated into Turkish and subsequently back-translated for accuracy and cultural relevance to Turkish participants. All items were assessed using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from “*I-strongly disagree*” to “*7-strongly agree*”.

Job Application Intention (JAI) was measured using three items. Sample scale items presented to the control group included: “*I would like to work with Mehmet Aydın*”, “*I would like to work at Anadolu Foreign Trade Inc.*” and “*If I were looking for a job, I would apply for this job posting*”.

Taste-Based Discrimination Attitude (TBD_R) was measured using two reverse-coded items. Sample scale items directed towards the group assigned to the Syrian entrepreneur scenario included: “*I would enjoy working with Ahmad Khalid at Al-Nour Foreign Trade Inc.*” and : “*Everybody would enjoy working with Ahmad Khalid at Al-Nour Foreign Trade Inc.*”. These items aimed to capture prejudicial discrimination attitudes.

Statistical-Based Discrimination Attitude (SBD) was assessed with six scale items. Sample items directed towards the group assigned to the Ukrainian entrepreneur scenario included: “*I believe that Kyiv Foreign Trade Inc. will not pay salaries on time.*” and “*Working at Kyiv Foreign Trade Inc. is taking a risk*”. These items were designed to measure rationalized discrimination attitudes based on previous experiences.

To ensure the reliability and validity of the translated scales, standard procedures were followed. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was employed to evaluate construct validity. The Average Variance Extracted (AVE), indicating convergence among items representing a latent variable, was calculated to assess construct validity. AVE values of at least .50 are typically considered indicative of good construct validity (Hair, 2009, p.659). For the JAI scale, the AVE was .79, for TBD_R it was .69, both exceeding the .50 threshold. The AVE for the SBD scale was .47, with a Composite Reliability (CR) of .84, which also meets acceptable criteria (Fornell and Larcker, 1981). Cronbach’s alphas were calculated as .917 for JAI, .756 for TBD_R, and .840 for SBD, all exceeding the recommended threshold of .70, with CR values of .919, .756, and .840 respectively, exceeding .60 (Hair, 2009). The Cronbach’s alpha was .85 in previous study (Baert and Pauw, 2014).

Furthermore, CFA results indicated good model fit (CFI = .990, TLI = .984, RMSEA = .042, and $\chi^2/df = 1.536$), supporting the validity of the measurement model.

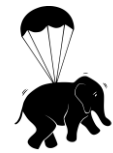


Table 2. Confirmatory factor analysis results

Factor	Indicator	Std. Est.	SE	AVE	CR	α
JAI	JAI1	0.917	0.0821	%79	0.919	0.917
	JAI2	0.924	0.0811			
	JAI3	0.825	0.0866			
TBD_R	TBD1_R	1.010	0.0877	%69	0.756	0.756
	TBD2_R	0.602	0.0966			
SBD	SBD1	0.689	0.0938	%44	0.840	0.840
	SBD2	0.65	0.0935			
	SBD3	0.61	0.0957			
	SBD4	0.761	0.0917			
	SBD5	0.572	0.0958			
	SBD6	0.661	0.0943			

Abbreviations: JAI, job application intention; TBD_R, test-based discrimination (reversed); SBD, statistical based discrimination; AVE, average variance extracted; CR, consistence reliability; α , Cronbach's α (reliability); SE, standard error; Std. Est., Standard Estimate

Common Method Bias was assessed due to potential biases from measuring dependent and independent variables simultaneously. Although longitudinal studies are preferable, they are impractical in manipulated experimental settings. Harman's single-factor test indicated that the total factor extracted from a single factor was 45.5%, below the critical threshold of 50% (Podsakoff et al., 2003), suggesting that common method bias was not a significant concern. Additionally, to mitigate collinearity issues, the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) was examined, yielding a value of 1.12, well below the critical threshold of 3.3 (Kock, 2017), further indicating minimal collinearity among variables.

4. FINDINGS

Manipulation was verified using a 7-point Likert scale item asking, "Is the entrepreneur is native Turkish?". Due to non-normal distribution of the data, a non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA was conducted to determine if respondents correctly perceived the ethnicity manipulation of the entrepreneur. Table 3 presents χ^2 and p-values, along with pairwise comparisons using Dwass-Steel-Critchlow-Fligner tests and mean scores for the manipulation check item. Results indicate that respondents correctly perceived the manipulation signal. The difference between Turkish ($N=86$, $M=5.79$) and immigrant groups (Ukrainian, $N=90$, $M=2.26$; Syrian, $N=126$, $M=1.75$) are significant ($W_{Turkish-Ukrainian} = -13.25$, $p < .001$ and $W_{Turkish-Syrian} = -16.07$, $p < .001$), while the difference between Syrian and Ukrainian groups was not significant ($W_{Ukrainian-Syrian} = -3.18$, $p = .063$). Mean differences for the manipulation check are illustrated in Figure 1.

Table 3. Manipulation check kruskal wallis and pairwise comparison results

Component	Group Pairs		W	p(W)	χ^2	df	p(χ^2 - df)
Manipulation Check	Turkish (M=5.79)	Ukrainian (M=2.26)	-13.25	<.001	151	2	<.001
	Turkish (M=5.79)	Syrian (M=1.75)	-16.07	<.001			
	Ukrainian (M=2.26)	Syrian (M=1.75)	-3.18	.063			



Correlation analysis (Table 4) revealed significant associations between job application intention (JAI) and taste-based discrimination ($r=-.744, p<.001$), statistical discrimination ($r=-.385, p<.001$), and between taste-based and statistical discrimination ($r=.395, p<.001$).

Table 4. Correlation matrix

	JAI	TBD_R	SBD
JAI	—		
TBD_R	-0.744***	—	
SBD	-0.385***	0.395***	—

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Given violations of normality (*Shapiro-Wilk*, $W=.942, p<.001$) and homogeneity of variances (*Levene's Test*, $F=10.1, df=1, p<.002$), a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted. Results (Table 5) confirm that native entrepreneurs received more job applications compared to immigrant entrepreneurs, supporting H_1 .

Table 5. Independent samples t-test (mann-whitney u)

	Statistics	P	Group	N	Mean	SD	SE
Job Application Intention	6086	<.001	Native	86	5.71	1.31	.141
			Immigrant	216	4.71	1.75	.119

Note: $H_a \mu_{Native} > \mu_{Immigrant}$

A Kruskal-Wallis test was used to compare job application intentions across ethnic groups (Table 6). Significantly ($\chi^2=29.7, df=2, p<.001$) lower intentions to apply for jobs posted by Syrian entrepreneurs compared to Ukrainian entrepreneurs support H_2 , which suggests the presence of double discrimination attitudes against Syrians compared to Ukrainians.

Table 6. Kruskal wallis test results and pairwise comparisons

Component	Group Pairs		W	p(W)	χ^2	df	$p(\chi^2- df)$
Taste-Based Discrimination	Turkish (M=3.21)	Ukrainian (M=3.52)	2.02	.327	30.8	2	<.001
	Turkish (M=3.21)	Syrian (M=4.44)	7.32	<.001			
	Ukrainian (M=3.52)	Syrian (M=4.44)	5.48	<.001			
Statistical-Based Discrimination	Turkish (M=2.81)	Ukrainian (M=3.31)	4.35	.006	30.5	2	<.001
	Turkish (M=2.81)	Syrian (M=3.83)	7.70	<.001			
	Ukrainian (M=3.31)	Syrian (M=3.83)	3.40	.043			
Job Application Intention	Turkish (M=5.71)	Ukrainian (M=5.15)	-3.69	.025	29.7	2	<.001
	Turkish (M=5.71)	Syrian (M=4.40)	-7.55	<.001			
	Ukrainian (M=5.15)	Syrian (M=4.40)	-4.00	.013			

To determine if discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs is taste-based, statistical-based, or both, independent samples t-tests (Mann-Whitney U) were conducted (Table 7). Results support H_3 and H_4 , indicating higher mean scores for taste-based discrimination (TBD) and statistical-based discrimination (SBD) among immigrant entrepreneurs.

**Table 7.** Independent samples t-test (mann-whitney u)

	Statistics	p	Group	N	Mean	SD	SE
TBD_R	6550	<.001	Native	86	3.21	1.31	.141
			Immigrant	216	4.06	1.69	.115
SBD	5866	<.001	Native	86	2.81	1.01	.109
			Immigrant	216	3.61	1.32	.090

Note: $H_a: \mu_{\text{Native}} < \mu_{\text{Immigrant}}$

These findings underscore that immigrant entrepreneurs encounter significant discrimination in the labor market, characterized by both taste-based and statistical forms. Addressing this dual discrimination calls for comprehensive strategies aimed at mitigating biases and promoting equitable treatment for immigrant entrepreneurs.

The final objective of this study is to explore the mediating roles of taste-based discrimination (TBD) and statistical-based discrimination (SBD) in the effect of ethnicity on job application intentions (JAI). Analysis was conducted using the Jamovi software GLM Mediation package (Gallucci, 2020; Rosseel, 2012), with results compared to those obtained from Hayes' (2017) Model 4 in SPSS PROCESS, revealing consistency between the two methods. The independent variable, entrepreneur ethnicity, was categorized into three groups using the Dummy method: Ethnic Group 1 contrasted Turkish vs. Ukrainian entrepreneurs, while Ethnic Group 2 contrasted Turkish vs. Syrian entrepreneurs. Contrast coefficients are detailed in Table 8.

Table 8. Contrast groups and coefficients

Name	Contrast	level=Turkish	level=Ukrainian	level=Syrian
Ethnic Group1	Ukrainian- Turkish	0	1	0
Ethnic Group2	Syrian- Turkish	0	0	1

Indirect, direct, and total effects along with z values, estimates, and standardized betas were computed using bias-corrected bootstrap (5000) and are presented in Table 9 and Figure 3. Z values were calculated using Sobel's (1982) delta method (Rosseel, 2012).

Table 9 provides estimated coefficients and betas for all components across different contrasts, focusing on relevant effects within the study scope. The specific component effects are as follows:

For the Ethnic Group 1 contrast, (Ukrainian vs. Turkish entrepreneurs):

- The TBD mean for Ukrainian entrepreneurs ($M=3.52$) is higher than for Turkish entrepreneurs ($M=3.21$), but the difference is not significant ($\beta = .088$, $z=1.35$, $p=.178$).
- The SBD mean for Ukrainian entrepreneurs ($M=3.31$) is higher than for Turkish entrepreneurs ($M=2.81$), and the difference is significant ($\beta = .178$, $z = 2.72$, $p=.006$).

For the Ethnic Group 2 contrast, (Syrian vs. Turkish entrepreneurs):

- The TBD mean for Syrian entrepreneurs ($M=4.44$) is higher than for Turkish entrepreneur ($M=3.21$), and the difference is significant ($\beta = .371$, $z=5.70$, $p<.001$).



- The SBD mean for Syrian entrepreneurs ($M=3.83$) is higher than for Turkish entrepreneurs ($M=2.81$), and the difference is significant ($\beta = .391, z = 6.00, p < .001$).

The results are consistent with the Kruskal-Wallis results presented in Table 6. Moreover, as seen in Table 9, both the TBD ($\beta = -.688, z = -16.27, p < .001$) and SBD ($\beta = -.089, z = -2.10, p = .035$) have a negative significant effect on JAI, as expected.

The test results for hypotheses H₅ and H₆, which propose to determine the parallel mediating role of taste-based discrimination (TBD) and statistical-based discrimination (SBD) in the effect of ethnicity on job application intention (JAI), are as follows:

For the Ethnic Group 1 contrast (Ukrainian vs. Turkish entrepreneurs):

- The indirect effect of ethnicity on JAI with the mediation of TBD is not significant ($\beta = -.060$ C.I.[-.524:.063], $z = -1.34, p = .179$).
- The indirect effect of ethnicity on JAI with the mediation of SBD is also not significant ($\beta = -.016$ C.I.[-.154:-.002], $z = -1.67, p = .096$).

These results indicate that the H₅ and H₆ is not supported between Ukrainian and Turkish groups.

For the Ethnic Group 2 contrast (Syrian vs. Turkish entrepreneurs):

- The indirect effect of ethnicity on JAI with the mediation of TBD is significant ($\beta = -.255$ C.I.[-1.198:-.572], $z = -5.38, p < .001$).
- The indirect effect of ethnicity on JAI with the mediation of SBD is also significant ($\beta = -.035$ C.I.[-.280:-2.25e-4], $z = -1.99, p = .047$).

These results indicate that the H₅ and H₆ are supported between Syrian and Turkish groups. The significant indirect effects through TBD and SBD confirm that both types of discrimination mediate the relationship between ethnicity and job application intentions for Syrian entrepreneurs compared to their Turkish counterparts.

This analysis underscores the nuanced differences in how different ethnic groups experience discrimination in the labor market, with Syrian entrepreneurs facing significant effects through both taste-based and statistical-based discrimination attitudes, while Ukrainian entrepreneurs do not. This result also supports the notion of double discrimination attitudes against Syrians compared to Ukrainians.

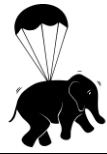


Table 9. Indirect and total effects

Type	Effect	Estimate	SE	95% C.I.		β	z	p
				Lower	Upper			
Indirect	Ethnic Group1 \Rightarrow TBD_R \Rightarrow JAI	-0.2235	0.1663	-0.5242	0.0627	-0.0604	-1.34	0.179
	Ethnic Group1 \Rightarrow SBD \Rightarrow JAI	-0.0584	0.0351	-0.1535	-0.002	-0.0158	-1.67	0.096
	Ethnic Group2 \Rightarrow TBD_R \Rightarrow JAI	-0.8766	0.1629	-1.1977	-0.571	-0.2554	-5.38	<.001
	Ethnic Group2 \Rightarrow SBD \Rightarrow JAI	-0.1194	0.0601	-0.2804	-.0002	-0.0348	-1.99	0.047
Component	Ethnic Group1 \Rightarrow TBD_R	0.313	0.232	-0.092	0.718	0.0878	1.35	0.178
	TBD_R \Rightarrow JAI	-0.714	0.044	-0.798	-0.620	-0.6883	-16.27	<.001
	Ethnic Group1 \Rightarrow SBD	0.500	0.183	0.174	0.806	0.1775	2.72	0.006
	SBD \Rightarrow JAI	-0.117	0.056	-0.236	0.003	-0.089	-2.1	0.035
	Ethnic Group2 \Rightarrow TBD_R	1.227	0.215	0.807	1.626	0.3711	5.7	<.001
Direct	Ethnic Group2 \Rightarrow SBD	1.020	0.170	0.709	1.353	0.3911	6.0	<.001
	Ethnic Group1 \Rightarrow JAI	-0.275	0.170	-0.572	0.012	-0.0744	-1.62	0.105
	Ethnic Group2 \Rightarrow JAI	-0.312	0.168	-0.643	0.008	-0.0911	-1.86	0.063
Total	Ethnic Group1 \Rightarrow JAI	-0.557	0.242	-0.969	-0.133	-0.1506	-2.3	0.021
	Ethnic Group2 \Rightarrow JAI	-1.309	0.224	-1.733	-0.874	-0.3813	-5.83	<.001

Note: Confidence intervals computed with method: Bias corrected bootstrap (5000)

Note: Betas are completely standardized effect sizes

Figure 3. Statistical diagram of the conceptual mode

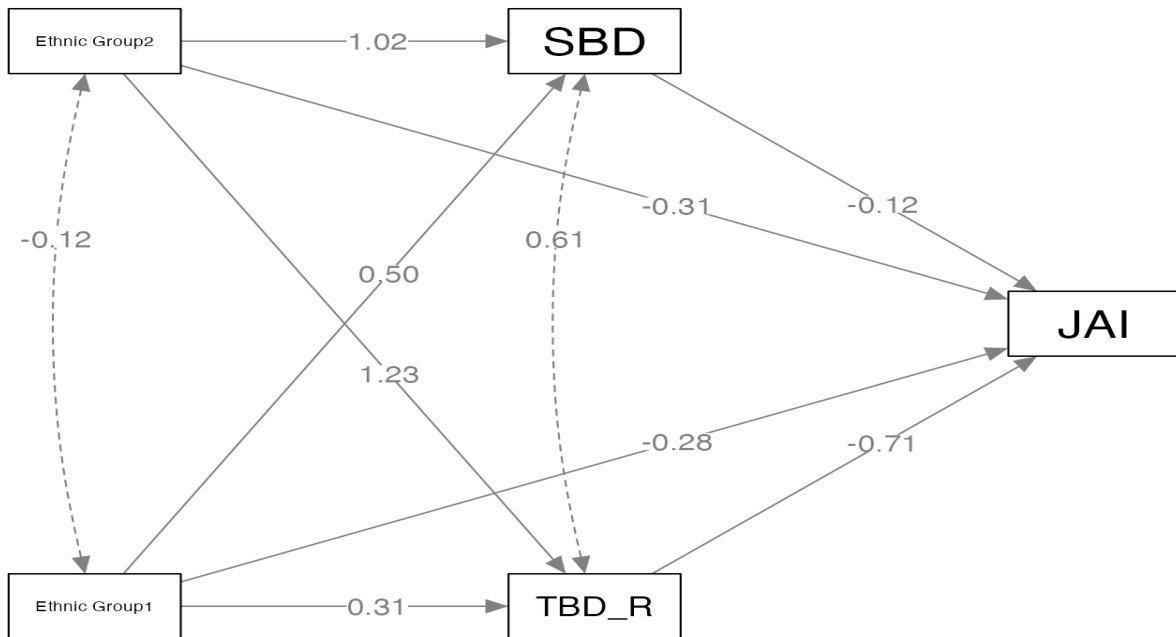


Diagram Notes:

Weighs are estimate coefficients

Categorical independent variables (factors) are represented by contrast indicators

For variable Ethnic Group the contrasts are: Ethnic Group1 = Ukrainian - Turkish, Ethnic Group2 = Syrian – Turkish



5. DISCUSSION

The study highlights significant discrimination faced by immigrant entrepreneurs in the Turkish labor market, particularly those of Ukrainian and Syrian origin. The findings reveal that these entrepreneurs encounter notable obstacles in attracting job applications compared to their Turkish counterparts, reflecting entrenched biases within Turkish society. This aligns with previous research that underscores the challenges faced by immigrant entrepreneurs due to societal biases (Fatoki, 2018; Awotoye and Singh, 2018). The results suggest that taste-based discrimination, characterized by preferences for individuals similar to oneself or the majority group, is evident in lower job application intentions towards Ukrainian and Syrian entrepreneurs. This supports the findings of research by Adamovic (2020) and Laurence et al. (2023), which document how human resource professionals may exhibit biases favoring native applicants due to cultural familiarity and implicit biases against foreign backgrounds.

The study also reveals the impact of statistical discrimination, where generalized assumptions about productivity and reliability based on ethnic stereotypes influence job application intentions. This form of discrimination aligns with the theoretical framework of statistical discrimination (Ji and Bouguettaya, 2021), where stereotypes about ethnic groups are used to make hiring decisions. For instance, concerns about Ukrainian entrepreneurs adhering to Turkish business norms and stability issues related to Syrian entrepreneurs due to geopolitical factors illustrate how these biases manifest in the labor market.

By connecting these findings with established theories and literature, the study provides a comprehensive understanding of how both taste-based and statistical discrimination affect immigrant entrepreneurs. The results underscore the need for targeted policies and interventions to address these biases and support the inclusion of immigrant entrepreneurs in the Turkish labor market.

5.1. Theoretical Contribution

The findings of this study align with extensive research on discrimination against immigrants in recruitment processes. Vernby and Dancygier (2019) and Adida et al. (2016) illustrate the persistence of ethnic hierarchies and pronounced discrimination against ethnic minorities, including immigrants. This study confirms these trends, revealing significant biases against immigrant entrepreneurs, particularly those of Ukrainian and Syrian origin. The meta-analysis by Zschirnt and Ruedin (2016) consistently identifies significant discrimination against minority applicants, reinforcing the substantial challenges faced by Ukrainian and Syrian entrepreneurs highlighted in this research.

The study's results reflect findings from Cooray et al. (2018) and Lang (2021), which document organizational mechanisms of exclusion, demonstrating that both taste-based and statistical discrimination affect immigrant entrepreneurs' job postings. Taste-based discrimination, rooted in preferences for individuals similar to oneself or the majority group, manifests in lower job



application intentions towards Ukrainian and Syrian entrepreneurs. This aligns with societal biases and preferences favoring native entrepreneurs, influenced by cultural familiarity and perceived communication barriers. The theoretical framework of social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 2003) supports this, as it suggests that individuals tend to favor in-group members over out-group members, which can explain the biases observed.

Conversely, statistical discrimination operates through generalized assumptions about productivity and reliability based on ethnic stereotypes. The concerns about Ukrainian entrepreneurs adhering to Turkish business norms and the perceived instability of Syrian entrepreneurs due to geopolitical factors reflect these biases. This finding is consistent with the work of Phelps (1972) and Arrow (1998), who discuss how statistical discrimination results from the use of group-based stereotypes to make decisions in the absence of individual-specific information.

5.2. Implications for Policy and Practice

The results underscore the global relevance of these findings and highlight the necessity for universal policy interventions. Policies that address both taste-based and statistical discrimination could significantly improve the inclusion and success of immigrant entrepreneurs. The implications of these findings contribute to the broader discourse on discrimination in the labor market and emphasize the need for tailored strategies to mitigate biases and promote equity.

The findings from this study emphasize the urgent need for targeted policy interventions and organizational practices to address discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs. To effectively mitigate such biases, governments and organizations should develop and enforce policies that explicitly promote diversity and inclusion in entrepreneurship. These policies must include measurable objectives and accountability mechanisms to ensure progress. In addition, national and regional awareness campaigns should be launched to challenge stereotypes and educate the public about the contributions of immigrant entrepreneurs, helping to shift public perception and reduce biases.

Enhancing intercultural competence is also crucial. Mandatory training programs for employers and human resource professionals should be implemented to focus on recognizing and overcoming unconscious biases, fostering inclusive workplace cultures, and understanding the unique challenges faced by immigrant entrepreneurs. Inclusive hiring practices, such as blind recruitment techniques and standardized evaluation criteria, should be adopted to reduce biases in job postings and recruitment processes.

Support systems for immigrant entrepreneurs need to be strengthened. Tailored mentoring programs and networking opportunities should be created to connect immigrant entrepreneurs with experienced mentors and peers who can provide guidance and support. Financial support programs, including grants and low-interest loans, are necessary to help immigrant



entrepreneurs access the capital needed to start and grow their businesses. Additionally, resources and information on navigating the financial aspects of entrepreneurship should be provided.

Collaborative efforts between government agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the private sector are essential to create a comprehensive support network for immigrant entrepreneurs. These partnerships can facilitate the sharing of resources, knowledge, and best practices. Organizing policy forums and workshops that bring together stakeholders from various sectors can help identify gaps in support systems and drive the development of innovative solutions. By implementing these recommendations, policymakers and practitioners can foster a more inclusive environment, enabling immigrant entrepreneurs to thrive and contribute effectively to Türkiye's economy, thereby enhancing the overall diversity and dynamism of the entrepreneurial ecosystem.

5.3. Future Research Directions

Future research should explore additional dimensions of discrimination faced by immigrant entrepreneurs, including gender-specific biases and intersectional discrimination. Longitudinal studies tracking immigrant entrepreneurs' career trajectories and business outcomes could provide insights into the long-term impacts of discrimination and the effectiveness of policy interventions. Comparative studies across different countries or regions would offer valuable perspectives on immigrant entrepreneurship and discrimination patterns.

5.4. Methodological Considerations

Methodologically, employing vignette experiments provided robust insights into discrimination perceptions without the biases of self-reporting. However, limitations include the sample's composition primarily from management-related fields and the use of convenience sampling, potentially limiting generalizability. Future research could expand sampling diversity and employ longitudinal designs to capture dynamic changes over time.

6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study advances understanding of discrimination against immigrant entrepreneurs in Türkiye's labor market. It highlights pervasive biases and underscores the need for proactive measures to enhance inclusivity and equal opportunity. Addressing both taste-based and statistical discrimination is crucial for creating a more equitable environment where all entrepreneurs, regardless of ethnicity, can thrive and contribute effectively.

The findings prompt broader discussions on societal implications and the role of organizational policies in fostering inclusive workplaces. By combatting discriminatory practices and promoting cultural diversity, businesses and policymakers can bolster economic growth and social cohesion. Continued research should explore intersectional discrimination factors and



expand interventions aimed at dismantling barriers for immigrant entrepreneurs, ensuring a more just and inclusive society.

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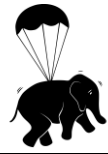
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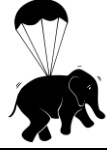
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In this study, the rules stated in the “**Higher Education Institutions Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Directive**” were followed.

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APPENDIX

Scenario 1. Turkish Entrepreneur (Control Group)

Mehmet Aydın, who managed a corporate foreign trade company in Ankara, where he was born and raised, is looking for colleagues to work at Anadolu Foreign Trade Inc., which he founded in February 2023.

Scenario 2. Ukrainian Entrepreneur

Ivan Petrovich, who managed a corporate foreign trade firm in Ukraine for many years and relocated to Turkey in 2021 due to internal conflict in his country, is looking for colleagues to work at Kyiv Foreign Trade Inc., which he founded in February 2023.

Scenario 3. Syrian Entrepreneur

Ahmad Khalid, who managed a corporate foreign trade company in Syria for many years and relocated to Turkey in 2021 due to internal conflict in his country, is looking for colleagues to work at Al-Nour Foreign Trade Inc., which he founded in February 2023.

Job Description

Position: Office Manager

Job Description:

- Coordinating office activities,
- Ensuring necessary communication,
- Following up on emails.

Qualifications:

- Ability to work as part of a team,
- Adherence to systematic and orderly working principles,
- At least a high school graduate,
- No communication barriers.

Salary and Benefits:

- A net monthly salary between 25,000 TL and 30,000 TL,
- Meal card (monthly 5,000 TL Sodexo),
- Mobile phone and line bill support,
- Private health insurance.