

FACES OF MIGRANT LABOR OPPRESSION: THE CASE OF SYRIAN
REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS IN ADANA- TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

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This study aims to reveal the impact of the informal economic structure of Adana, Turkey on the oppression that Syrians Under Temporary Protection (SUTPs) are likely to be exposed to in the host country. Oppression in this context emerges in different faces either in the production or social reproduction spaces. The thesis strives in particular to analyze the conditions of SUTP labor in textile and furniture workshops as these sectors indicate different factors for the overall evaluation of the condition of SUTPs in the city. In this context, at first, the thesis problematizes the legal status of Syrians and highlights its insufficiency in protecting their right to the city and the role it plays in pushing the SUTPs to the precarious class. It further stresses the significance of "social capital" and "weak ties" in the first experiences of SUTPs in Turkey, and in defining the shape of their overall urban experience. This thesis argues that weak ties have the potential to decrease the possibility of SUTPs being exposed to oppression. Moreover, it points out the factors/dynamics that affect the urban experience of SUTPs and briefly discusses the evolution of urban space under their impact.

Keywords: Temporary protection status, oppression, urban experience, informal economy, social capital

ÖZ

GÖÇMEN İŞGÜCÜNE BASKININ FARKLI YÜZLERİ: TÜRKİYE- ADANA ÖRNEĞİNDE SURİYELİ MÜLTECİLER VE GÖÇMENLER.

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Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, şehrin kayıt dışı ekonomik yapısının, Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyelilerin ev sahibi ülkede maruz kalabilecekleri baskı üzerindeki etkisini ortaya koymaktır. Burada baskı, gerek üretim gerekse toplumsal yeniden üretim alanlarında farklı yüzlerle karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu nedenle bu tez, genel değerlendirme için farklı yönler gösteren iki farklı sektörü seçerek, tekstil ve mobilya atölyelerinde geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin sahip olduğu yasal statüyü sorunsallaştırarak, bu yasal statünün, Suriyelilerin kent haklarını korumadaki yetersizliğini ve geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin güvencesiz sınıfa dahil edilmesine ve genel kentsel deneyimlerinin şeklini belirlemede sosyal sermaye ve zayıf bağların önemini de vurgulamaktadır. Ayrıca çalışma, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin kentsel deneyimlerini etkileyen faktörlere/dinamiklere ve bunların etkisi altında kentsel mekanın evrimine işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Geçici koruma statüsü, baskı, kentsel deneyim, kayıt dışı ekonomi, sosyal sermaye

*Always
To the Memory of My Grandmother 'Nana'
To all the greener and brighter days she prayed to be mine.*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DGMM	Directorate General of Migration Management
HLFS	Household Labour Force Survey
IGAM	İltica ve Göç Araştırma Merkezi
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
SUTP	Syrian under Temporary Protection
TUIK	Turkish Statistical Institute

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the last ten years, the migration debate has gained importance and enriched the literature. One can notice that many studies have been carried out in the field and raised various discussions about migration policies. Syrian migrants who I prefer to mention in the thesis as SUTP (Syrian under Temporary Protection) because I believe that the legal status they have acquired in Turkey has affected the most in shaping their lives in the host country, and it is no doubt that has contributed to a great extend in migration related-research.

Similar to many of the migration studies in recent literature, the general aim of the thesis is to investigate the urban experience of Syrian migrants in Turkey. However, in particular, the analysis is mainly carried out on the issue in which Syrian migrants in Turkey face various types of oppression within the labor market. Thus, specifically, the thesis has two concerns. The first one relies on investigating the role of social, cultural, and economic capital possessed by SUTPs in Turkey in facilitating or problematizing their adaptation process as newcomers. It seeks to make use of conceptual frameworks that address the various challenges encountered by SUTPs during their migration. Furthermore, raise significant issues that define the potential for SUTP to reach their rights in both production and reproduction spaces. The second concern is to underline that the concepts of migration, oppression, and precariat are interrelated and can be utilized in further urban studies.

Based on this, this study, hence, problematizes SUTPs in the informal sector, particularly asking questions about Adana case. The questions that emerge following this problem.

- What is the role of obscure characteristics of Temporary protection status as a burden for their right to the city?

- What is the significance of the informal economy in shaping the limitations that SUTPs have in their host countries?
- How do the different types of capital possessed by SUTPs impact their adaptation processes in the host country?
- What are the forms of oppression that SUTPs labor are exposed to?
- How can the control processes and policies act as a contributing factor to the vulnerability and precarity of SUTPs?
- How does the type of labor exploitation affect the urban oppression of SUTPs?

In order to answer these questions, the phases of the research and the objectives associated with each one are designed. Literature review is the first phase of the research that helps me to investigate the current literature about migration, Bourdieu forms of capital, the faces of oppression, urban experience and the right to the city, and bring up to date the gap in the literature. Then, the pilot study is conducted after formulating the questions of the interviewees and defining the target groups that are planned to include. The reason behind this phase is understanding the efficiency of the interviews questions and reconsidering the interviews questions if needed. The third phase is data collection through conducting semi-structured interviews so that I understand the main issues straight from the participants. The fourth one is data analysis which is the most crucial phase as I use to define the areas of concerns that need to be handled in the study. Finally, reflection and conclusion through which I reflect to the literature through the interviews outcome and provide new evidence for further arguments.

In terms of the theoretical framework, I have observed that the literature on immigration mostly revolves around the extent of their social integration and the poor economic situation they suffer under neo-liberal policies and the capitalist economic system. When studying immigrants, it is for me necessary to consider them as citizens - without the right to vote - particularly in cases where their residency in the host country exceeds a decade. For this thesis, theories were used to help analyze the experience of the Syrian immigrant as a citizen, even if he/she is temporary in the political situation, he/she is a part of the urban space and has contributed in the economy.

The thesis in the first place utilizes the approach of Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and his theory of capital in order to analyze and highlight the reasons behind the differentiation of SUTPs' labour oppression, together with the view on the strength of weak ties of Mark Granovetter (1973), in the sense that the informal market has always provided a sphere of injustice and struggles. Based on the fact that Bourdieu and Granovetter give significance to social relations in adaptation. Even though Bourdieu focuses on the role of social capital more in acquiring and developing economic capital. This view espoused in the thesis as it shows the significance of SUTPs social relations in facilitating their acclimating to the host country and defining their experience in the labor market. Taking into account the recurring themes of exploitation and violence among SUTPs, Iris Young's framework for evaluating different types of oppression was used as a way to understand and categorize these experiences. Iris Marion Young (1988) argues that social injustice can be conceptualized as five forms of oppression: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. According to Young (1988, p.278), social groups that are exploited are subject to a systematic process in which a power inequality is produced between them and other social groups, resulting in their labor benefiting another group. On the other hand, social groups that face marginalization can be identified by their exclusion from established social structures and labor systems. Consequently, they encounter limited chances to utilize their capabilities in ways that are recognized and accepted by society (Young, 1988, p.281). Members who are exposed to violence because they are part of a specific social group are always in danger (Young, 1988, p.287). It is also noteworthy that violence does not need to be physical but verbal and sometimes regarding women, it can be embodied in economic violence and sexual harassment. In a world impacted by constant migration, understanding migration overlapping with oppression then requires us to explore the systematic process of domination that is affected by the legal status of the migrants. Therefore, it is imperative to explore this systematic process within the framework of the reasons behind and the results. The results that present the evolution of urban space under the impact of different migration flows are studied within the approach of Henri Lefebvre (1991) for the space and how new spaces are produced. Briefly, it can be said that SUTPs who are under various oppressive acts is generating with their activities new spaces and reproducing themselves more through

domestication. According to this thesis findings, SUTPs generally work for gaining to afford their basic needs. However, it is evident that their daily spatial practices are differentiated according to their experience in the labor market which leads to the appropriation of the spaces they reside in order to protect the feeling of belonging.

1.1. Field work research: (Methodology)

In this part of the chapter, the methodological framework that was completed and conducted to achieve the primary aims of this study is explained in order to define the role of each phase in the whole study.

Since this study aims to understand the circumstances of the labor market where SUTPs work, and highlight the impact of these circumstances on their urban experience with emphasizing the role of the different forms of capital they have in defining these circumstances, a mixed qualitative research approach is utilized, the primary data for this study is obtained through conducting semi-structured interviews with 17 Syrians under temporary protection (6 women and 6 men who work in textile workshops, and 5 men who work in furniture workshops), archival data, personal observations, and the expert discussions supported this data. The interviews were conducted between February and October 2022. The long duration of the interviews can be attributed to the challenges encountered in finding individuals willing to participate in the interviews. The secondary data is collected from official online databases such as the IOM (International Organization for Migration), IGAM (İltica ve Göç Araştırma Merkezi), ILO (International Labour Organization), and DGMM (Directorate General of Migration Management) archives. This phase is significant in the study in order to better identify the problem and develop the research design as it helps to find the gaps in the literature and avoid repetition.

There are three reasons why the research results are better clarified. These start with examining the circumstances of the two sectors SUTPs have mentioned the most in Adana. The outcoming differences provide various patterns in participants' daily lives that will be hard to give with analyzing the condition of one sector. Besides, applying qualitative research (snowball sampling) has helped in finding the samples and solving the issue of sample hesitant subjects as some people do not want to come forward and participate in research studies because they do not want their identity to be exposed.

Lastly, providing the flexibility for the interviews to be held online as the long work hours has come out as a challenge for some of the participants to accept to be part of the research at first.

1.2. Thesis structure

This thesis consists of five chapters, which generally correspond to the stages that were conducted throughout the course of the research.

Chapter 1, INTRODUCTION comprises the aim of the study, the research questions, the fieldwork, and its limitations, and it concludes by giving a brief about the theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter 2, The CONTEXT starts with an giving a brief about Syrian Migration flows & destinations and then analyses their legal status in Turkey, and their statistical data and it ends by mentioning their rights in the frame of temporary protection status.

Chapter 3, STUDYING MIGRATION THROUGH THE LABOR MARKET presents the informal sector in the Turkish labor market and precarious workers by highlighting the informal economy in the literature and informality in Turkey, the marginalized groups within the informal economy, and the connection between informal sectors and the precariat. After that, the involvement of Syrian Migrants in irregular employment is analyzed from both sides of the role of social and cultural capital in labor experience, and injustice and oppression in the labor market. The findings derived from this methodological approach serve as the foundation for this chapter which ends with gender discrimination in Syrian migrant labor.

Chapter 4, MIGRATION AND URBAN EXPERIENCES discusses the right to the city and urban experience of Syrian Labor, the evolution of urban space under the impact of different migration flows, and the location and acting choices of Refugees: the factors/dynamics that affect the urban experience according to the semi-structured interviews and the observations of the author with relying on the literature and highlights the most critical insights.

Chapter 5, CONCLUSION provides an in-depth analysis of the entire research procedure, presents the primary outcomes of the study, and emphasizes the constraints that were encountered.



CHAPTER 2

THE CONTEXT

The Syrian population has been highly mobile since 2011. This means that the migration flows and destinations of Syrians are highly complex and multi-layered. Many factors contribute to these movements, including the ongoing conflict and instability in Syria, the economic conditions in the country, and the availability of opportunities abroad. The Syrian Civil War has caused a massive displacement of people, with over 5.5 million people have fled the country since the conflict began in 2011. Many of these refugees have sought safety in neighboring countries. This chapter thus discusses Syrian migration flows and destinations, the legal existence of Syrians in Turkey, current statistical data on Syrians in Turkey, and the legal rights of Syrians who are seeking temporary protection status within the labor market in Turkey.

2.1. Syrian Migration flows & destinations.

Until the beginning of 2011, the past 100 years of Syrian mobility history can be summarized into three primary waves. These categorizations have been defined in accordance with an official study conducted by Mohammed Jamal Baroutt in 2011 (Baroutt, 2011). The first wave during which a quarter of the total population of Syria (500,000 Syrians) migrated- took place during the years 1880 and 1914- and economic concerns are cited in the literature as being the main cause behind them. Political and cultural factors can, however, also be considered significant reasons behind such mass migrations. The primary destination of those Syrians was the United States of America. The second wave, came after several decades, specifically in the sixties and seventies of the last century, and the main destination of this new wave of immigrants was the Arab Gulf countries, Libya, and Algeria. And finally, the third wave of Syrian immigration headed primarily towards Lebanon and Jordan, to cover the need for employees in the Gulf Cooperation Council countries after the second Gulf War. What

distinguishes the third wave is that the migrant workers were able to visit their families regularly, due to the short distance and availability of transportation means. In all the situations that the Syrian Migration Act has gone through, they have experienced internal and external spatial mobility. However, until 2011, their mobility was voluntary in order to improve their living conditions.

As a result of the devastating political crisis in 2011, the fourth wave of external migration of Syrians began. This fourth wave can be approached from several aspects determined by the countries targeted by Syrian emigrants, the main reasons for migration, the goals of migrants, and the state of stability or lack thereof in the societies of migrants and refugees. Thus, the fourth wave was divided into two phases: the first is between 2011 and 2016, and the second is between 2017 and 2022. It must be noted, however, here that the number of migrants in each phase differed from year to year, depending upon the developments in the internal situation and the positions that other countries took toward the issue of migration. In wars, for migrants, the choice is not simple, the decision mechanism does not work the same way as strategically as in a stable environment. People face multi-faceted pressures, and decision-making thus becomes more instinctive. Following a shocking incident, decision-making tends to be straightforward and quick. Four situations were faced with destination decision-making in the Syrian Migrants' case. In the first one, they go through a temporary “stop station” in order to reach their final destination. In the second situation, the temporary “stop station” turns out to be the final destination. In the third case, they have just one destination they want to follow. In the last situation, the conditions of the host country push migrants back to their home country. All the situations support the way Lee (1966, p.51) sees the place of destination “There is always an element of ignorance or even mystery about the area of destination, and there must always be some uncertainty with regard to the reception of a migrant in a new area.”. In the Syrian case, there is always uncertainty regarding the place of destination which is why there is a constant possibility that the final destination might change after a certain period of time.

In the early years of the crisis, the main reason for migration was security concerns in many regions of the country. Today, frustration, loss of hope, and deteriorating economic conditions are the primary purposes for migration. As of mid-2014, about 3.1 million Syrian refugees and migrants - which was 13 percent of the country's total

population at the time - distributed among neighboring countries. The largest part of these migrants went to Arab countries due to the ease of economic integration and social cohesion. Of these 3.1 million Syrians, only 8.7% migrated to European countries. They went to Germany, France, Sweden, and Denmark, while the remaining 2% of immigrants were distributed among several countries, such as the United States of America, Russia, Brazil, and others. Noticing that, the matter was not limited to the risky provinces, but the phenomenon extended to include some safe provinces as well (Jamal Baroutt, 2011).

During the second phase of the fourth wave of Syrian migration, which continued from 2017 until 2022, a number of regional and international circumstances influenced the number of migrants from one year to the next, as well as their final destinations. For example, with the termination of battles in the main areas of the country at the beginning of 2018, the number of immigrants decreased for a relatively short period of time, with the recovery of opportunities for stabilizing economic and social circumstances, and the potential of achieving a political settlement. However, these opportunities evaporated in the middle of 2019, as the local economy and living conditions are gradually deteriorating due to internal and external factors.

This deterioration significantly deepened in the following two years, in 2020 and 2021, and it made Syrians think again about the option of migration as the only way out of the prevailing conditions in the country. This migration movement can, however, be distinguished from the others due to the following reasons: Firstly, the economic and social reasons and the loss of hope for political shifts that could end the crisis era and its repercussions topped the list of migration motives. Besides, security concerns were the first reason for migration in 2016 and before. This of course does not mean that the economic justifications were not previously present in the first stage of migration. However, it was not crucial initially. Secondly, despite the fact that Syrian individuals expressed a preference for immigrating to European countries and Canada due to the better living conditions offered, these migration routes were fraught with danger and came with excessive costs. Additionally, entrusting travel intermediaries was a great challenge. One primary reason is that, at a time when many European countries were publically approving procedures and policies that would receive more refugees, Arab

countries began setting obstacles and conditions that prevented Syrians from entering their lands. This is perhaps what made the number of immigrants move toward European countries, unlike what prevailed before 2014, increase at the expense of the number of immigrants towards Arab countries, despite the high level of risks of illegal immigration, which was embodied in many incidents at sea and land, in which hundreds of families were killed looking for some hope. Lebanon was one of these Arab countries that could deal with newcomers, which made them on the line of trying to migrate toward the West to escape the economic and social conditions, and gave the Syrians an additional incentive to ratify their decision to migrate. In fact, this provided them with a new starting point for crossing the Mediterranean and reaching European shores.

The situation of voluntary migration in the early 21st century was substantially different from that in the 20th. During this period, there was a mass influx because of the push factors that are associated with the war. At first, the entry and exit of Syrians to the bordering countries was unchallenging. Therefore, besides the major political factors that were pushing Syrians to migrate, there were pulling factors as well such as the open-door policy, and a reversal of such policies was essential in bringing the number of Syrian migrants down gradually. According to Lee, the decision to migrate is based on factors related to the country of origin, the country of destination, obstacles in between, and personal considerations (Bean & Brown, 2014). Everett Lee thinks that the process of migration is affected by what he calls pull and push factors (Faridi, 2018). So, it is not about the distance but rather the surrounding conditions, which Lee defines as “Pull” and “Push” factors that change the results of the migration. In the Syrian situation, the “Push” and “Pull” factors varied and were not constant - not only on an individual level but also on a mass level. For instance, Jordan officially announced in 2016 the closure of its borders to Syrian refugees, and many other countries did the same. Also, the Syrian passport is considered, according to the Henley Passport Index, the third lowest-ranking passport in the world. As a result, Syrians need to either seek asylum, be considered refugees, or be unregistered in order to enter other countries if they are not accepted legally. However, while addressing the factors that may “Push” or “Pull” migrants to change their direction or not, the impact of the migrants in the host country needs to be analyzed.

2.2. The legal status of Syrians in Turkey

In 2011 the number of Syrians in Turkey was increasing exponentially daily. Syrian refugees entered Turkey through border gates without any political control or proof of identity requirements as a result of the "open-door" policy used between 2011 and 2015; consequently, it was assumed that "Syrians will return soon." (Saraçoğlu & Belanger, 2018). Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, Turkey has had the largest number of displaced Syrians: according to the statistics published by the Presidency of Migration Management, 3.522.036 million Syrians are under temporary protection in 2023 and this number does not include the Syrians that are either unregistered or have residence permission. The civil conflict continued, and sociopolitical tensions erupted in Turkey as a result of a lack of appropriate policies handling the accommodation, movement, and security of Syrian immigrants (Dinçer et al., 2013; Öner et al., 2020). From 2012 to 2016, Turkey changed its open-door policy and began to put limits and prohibitions on Syrians entering the border (Özen, 2016). Turkey became as Memişoğlu and Ilgıt (2016) argue, a "country of immigration" not just for hosting Syrians but also for being a bridge for those who want to cross to the European side - Turkey played a crucial in controlling the number of international migrant flows.

Turkey signed the Geneva Convention, the first comprehensive instrument of international refugee law, on August 24, 1951, and implemented it on September 5, 1961, by publishing it in the Official Gazette, albeit with a geographical constraint. According to this constraint, Turkey may only accept people as refugees if they come to Turkey from a European country to seek asylum. Because the majority of asylum seekers in Turkey come from Middle Eastern and African nations, the geographic limitations that this law created severely impacted their legal status and, consequently, their protection status as well. On April 11, 2013, the 6458 Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) entered into force. As the first comprehensive legal regulation at the legislative level, it laid the legal groundwork for the founding of the Ministry of Interior's Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM). The LFIP classifies international protection into four categories: refugee, conditional refugee, subsidiary protection, and temporary protection. The refugee term includes only, as mentioned previously, asylum seekers from Europe. The term conditional refugee applies to people who escape certain circumstances outside European

countries. Furthermore, temporary protection is described as being forced to leave their country, being unable to return, and having arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx scenario seeking emergency (LFIP, 2013). On October 22, the Temporary Protection Regulation was issued in the Official Gazette 2014, based on Article 91 of the 6458 LFIP.

At first, temporary protection was considered a reasonable explanation for the emergency mass influx, as its conditions fit with what Turkish law implies. Besides that, there is no geographical limitation to imposing this law. In fact, the Temporary Protection Regulation (TPR) was first implemented for Syrian individuals. This regulation defines that Syrian citizens, stateless individuals, and refugees who seek temporary refuge at or across Turkish borders as a result of the ongoing events in Syria since April 28, 2011, will be granted temporary protection (Temporary article 1). The application is not restricted to Syrians and can be applied to people of other nationalities who may have similar conditions occur in the future, as the President himself makes the decision by defining the framework of protection along with cases like the duration of the status and the criteria for its extension or cessation (TPR art. 10/1). Basically, temporary protection should be determined with a timeframe based on its nature (Prijola, 1995). Nevertheless, there is no such condition for Syrians currently under temporary protection status (Kaya & Eren, 2015). Until the termination of temporary protection by the President's decision or due to personal circumstances (TPR Art. 11), individuals under temporary protection will take advantage of their status.

However, after 12 years, the conditions of temporary protection should not be accepted as a solution for their permanent residence. Syrians were accepted as “guests” who must return “home” as soon as the war ends in Syria. In this context, the measures proposed in response to Syrian refugees did not provide long-term answers or ensure “legal” living circumstances in Turkey. However, it is evident that the conflict is not going to stop soon, and Turkey has already become a “home” for Syrians (Burcu Toğral Koca, 2016). The temporary status of “guest” (Asylum seeker) is granted to immigrants who do not plan to reside permanently in another country.

Taner Kılıç — the chairman of the board of the Association for Solidarity with Refugees also suggests that: If it was not used due to a lack of understanding, [the term "guest"] was employed intentionally and persistently for manipulating reasons. Perhaps the goal was to cover all expenditures associated with Syrians seeking asylum in Turkey and to treat them in any manner, which can be accepted as a reasonable explanation for the given label and the legal status of the Syrians. The concept of guest renders refugees inherently excluded from full integration into the host country, perpetually positioning them in a state of liminality. Their guest status prevents them from fully settling and establishing their lives, given their potential departure at any moment. Furthermore, this label emphasizes the immigrant or refugee's sense of indebtedness to the host country, hindering their ability to assert their human rights in the event of any issues. Consequently, they are compelled to express gratitude for their hosting and are indirectly prohibited from complaining.

2.3. Current statistical data of Syrians in Turkey

As of 23 January 2023, the number of registered Syrians under temporary protection status in Turkey decreased 124,862 compared to the previous year and reached a total of 3,411,036 persons. Therefore, the number of registered Syrians has decreased over the years. According to the age range table published by the Directorate General of Migration Management, Syrian men make up 53.5% of the total number of Syrians. The rate of Syrian women is 46.5%. The number of Syrian men is 245,918 more than the number of Syrian women. The gap between male and female Syrian populations can be linked to unregistered female populations and young Syrian men who escaped from military service in their home country and started supporting family members who remained in Syria.

According to DGMM, 98.7% of Syrians in Turkey live in cities. A total of 1,169 neighborhoods in Ankara, Antalya, Aydın, Bursa, Çanakkale, Düzce, Edirne, Hatay, İstanbul, İzmir, Kırklareli, and Kocaeli, Yalova and other cities, where foreigners usually reside, are closed to applications of all foreigners of any status. Foreigners of any nationality are not accepted in these places anymore. The city with the highest number of Syrians is Istanbul with 543,973 people. Gaziantep is followed by Istanbul with 460,429 people, Şanlıurfa with 369,736 people, Hatay with 355,309 people, and Adana with 251,132 people.

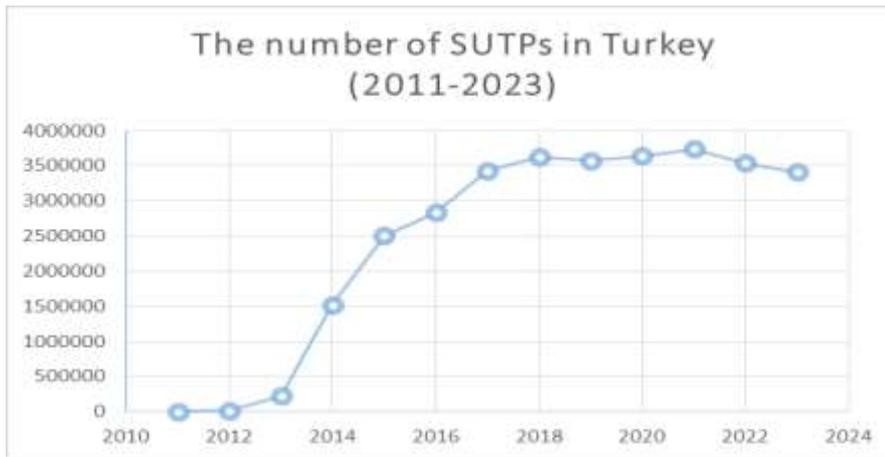


Figure 2. 1 Number of Syrian refugees in Turkey from 2011 to 2023 (Source: DGMM, 2023)

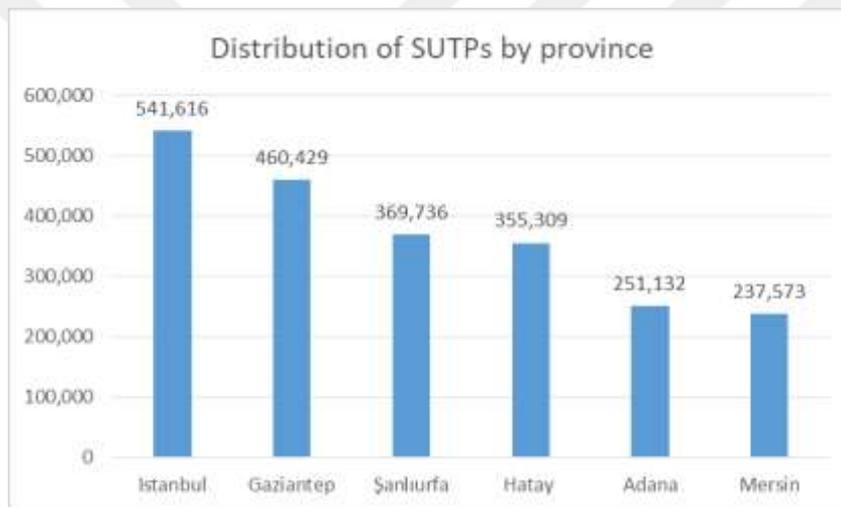


Figure 2. 2 Distribution of all Syrians under temporary protection by the highest six provinces (Source: DGMM, 2023)

Due to the low capacity of Turkey's camps, only 1.5% of Syrian refugees live in the camps whereas the remaining number of Syrians has been growing in urban areas (Saraçoğlu & Bélanger, 2021). Additionally, the living conditions of refugee camps are limited and their geographical mobility is controlled all the time. Refugees (those who choose to settle in the camps) cannot enter or leave the camp without permission and, under certain circumstances, can only leave with a police escort. Refugees cannot improve their economic circumstances and cannot get in connection with people outside of the camps. Thus “the most basic four characteristics of camp life consist of: living on small amounts of support payments or even food vouchers with no cash

allowance, which pushes the asylum seeker out of the normal functioning of the economic system; being prevented from finding paid work; living according to the governments' choice of residency; and minimum geographical mobility.” (Diken, 2004, p.51). So refugees turn out to be more like people with disabilities who are unable to apply certain functions.

On the other hand, there are additional reasons that contribute to the growth of Syrian urban refugees in Turkish cities. For example, the refugees who came to Turkey as a transit country to reach the European side but could not reach it stayed in Turkey. Even if their existence is considered temporary, some who could survive and sustain life in Turkey have been inclined to stay permanently (Erdoğan, 2014). In this sense, the camps were considered a short-term solution that is not suitable for Syrians wishing to stay in Turkey, especially since they will be in constant search for reliable travel intermediaries and need to move freely without restrictions. On the other hand, as long as this temporary period is indefinite and not guaranteed by the deceptions that may be carried out by travel intermediaries, Syrian people try to establish a stable life in case their plans cannot be realized.

2.4. Legal rights for Temporary protection status within the labor market

According to the EU Temporary Protection Directive (EU TPR), services such as medical care, education, and housing will be guaranteed to individuals under temporary protection (Kerber, 2002). Furthermore, in order to reduce the number of persons receiving social assistance, the right to work established in Article 12 of the Directive has been included in the mentioned services individuals under temporary protection can benefit from (Pirjola, 1995). Access to the labor market might help in preventing marginalization within society and thus enhance inclusion. Furthermore, granting asylum seekers the opportunity to work may deter them from entering the illegal labor market. On the other side, providing more flexible access to the labor market, will successfully create a "pull factor" on potential asylum seekers by making it more attractive for those without an emergent need for protection to come to the host country and work until they are deported. It is also expected that significant influxes of asylum seekers will pose a possible danger to the welfare system of the host country (Valenta & Thorshaug, 2013).

Allowing Syrians to work under temporary protection does not imply that they would be provided work or that firms would be forced to hire them, but rather that they would be able to engage legally in the Turkish labor market (Bidinger, 2015). According to Article 29 of the TPR, the issue of work permits is different for those in Turkey with temporary protection status. Those who have an identity document and a foreigner's identity number can apply for a work permit in the sectors and business lines determined by the Council of Ministers in the cities where they are granted the right to stay.

To work in Turkey, foreigners need to get a work permit. There is no preventative regulation in the legislation relating to the work or profession that the foreigner will undertake among the requirements to be considered when obtaining a work permit, and in some jobs and professions, previous approval must be acquired from the related organizations. Although these requirements are among those for receiving a work permit, they have been addressed separately due to their significance. In addition to the basic limitations for foreigners working in Turkey, those who have an identity document and a foreigner's identity number, or whose temporary protection period of at least six months has been completed as of the date of the work permit application, can all apply to acquire work permission (İzmirli & İzmirli, 2022).

Those who are under temporary protection status must apply for a work permit to work in Turkey. Work permit applications are made via the E-government gateway either by the employer or (rarely) by those who work independently and can apply themselves. Otherwise, both the company and the employee face legal consequences if there is no work permit.

According to the latest report for Work Permits of Foreigners, which was published by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security in 2021, 91,500 Syrians were given work permits, amongst whom 5,335 were females and 86,165 males. As stated previously, the official number of Syrians in Turkey is close to 3.5 million, which makes it reasonable to assume that the majority of these refugees work unofficially in the informal market (İzmirli & İzmirli, 2022).

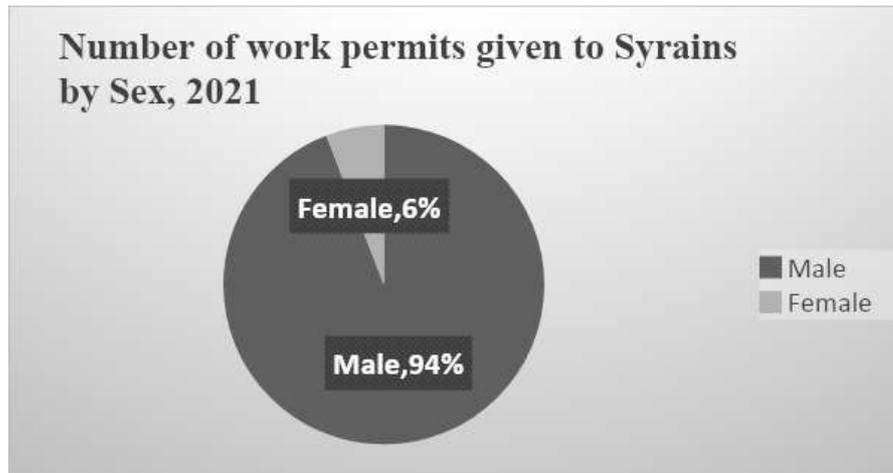


Figure 2. 3 Number of work permits given to Syrians by Sex (Source: CSGB, 2021)

Working in the informal market is “not reflecting in official documents of employment activity or incomplete notification of the duration of employment and of wages received to official authorities” (Aslantürk & Tunç, 2018, p.15). According to the Turkish Labour Law, foreigners working in the informal sector are working without a work permit. This means that such persons are working illegally and are thus susceptible to legal action. Since they work informally, they are being paid low wages - their earnings are lower than legal workers with the same jobs, they are not given equal opportunities, and their lives and rights are not protected (Erdoğan, 2014). Informal work creates a number of issues for both individuals and companies. Leading companies, particularly ones that do not employ informal immigrants, face challenges in dealing with the existing situation of illegality (Erdoğan, 2014). Despite the inspection mechanisms and sanctions laid out in the legislation, it is seen that the informal work of those under temporary protection cannot be prevented (İzmirli & İzmirli, 2022).

According to ILO research based on data from 2017, Syrians work in industries with high levels of informality. Also, the highest percentage of Syrian workers are in the textile industry due to the possibility of learning it quickly, the ease of finding a job, and the limited need for language skills. This is due to the fact that many of these individuals have no other options available to them and are forced to work in order to survive.

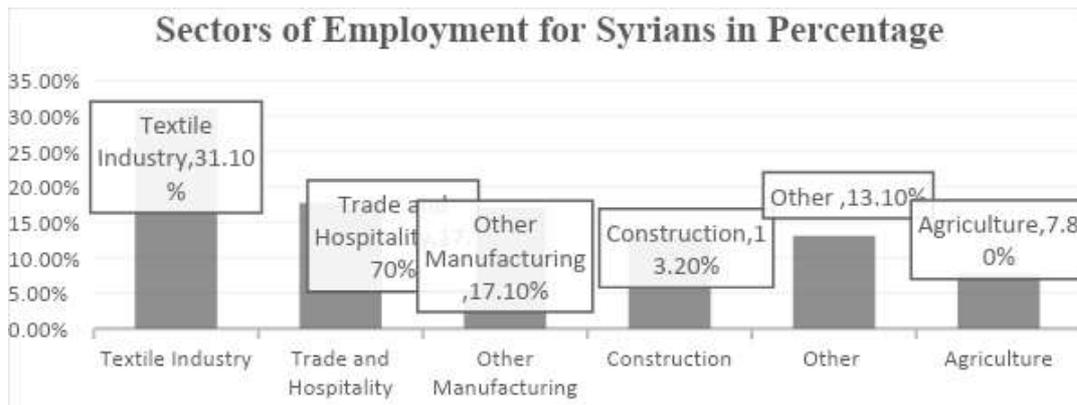


Figure 2. 4 Sectors/industries of employment for Syrians in percentage (Source: ILO, 2017)

Several measures could be taken by the government to reduce the percentage of informal work, such as promoting policies to reduce unemployment and battling poverty, raising awareness among employers and workers about informal employment, reducing bureaucratic procedures related to employment, and considering the tax system in fighting against illegal working. Additionally, more checks should be conducted on employers to prevent illegal working (Aslantürk & Tunç, 2018).

Moreover, granting asylum seekers, particularly those who have been refused, the opportunity to work may strengthen ties to the destination of asylum, making the option of returning less desirable (Valenta & Thorshaug, 2012). Therefore, the issue of work permits is very important in obtaining SUTPs their rights and ensuring their sense of safety in the host country.

CHAPTER 3

STUDYING MIGRATION THROUGH THE LABOR MARKET

3.1. Informal Sector in the Turkish Labor Market and Precarious Workers

Economic theorists have different views on the origins and functions of the informal economy. This section includes a brief overview of some of the main theories, followed by specific research related to the “informal economy” in Turkey. Then, theories focusing on the role of social networks, gender issues, and immigrant issues in the informal economy are discussed. Finally, how ‘the Precariat’ as a social class includes SUTPs is analyzed, and the connection between the informal sector and the precariat is discussed through an examination of the conditions of labor in the informal market.

3.1.1. Informal economy in the literature and Informality in Turkey

The term of "informal economy" has evolved over the years. Some of these terms are the irregular economy (Ferman & Ferman, 1973), the black economy (Dilnot & Morris, 1981), the shadow economy (Frey et al., 1982), and the informal economy (McCorhan & Smith, 1986). The “informal economy” plays a significant role in the overall economy, and its growth has been reflected in countries' Gross domestic product (GDP). Turkey has the highest proportion of the informal sector (approximately 25 to 30% in relation to its GDP) among OECD (The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) members (Atesagaoglu et al., 2017). In this regard, the impact of migrants on the host country needs to be analyzed. Chambers (1986) and Alix-Gracia & Saah (2009) support such an analysis as they argue that in areas with limited resources, it is quite likely that host communities might suffer when the demand for these resources increases after an influx of migrants. Lebanon and Jordan are examples of such issues following the Syrian crisis. Conversely, they also stated the country of destinations might be affected positively as well, through the new

market opportunities that might be generated like in Egypt or Turkey (Chambers, 1986) (Alix-Gracia & Saah, 2009).

Some of the first studies related to the "informal sector" were conducted in Ghana, where this concept was initially utilized (Hart, 1973). Ferman & Ferman's (1973) research reveals the important role that informal economic exchanges have as a means of obtaining needed goods and services among the urban poor, providing a valuable new perspective on this topic. The "informal sector" mostly refers to jobs that are not considered part of the formal economy, but are instead jobs that are typically found in the private sector and that are not covered by labor laws. This can include a variety of jobs, from street vendors to small business owners (Losby & Edgcomb, 2002).

The informal economy is a way of living where people do things without having to go through the traditional system of regular employment. In some cases, this means people work without having to pay taxes, while in other cases it means people who are not very well off do things like sell goods and services to each other without having to get formal licenses or go through numerous difficulties. This way of life has been growing more and more in recent years because it helps people in different parts of the world get what they need without having to go through a lot of trouble (Losby & Edgcomb, 2002). There is evidently more to be said about the nature of informal employment and underlying dynamics. For example, while many people may consider informal employment to be a form of low-wage work, it may in fact be a more varied and diverse form of employment than is generally recognized. This is because informal employment can include a range of jobs, from part-time and temporary work to independent contracting and freelance work. Additionally, informal employment can be a way for people to supplement their income or find a more flexible work schedule. It is important to consider the various factors that contribute to informal employment growth.

In the informal sector, people earn less money than they would at a job in the formal sector, people may be paid less than the minimum wage, and they may not have any of the benefits that come with legal, government-required employment, like social security, workers' compensation, or unemployment insurance. Often, informal work

does not meet the same health and safety standards as formal work (Losby & Edgcomb, 2002).

In Turkey, the concept of “informal sector” was officially used for the first time by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) in the 1988 Household Labor Force Survey (HLFS). Later, TurkStat defined informal employment in the HLFS as working out of the social security system which includes “persons who are not registered to any social security institution due to main job worked in reference week” (TurkStat, 2011). According to TurkStat reports in 2011, 82.8 percent of agricultural workers are working informally and 25.8 percent in the non-agricultural sectors. Unregistered employment and wage underreporting is a major concern in the Turkish labor market, as it reduces productivity and growth, and leaves workers and their families without social safety nets. It is noteworthy that, regardless of the improvements through time, informality remains a significant problem in the country (Acar & Tansel, 2016).

In 2017, 9.5 million Turkish workers out of a total of 28.1 million were employed in informal jobs (TUIK, 2017). The size of these jobs had decreased slightly since 2000, with their share of total employment falling from 51% to 48%. However, this decline is related more to sectoral development than to the decline of the “informality” phenomenon. (Ben Salem et al., 2011). On the other hand according to the Syrian Barometer survey in 2019, around one-third of the Syrians living in Turkey are employed. This means that around one million or 1.4 million Syrian refugees are employed. As a result, the mass influx of migrants in Turkey causes the number of workers in the informal market to increase.

It is logical to assume that informal employment will expand during the economic crisis as more people lose jobs in the formal sector. However, this was not the case in the recent global crisis, as it was primarily the informal economy workers who lost their jobs (Ercan, 2010). The decline in Turkey's total informality rate is due to the inter-sectoral effect of the decline in agricultural employment (Salem et al., 2011). The possibility of switching from unemployment to formal work is half than that of transitioning from unemployment to informal employment, suggesting that the formal employment sector has various obstacles in accessing it (Tansel & Kan, 2017). This is

especially true for migrant workers who are not familiar with the job-searching and job-finding mechanisms in the host country.

3.1.2. Marginalized groups within the informal economy.

The Jensen & Findeis study conducted in 1995 found that many people engage in informal work out of necessity, to help out their neighbors, to stay afloat during tough times, or because there are no good job opportunities available. In addition, flexible working hours, the opportunity to be one's own boss, and the avoidance of paying taxes are all factors that contribute to people engaging in informal work. In the research, all participants acknowledge that the migration process entails numerous challenges, and staying afloat can be difficult. Good job opportunities may not be easily available, meaning that migrants are unable to find work that pays well and provides enough opportunities for advancement in the host country.

Gender has not been a focus of research on the informal economy for several years, but recent studies have now shown that it is an important factor. There is still a lack of research on this topic, however, especially that it is difficult to provide an exact picture because of the small number of participants in most studies (Losby & Edgcomb, 2002). In Turkey, according to TUIK household labor force survey results, female workers who are not registered in the social security system exceed the number of men, which shows that women are more likely to engage in the informal economy.

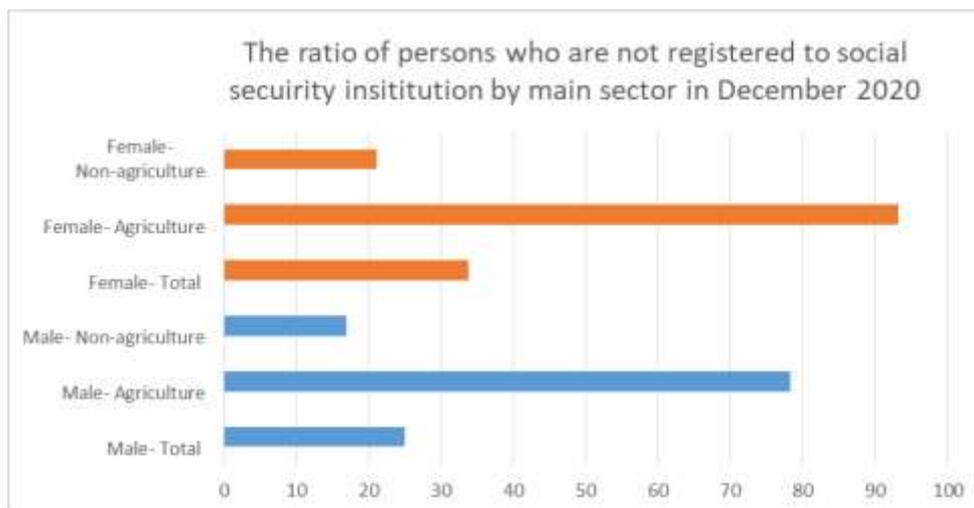


Figure 3. 1 The ratio of persons who are not registered to social security institution by main sector
(Source: Turkish Statistical Institute, household labor force survey results, 2020)

In Turkey, the share of women in formal employment is lower than the share of women in informal employment. This is likely due to the fact that a large number of women are employed in unpaid family work in agriculture. However, when all sectors are taken into account, the difference between the share of women in formal and informal employment is much smaller (Ben Salem et al., 2011).

Moreover, with regard to the migrant issue, many documented and undocumented immigrants work in sweatshops and irregular businesses. Undocumented immigrants are most vulnerable to exploitation because they are at the risk of being reported to immigration authorities if they protest against their working conditions or salaries. Documented immigrants also often find it difficult to find work because of their language or cultural differences, leading them to work in the informal economy (U.S. Department of Labor, 1992). In Turkey, because the Turkish language is only spoken in a few countries, migrants have generally faced difficulties while entering the formal economy. In the last ten years, the several waves of migrants into Turkey, particularly those from Syria, and its consequential economic crisis have caused the informal sector to grow due to the incorporation of more children, women, and immigrants. Thus, immigrants are often vulnerable to the inferior employment arrangements of informal work.

“Immigrants, insofar as they tend to form communities, may be in a favorable position to seize the opportunities represented by informalization. But the opportunities are not necessarily created by immigrants.” (Sassen, 1994, p. 2290). Informal economic activity in urban areas is common due to the accessibility and utilization of resources, as well as the availability of cheap and flexible labor. This makes these communities attractive places to sell some products and services, and it also presents opportunities for informal work (Sassen, 1994). Indeed, this is also clear in the case of Syrian migrants in Turkey, who, as mentioned previously, are overwhelmingly concentrated in urban areas. Nearly ninety percent of Syrian migrants have settled in cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. Correspondingly, the more people work informally, the more likely they are to be exploited in their jobs. This is because they may earn lower wages, work longer hours, or be given temporary work instead of a permanent position. In a survey conducted in 2013, the average income of working Syrians in

Turkey was only 236 US dollars, which was much lower than the national minimum wage (529 US dollars) at the time.

Therefore, in order to understand the extent of inequality in today's contemporary era, it is essential to first analyze the total number of people who are working in the informal sector and are also vulnerable to exploitation and poverty. Such a study will enable us to determine how prevalent inequality in the informal economy is (Acar & Tansel, 2016). Furthermore, since women, young people, and immigrants are susceptible to facing inequality, conducting more in-depth research would be a fundamental way of addressing such issues of socioeconomic inequality.

3.1.3. The connection between informal sectors and the precariat.

Precarious and informal employment have become two of the most common ways to represent the adverse impact of employment under market liberalization where workers are face to face with unhealthy working conditions. These concepts describe situations in which employees are constantly in flux, and their jobs are not stable or secure. Precarity refers to the insecure and unstable jobs that many people in the world have to depend on. This is often a result of major political, social, and economic changes, such as the rise of the informal economy.

The precariat is identified by Guy Standing (2011) in his book *The Precariat* as a new social class that is characterized by insecurity in terms of 'income-earning opportunities' and a lack of 'long-term contract protection'. The members in this group often suffer from obstacles related to learning new skills and keeping up with industry changes, helping employers avoid injuries and workplace accidents, keeping employees safe during working hours, and preventing accidents from happening in the first place. Long non-regulated working hours can lead to physical and mental health problems, and can also create a culture of entitlement, and "unsociable hours". So, precarious people are often unable to develop or reproduce work-related skills, and to have a reliable income source. The precariat is a growing class of people that face significant challenges. Every worker has the risk of becoming a member of the precariat. The precariat, according to Standing (2011), is a group of people that is often comprised of young people, women, older workers, the less educated, and migrants - all of whom are some of the most vulnerable groups in our society: they often face

discrimination and are at a disadvantage in terms of wages, health care, and housing. Even though these people are from different backgrounds, they share common feelings of anger, fear, and instability (Standing, 2011). The term 'precariat' has been referred to in the passages above, and shall be further delved into within the following chapter. Upon interviewing these migrants, I came to the conclusion that a majority of these interviewees' lives are characterized by inadequate regulations and measures which would ensure safety and stability. This poses a significant threat of danger that leads to precarious life and vulnerability.

The link between the informal sectors and the precariat was studied by Hammer (2010) who came to the conclusion that informal work and employment in the South have long been characterized by precariousness. This suggests that workers in the informal market are often not sure of their job security, and may have to search for an alternative occupation or even work part-time to make ends meet. The data collected for this thesis showed that about 70% of the interviewees have changed their jobs more than ten times since they moved to Turkey. This point is highly important in understanding the dynamics of job search and job changes in Turkey in the Syrian migrants' case in this study. Breman and van der Linden (2014) argue that labor informalization is becoming a global norm and that it is now the "West" that is following the "Rest" in this regard. They point out that this trend is accelerating, and that it is now the "West" that is seeing an increasing number of precarious jobs.

Hammer (2010) adds that each sector has its unique role in involving various reproduction modes in the labor experience. Additionally, these contributions can intersect or work largely independently from the formal economy. As a result, informal work is based on a mix of different production methods and social relationships. However, it is often precarious, which means it is not always stable or guaranteed as well. Informal work encompasses a wide range of employment relationships, including those found in formal and informal businesses, and can be for the purpose of survival or accumulation.

Ilona Steiler (2021) examines in her essay the diverse and intersecting aspects of informal employment in Tanzania and provides a detailed look at the heterogeneity and intersections of informal employment, emphasizing the crucial role these workers

play in society. She investigates how marginalized groups are impacted by their job conditions and how it affects their overall well-being. Steiler disputes the idea that informality is solely a legal matter, pointing out that regulation is influenced by various factors such as ethnicity, gender, age, education, skill level, and class. She argues that the complex interplay of these factors with law, history, spatial organization, and power struggles leads to the informal nature of work in Tanzania. Steiler suggests that acknowledging these dynamics can help address the issues of unemployment and poverty associated with low-quality jobs (2021). In Turkey, the apparent lack of government intervention and the weakness of control mechanisms contribute to the informal economy growth, especially since it plays a role in changing the arenas of public debate towards immigrants as the reason for the high unemployment rate instead of the ineffective economic policies.

The relationship between the informal economy, and the precarious working class warrants deeper consideration and it is a complex issue that deserves attention for Syrian migrants in Turkey. The informal economy, which refers to work that is not regulated by the government, has become a lifeline for many in the precarious working class in Turkey, including Syrian migrants. These individuals often lack access to formal employment due to discrimination, lack of education, or language barriers, and are forced to turn to the informal economy to make a living. Despite these challenges, many Syrians are finding ways to adapt and survive in the informal economy.

3.2. The involvement of Syrian Migrants in irregular employment

This section of the chapter investigates the effect of capital that Syrian migrants have on being a part of the labor market in the host country, and how that reflects on their overall work experience. My research has shown that their social and cultural capital is essential in building networks and relationships, and it takes a lot of effort to create these assets. The second part of this section will examine the faces of oppression that Syrians under Temporary Protection are more likely to be exposed to in the labor market. At the end of this chapter, forms of gender discrimination in the workplace will also be investigated as the results of my field research brought forth critical cases which must be mentioned.

3.2.1. The role of Social and Cultural capital in labor experience.

The recent increase in the number of Syrian immigrants in Turkey resulted in the borders between the two countries being partially closed, and the 'open-door' policy was no longer in effect as of 2015 partially and of 2016 completely. This has led Syrians to cross the borders illegally. About 40% of respondents in the interviews disclosed that they migrated to Turkey illegally in 2015 and the following years and expounded on the adversities they faced, particularly the older family members. The remaining interviewees explain that they were lucky enough to be able to take advantage of the 'open-door' policy in the initial years.

.... I came to Turkey in 2015, I mean 7 years ago. I was in military service before escaping and coming to Turkey. I came illegally as the borders were closed to Syrians at that time, it was really risky to come, but we had no other choice at that time in order to survive (Mustafa).

When discussing the primary causes of migration, a majority of the male respondents admit that their main reason for leaving Syria was their reluctance in fulfilling compulsory military service during wartime. Also, there was no hope for any major political change in the foreseeable future, as the population appeared to have lost all faith in the ability of their government to improve their lives. In a similar manner, the primary reasons that made female respondents leave Syria were due to the difficult circumstances the war brought, along with its consequential economic and social instability, and security concerns related to their gender. They felt that women were more at risk than men, so they decided to escape. However, it is important to point out here that, in every case, it was not women's own decision to migrate to a different country.

I came to Adana at first alone then my mother, my brothers and sisters followed me. I came to Adana because of my family and friends who came before me (Muhannad).

We left my hometown because of the war; there was no electricity or even water. It was very dangerous, and there was always the risk of death. My husband decided to come directly to Adana as our relatives were here (Abeer).

Muhannad, Abeer, and Mustafa came to Turkey in 2015 illegally which made their residency initially unauthorized. This situation forced them to enter the informal

market as the only breadwinners in their respective families. They state that their social connections were the key factor in enabling them to choose to reside in the city of Adana. In fact, a large number of my respondents find jobs through such connections. However, most of them are often impoverished, living in the lower strata of society, both in terms of income and living conditions.

Mark Granovetter (1973), believes that social networks can be used to understand how individual behaviors are related to larger social patterns. He argues that social networks can be divided into strong and weak ties. Strong ties are relationships where people are very close to one another and often share a lot of information and activities. Weak ties are relationships where people are not very close to one another and usually only share a small amount of information. He believes that individuals with weak ties are more likely to be influenced by others, so it is important to focus on those connections instead of looking at the strong ones. If the focus was only on the people who are known well, the analysis will be limited and the patterns between groups or how people are connected to each other will not be seen. However, if a broader view was taken and all the people around the migrants were considered, the relationships between the individuals in this group would enable us to understand the larger social structure.

For work-related ties, most people have revealed that they have never seen the person who has arranged their job. They state that it is a former workmate or employer or relative to their partner whom they have never met. Finding a job is often a matter of finding the right connection. Even though they may not have known the person who finds them the job, they may have someone they have kept in touch with even sporadically. In 64.7% of the cases, the intermediary who has brought information directly from the employer is the “weak tie” and in 35.2% of the cases, respondents said there was no intermediary between himself and the employer.

My wife who is originally Turkish got in contact with her distant relative whom we have never met before. They arranged a house for us in their neighborhood. Also, they found me a job related to my specialization in furniture making and since then I have been working at the same place. They were so helpful; they arranged our house furniture as we came with nothing in hand (Ahmad).

The “weak tie” effect is clear in Ahmad’s experience as the distant relative of his wife helped him enter the labor market and adapt to the host country. Abo Wael, too, has a similar story with his former neighbor who is not even a relative. The neighbor did help Abo Wael access a job in Adana. He admitted that he started his work exactly the next day after he arrived in Adana thanks to his neighbor.

I am staying in Yüreğir Neighborhood, I am in Turkey and at the same place for 10 years. My friend who was at the same time my neighbor in Syria, is originally Turkish. He came before me to Adana, and was able to arrange for me a house to rent and job opportunity in one of the furniture stores in Adana when I told that I decided to leave my home. (Abo Wael)

Trepte and Scharrow (2017) argue that one of the benefits of social capital is that it provides the support needed in similar critical life events. Bourdieu (1986) also attributes importance to these weak ties under his concept of “social capital”. According to Bourdieu, the three categories of capital that are most effective in enabling immigrants to join the labor market that fit their abilities are economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. Each of these capitals can be used depending on the domain in which it operates and the circumstances of its action within that field. Cultural capital refers to the ability of individuals or groups to capitalize on their knowledge, skills, and experiences. Social capital refers to people’s connections within their own communities, which can be used to advantage in the marketplace. Putnam (1993, pp. 121-162) concentrates on the idea that well-built social capital is more likely to emerge in regions with both strong economic and political integration. In a larger setting, Krämer et al. (2014) add that strong ties to family and friends provide emotional and social support, which can lead to increased bonding social capital. However, weak social links, such as acquaintances and coworkers, are connected with bridging social capital; hence, those are much more inclined to come up with various needed information for individuals with social needs. Social capital refers to the resources that individuals can draw on to obtain various benefits (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009, p. 488). Therefore, by having social capital, individuals can access the support of others when they need it.

I have noticed that the role these weak ties that do not come out of the close circles played was crucial for Syrian migrants especially when they had Turkish roots. These roots enable a migrant to access better opportunities and receive good treatment. It also reduces the time needed to get into the host country's market and makes the adaptation process - in terms of belonging and not feeling deserted - much less challenging. Liu et al. (2017) also agree with this notion and believe that the stronger the social ties migrants have, the more their subjective well-being improves.

Indeed, there is no definitive answer to how asylum seekers and refugees are governed in different countries, as the situation may vary depending on the specific political and economic conditions of the country. For example, when there is a shortage of available labor, the entrance of asylum seekers to the informal market may be easier than participation in the formal economy (Saraçoğlu and Belanger, 2018). Immigrants have often had to work for wages that are lower than those paid to native-born workers. In doing so, the public opinion's attitude toward migrants changes and increases hate speech as migrants give the impression that they have often taken the place of local workers, and increased national unemployment rate. The vast majority of migrants are working unauthorized, especially because, prior to January 2016, the temporary protection status for Syrians did not include the right to work, which meant they were not allowed to seek employment in Turkey. Only a small minority, one out of ten, of the interviewed migrants living in Adana have stated that they are working legally.

Young argues that the first face of oppression is exploitation, which can be more realized in the labor market where one social group works for the good of another social group (1990, pp. 49-53). Different scholars have different perspectives on how exploitation is manifested within the context of migration. Given that migration is a global phenomenon, exploitation needs to be studied globally in ways which focus on how employers and citizens exploit migrant labor. The lack of rights and supportive governmental institutions opens the door for more exploitative actions.

I work informally and frankly I do not look for a job with permission and health insurance because such jobs come with lower wages. They tell us to pay our insurance which will decrease our salary. Now I get 5000 Tl a month, and my friend who pays his insurance gets 3000 to 3500 Tl. That is why we do not prefer it. However, if I get an offer with the same salary

and health insurance, I will surely be happy with it (Muhannad).

A problem that I observed during my data analysis is that most of the workers are aware of the rights they are missing because they do not have work permits. However, they do not want it for two main reasons. The first one, as asserted by Muhannad, is that most of the employers are looking for the cheapest labor which opens the way for exploitation since employers are responsible for the cost of the work permit for their workers.

I do not have a work permit. All the workers do not have. Also, we benefit from The Red Crescent innovative cash- based assistance program, which I lose whenever I had a work permit. I need it to meet my needs. I am so tired and exhausted. I cannot take care of my child under these conditions. I cannot buy him a piece of cloth (Abeer).

The second reason is the cash support that the Emergency Social Safety Net Program (ESSN) has provided starting from May 2021. According to the Red Crescent, it aims to support disadvantaged groups with about 155 TL (18 EUR) per person to cover basic needs. In order to apply for this program, there must not exist any work permit in the household and there must be more than 5 members in the household. Abeer is not the only interviewee who has pointed this issue out. The majority of the migrants who suffer from economic and social issues are willing to work illegally as they will continue wanting the financial support they receive from the humanitarian organizations. The abovementioned prerequisite for aid increases the rate of informal Syrian workers in the labor market. The latest Red Crescents report in June 2021 shows that 89.8% of the beneficiaries are Syrians. The 1,658,027 individuals amount to approximately 45% of the total number of registered Syrians in Turkey.

Ghyath, who is one of the rare interviewees has stated that he is legally allowed to work at his current job because his employer is following all the legal requirements. However, he has the same attitude as the other interviewees in preferring not to have a work permit in order to acquire the financial support.

I have a work permission as my workplace completes all deal formalities. But I wish I did not have it as I would be able to apply for the Red Crescent Financial assistance. Also, my

employer cut 50% of what he must pay for my work permission from my salary (Ghyath).

Indeed, the informal working status is not the only thing that Syrian laborers are dissatisfied with. The extreme circumstances of the work portrayed by the long working hours affect their physical and mental health negatively in the long run. Furthermore, the no-tolerance policy regarding time management (such as coming to work on time) makes these informal workers feel as if they are losing their value and self-esteem.

On weekdays, I wake up at 6:30 am, leave home at 7:00 am, go to work by means of transportation on behalf of the workplace, reach the workplace at 7:30am and leave about 7:00 pm. There is a control mechanism for attendance shown in fingerprint attendance software, also the factory is surrounded by cameras. I reach home at 7:30 pm (Ghyath).

The informal nature of their work also makes most of the employers force their employees to work overtime.

My friend who is working also in a textile atelier left her job because her Turkish employer asked the Syrian workers to work overtime, and when they refused, he started yelling, screaming, and swearing at them. They think that it is easy for us to lose our dignity, they think as refugees we do not even have the right to protect it (Hamsa).

This situation is more prevalent with the interviewees who are working in textile factories and ateliers. On the other hand, those who are working in furniture workshops are less exposed to these situations: they make the decision whether to work overtime or not.

From time to time, when our employer needs to submit orders in limited time, he asks us to work overtime. It is up to us to decide working overtime or not but most of the time we accept, as you know everything has become more expensive and we need extra money to cover our needs. For every three hours we work, we get 100 Tl more (Abo Wael).

So, the reason why Abo Wael and his colleagues work overtime is to get additional compensation for extra hours to fulfill a big order. Such carpenters have the ability - albeit to a minimum extent - to join voluntarily and work the extra hours in contrast to

those who work in the textile sector. However, as mentioned previously, the ability to make such decisions is only minimal for even carpenters have to often unwillingly work extra hours in order to avoid unfair dismissals or poor treatment from their employers. Moreover, working overtime has a certain impact on workers' health and performance in the long run especially as they do not have the time to rest as they must be at work on time the next day.

Exploitation here is represented in terms of overtime working hours, which is one of the crucial adverse effects that prevent the Syrian labor from having an active role in the city and getting the advantage of their urban experience in a manner that they would be able to eventually reproduce themselves as I have presented in Chapter 4. Their attempts to be a part of the economic cycle integration will have practicable social inequality increase in the urban space as a result of the limited social interaction. Secondly, the pressure that may be associated with workplaces that have strict working conditions affects the physical health of the workers and prevents them from sustaining their work.

The conditions are so hard, you cannot use headphones, and you cannot touch your phones. No coffee or tea break, you will act more like a machine. In the ateliers, it is better I mean if I had a phone call, I could answer it at least and have a tea break. It does not matter how urgent your condition is (Omer).

Omer's initial objective was to secure employment characterized by a structured and conventional work environment. He explained that the textile factory where he worked with health insurance and a work permit was dehumanizing him. In this regard, Young argues that the first Face of Oppression, which is exploitation, comes from the efforts of a specific group that serves and produces for the interests of another dominant group (Young 1990, pp: 49-53). Here the system is defined as capitalist where the focus lies primarily on obtaining profit and in efforts to increase it, the labor's basic needs are ignored (such as coffee/tea breaks) - all of which are considered to be highly essential in factories and workshops.

The results of these exploitative practices extended to a broader scope to encompass unstable life where migrants are subject to constantly changing their workplace which extends to affect their social relationships and urban life.

In Turkey I have changed my workplace many times, I cannot even count them for you. The first reason behind it was bad treatment. They were using the command style and we couldn't discuss them because we didn't know the Turkish language. I overcame this problem as I learned Turkish. Secondly, the low wages made me leave my job many times, I was asking for a raise, but the employer rarely responded. Finally, giving unpaid breaks either because of the end of the season or the end of the order (Omer).

At first, when Omer came to Turkey, he has mentioned that the language is the most important barrier preventing him from communicating with his workmates, and even though he is an expert, his contributions are not duly recognized by the people around him in his workplace.

In a world exposed to conflicts and war - all of which force humans towards constant movement, the convergence of migration and exploitation can be observed. As this forced migration is associated with limited resources, migrants have neither the social, cultural, legal or economic means for market or cultural integration. To better understand this intersection, of migration and exploitation, it is necessary to study the systemic means of domination whereby the labor of one group works for the benefit of another. There is also the restricted ability to benefit from the social services when required, as working hours are typically excessively long as individuals often struggle to access them in a timely manner due to the long working hours, typically exceeding 12 hours. Furthermore, employees may occasionally require visits to hospitals or migration offices, which can be time-consuming and may require a full day. Employers, however, are reluctant to grant one-day off permissions, which exacerbates the situation.

The social service-related problem I have is that I could take a day off work if I were feeling sick or needed to update my information in the migration office. Even though the boss gave the permission, he would treat me badly the next day (Raghad).

For sure, the off days will not be paid, and given that the majority of SUTP employees lack work permits, they consistently face the risk of deportation. On the other hand, interviewees state that at the mentioned public institutions, employees are treating them really well whenever they need a translator, they were providing me with him/her. Unmistakably, the off days will not be paid, and given that the majority of

SUTP employees lack work permits, they consistently face the risk of deportation. On the other hand, interviewees state that at the mentioned public institutions, employees would treat them rather well whenever they needed a translator, and would ensure that they were provided with one as soon as possible.

The avoidance of workers seeking off-day permission, despite their necessity to do so in order to address legal, health, or social concerns, exacerbates the issue. This is problematic for two reasons: firstly, it deprives them of their right to the city, and secondly, it potentially exposes them to more severe health or legal complications in the host country. Failure to update residency information, for instance, could expose them to the risk of being deported.

3.2.2. Injustice and Oppression in the Labor Market

This section of the chapter discusses workplace injustice and oppression that Syrians under temporary protection whom I interviewed for this thesis have brought up. Since it can be stated that not every worker at an organization is fully satisfied with their working environment, thus, we can conclude that workers will complain about one thing or the other. However, when all the interviewees addressed identical grievances, this manifests that they are facing a structural injustice. The insufficiency of the political system in protecting SUTPs and the detrimental effects of neoliberal practices play a pivotal role in this context. In addition, the distinction in sectoral encounters emerges as a critical aspect. Syrian labor has experienced major differences in the course of being exposed to exploitive acts, they have been exposed to oppression in both textile workshops and furniture making. However, the skills of workers, the nature and the stability of the job, the existence of female workers, the psychological well-being of employees in the workplace, and the social relationships among workers all make a difference.

Upon reflecting on Iris's definition of exploitation, it becomes apparent that Syrian workers in Turkey are subject to exploitative practices that result in their vulnerability to uncertain and precarious living conditions. Chapter 4 provides an account of these conditions. Danièle Bélanger & Cenk Saracoglu (2018) argue that the restrictions for temporary protection of Syrian refugees by the Turkish government, regarding employing refugee labor in the informal sector give a sense of flexibility, and the

disciplinary actions contributed to the relationship between the state and the employers in exploiting SUTPs. The research results reveal both Turkish and Syrian employers show a high preference for employing Syrian workers because they are cheap labor.

In fact, the inequitable distribution of workers according to their nationality fuels the tensions between Syrian and Turkish laborers. This dynamic fosters violence between co-workers, as many employers exhibit a bias towards Turkish workers due to their nationality. As a result, Syrian workers face significant obstacles in asserting their rights, which leads them to either submit to these conditions or seek employment elsewhere. These experiences have a direct impact on their urban experiences and influence the degree to which they are able to integrate into the host communities. Nazmi indicates that the legal status they have under Temporary Protection does not provide sufficient protection. This compels them to consent to receiving remuneration and accepting modest and inadequate terms. Both migration literature and humanitarian NGOs have examined the problem of economic exploitation at regional and local levels. Unlike the global perspective that focuses on the power balance between populations of high and low-incomes, the emphasis in this study is on labor exploitation which is in itself the primary concern of Iris Young as well. NGOs such as Amnesty International argue that the protection of workers' rights is crucial for the establishment of justice and to prevent industries from disregarding the fundamental rights of their employees (Amnesty International, 2016).

Another significant aspect of labor exploitation is the obstacles impeding economic improvement:

In 2017 I moved to Istanbul for a while, and I noticed how it was different from Adana. I mean here in Adana you can either find a Turkish or Syrian worker at the ateliers. In Istanbul, you can find Egyptian, Afghan, Iraqi, Syrian, etc. You never feel foreign, they know how to deal with workers from other nationalities. The wages were better, and the opportunities were diverse (Omer).

Omer has reported that he has the opportunity to engage in supplementary employment and generate supplemental income. He has even contemplated relocating with his family on a permanent basis to Istanbul, however, he has been unable to do so due to the permissions required for relocation. He further elaborates that the remuneration in

Adana is lower and he has to rely upon acquaintances to borrow money to meet his monthly expenses, whereas in Istanbul he can accumulate savings. Omer's statement suggests that the city and its economic and demographic structure may influence the shape of their experience and the ability to change their socio-economic status.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, respondents have asserted that their decision to settle in Adana is mainly influenced by their social connections and the perception that the city offers affordable living expenses. This particular situation, along with the statement indicated by Omer, raises the inquiry about the situation in cities like Ankara and Istanbul with different economic profiles. The primary issue identified by the respondents is regarding the restricted prospects they have in the textile industry, particularly in comparison with furniture workshops in Adana, all of which prevent them from developing their work-related skills. I will discuss how these conditions affect the housing choice of SUTPs in Chapter 4. Respondents who are working in furniture workshops have implied three interrelated aspects that make their experience different compared to those working in the Textile industry. The first one lies in the industry development as what is known as the Adana Furniture Making Zone/Site (Mobilyacılar Sitesi) - an area that predominantly encompasses furniture workshops. This locality has garnered considerable renown beyond Adana as the workshops consequently receive orders from neighboring cities.

We send orders to nearby cities and I would go with the driver to arrange the furniture. This helped me learn how to communicate with people from various areas and anticipate their needs (Yusuf).

The statement Yusuf made carries substantial importance as it offers a unique viewpoint that can expand the knowledge of workers. Within textile workshops, the interactions that workers have with clients who place orders are limited, and they are constrained to the directives of their chef. Textile workshops subject employees to monotonous and repetitive tasks, resulting in an inability towards financial autonomy. Furthermore, they are not afforded the opportunity to engage in such interactions and comprehend the demands of the market. All interviewees who work in furniture workshops reported that they possess knowledge about the specific types of wood and models that are popular and preferable in each city. Furthermore, they will be able to

build networks in the mentioned cities and can provide them with valuable resources for locating employment prospects, should they opt to relocate. So their work contributes to their social and cultural development can prevent them from remaining stagnant. On the other hand, textile workers displayed a tendency to perform identical duties, such as ironing or cutting fabric. The rationale for this phenomenon can be attributed to the economic conditions of the textile industry, leading to their prioritization over other sectors. It is important to note that this disparity is not a result of social distinctions, but rather the ability of textile workers to better fulfill their needs. For instance, while a furniture workshop employee in 2021 earns a weekly income of 1000 TL, their textile industry counterpart receive 1250-1300 TL. This circumstance does not negate the actuality of the exploitation experienced by SUTP workers in both the above-mentioned industries characterized by inadequate remuneration and unofficial unemployment status.

The second concern pertains to the working days. The workers employed in the textile industry reported working six days per week, whereas their counterparts in the furniture workshops indicated working five days per week. Omer provided an explanation for this matter during the course of the interview as below.

We were working five and a half days a week from 8:00 am to 6:00 pm before then we told our employer that we do not want to work at the weekends, he added 45 minutes to our work hours every day and now we leave at 6:45 pm and do not go at the weekends (Abu Wael).

The reduction of working days was agreed upon by the employer and was accompanied by a 45-minute extension to the daily working hours. This process was made possible by the availability of work transportation services, which ensured that the workers were not negatively impacted by getting back home at a late hour. Furthermore, this implies the existence of a constructive dialogue, as the employer expressed a desire for the preservation of the current working hours and did not voice any opposition to the resolution reached by the employees. Such flexibility contributed to the improved well-being of the employees, who perceived the employer as being attentive to their interests and comfort, rather than solely focused on work-related matters. The problems textile workers suffer from are the long working hours and the absence of work transportation service in most cases, which means that they spend

their entire day at work. Any suggestion to reduce the working hours was rejected by the chef or the employer, despite the presence of mandatory overtime hours, which has been previously mentioned. The repercussions of these difficulties on the lives of urban immigrants will be examined in the forthcoming section. The workers here expressed their dissatisfaction with their employers, who perceive them solely as a source of financial gain and disregard their humanity and their rights as human beings.

The third aspect of the difference in the furniture workshops is that employers in furniture workshops prefer to redirect workers to alternative departments, such as sales points (display area), rather than giving unpaid leaves when there are no orders. So, they do not terminate their employment or reduce their wages during that period.

When there were no orders at the factory, my employer would send me to the exhibition to assist with sales. As a result, my Turkish language skills improved significantly (Yusuf).

This particular circumstance has fostered a heightened level of trust between employers and workers, as they know that the worker will not abruptly terminate their work due to the cessation of the orders. Additionally, the employer may actively contribute to surmounting the greatest obstacle impeding the successful integration of SUTP workers into the Turkish society, which is the acquisition and mastery of the Turkish language. In this regard, I observed that the individuals who are employed in furniture workshops possess knowledge of the Turkish language as a result of their direct interaction with Turkish customers. However, this aforementioned circumstance was not observed among textile laborers, who are frequently compelled to shift workplaces as a result of not getting new orders, leading to their employers giving those unpaid leave. This had an adverse impact on their rapport with their employer and engendered a sense of distrust, as they were cognizant that their employer could fire them at any time. Moreover, the employer would not reinstate all laborers to work as this was decided by the number of orders received by the organization. The frequency of workplace transitions among individuals lacking social capital is significant. For instance, Ghyath underwent 20 job changes within a span of 7 years since his initial employment.

I worked at first for a Turkish employer in an auto-body repair center, until the employer closed the center and moved to the

agriculture sector, so I had to find another place to work, however, the places I found did not like my work and I did not know the reason. Now I am working in a textile atelier, but I have suffered a lot in order to find this job, I have tried working in more than 20 ateliers (Ghyath).

Numerous respondents who share similar experiences with Ghyath have indicated that their unstable employment has aggravated their integration challenges, as their primary concern has been securing employment to meet the needs of their families.

My current employer who is Turkish, I have known him for about seven years. We worked together several times, and the last one and a half years were without any breaks. At first, he was treating me badly but then he started to know me and my work better and now he treats me very well (Nazmi).

Nazmi is successful in proving himself to the employer as an essential worker in the workshop overtime. Not only this, but he has also demonstrated the ability to change the attitude of his Turkish employer towards refugee workers. However, this exploitative behavior is not exclusive to Turkish employers.

The biggest problem I had at my workplace was because a Turkish women worker was not doing her job right and she was blaming me. Even though all the workers were saying that I was not responsible, the boss believed her and accepted her words as true (Amar).

Amar has raised concerns regarding the prevalence of discriminatory behaviors or practices not only from Turkish employers but also from Syrian employers. Consequently, when he is unwilling to learn Turkish, he further impedes his opportunities. I have observed that the majority of Syrian employers show unfair treatment for their workers and exhibit acts of racial discrimination. For them, the rationale for this is due to their status as a foreigner and the resulting restrictions on their rights. There exists a concern among immigrants that Turkish legislation may invariably favor native workers. Furthermore, the research for the thesis has revealed that some employers commit unlawful practices, such as underreporting their staff numbers, with only a fraction appearing on their records. Despite this, I have noticed that Syrian employers generally attach Turkish workers to legal employment, while immigrants are more prone to working outside the legal framework.

Turkish people do not accept working for the same salary we get. Last week two new Turkish workers came to join us but then they refused because of the wage. We know that our wages are low, but we also know that we cannot find another job opportunity easily. I am almost fifty years old. If I leave this job where I have worked and got experience for more than 10 years, no other place will accept to treat me the same; that is why I keep working here (Abu Wael).

The statement by Abu Wael supports the idea above that the scarcity of employment prospects for SUTPs results in making them less inclined to relinquish the work they acquire easily.

To conclude this section, in order to comprehensively grasp the precarious nature of SUTPs' lives, it is imperative that we thoroughly examine the state of the labor market. As demonstrated in the subsequent chapter, those with access to stable or humane employment enjoy a more favorable urban experience. Conversely, those compelled to work in precarious positions are more likely to be incorporated into the precarious society. In addition, the fact that one work differs from another may make the urban experience better as I will show in chapter 4, does not negate the reality of the exploitation that widely persists which takes advantage of the fact that the refugee is the weakest link in the host society.

3.3. Gender discrimination in Syrian migrant labor

The low wages and unstable economic conditions have led to an increase in women's participation in the labor force, simultaneously, however, they are also struggling to find work due to the discriminatory practices in their workplaces. This discrimination includes lower wages and limited opportunities for advancement, which impacts their morale and ability to achieve economic independence. Female Syrian migrant workers also face severe gender discrimination, negatively affecting their lives. This research has involved interviews with five female individuals employed in the textile industry, as it is not a commonly accepted practice for women to work in furniture workshops as it typically requires heavier physical labor. The study has revealed that the claims in the previous section apply to both genders. However, female SUTP workers experience a double impact from exploitative actions due to their Syrian nationality and their gender.

The examination of the literature has revealed that gender inequalities in the labor market are often attributed to the interaction of various types of biases (Becker, 1994; De Jong-van der Poel, Schoenmaker & Hommes, 1978). The concept of intersectionality best expresses the underlying reasons behind the overlap of various biases. According to Davis (2008), the concept of intersectionality refers to “the interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion and subordination” (p. 67). Smiet (2017) argues that “an intersectional feminist perspective insists that gender cannot and should not be studied in isolation from race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, religion or other structures of power because they do not exist in isolation from one another, but instead always intersect” (p. 19). This system of classification provides a basis for overall analyses of this part as I could highlight the plight of Syrian women in the workforce and the unique forms of exploitation and mistreatment they do not endure solely based on their gender. The different identities that SUTP women share as refugee women make them more likely to be marginalized and oppressed.

It is crucial to address the gender discrimination issue and this requires focused attention on the familial context where such biases often originate. As previously indicated, a significant number of Syrian migrants have entered the labor market in low-skilled and low-paid positions. There has been a decline in the average age of workers, and the prevalence of child labor has risen, particularly among Syrian children and female workers. The participation of women in the labor force has been hindered by patriarchal decision-making structures, as husbands and male family members often make decisions on behalf of their female relatives.

When we came to Turkey, I started working the next day, my ex-husband's friend found me the job. At first, my ex-husband prevented me from working but I insisted on working. I did well because, after 4 years, we divorced. If I did not start working at that time, I would not be able to overcome my separation and take care of my son (Hanan).

Despite her ex-husband's attempts to prevent her from working, Hanan refuses to comply, particularly since their financial situation is precarious. So, basically, she denies to subordinate to the decision of her husband. Hanan states that she insists on working as her husband is not able to find a job and the family cannot cover their basic needs. Furthermore, she claims that she is unable to decline a request from one of her

children, such as when they seek candy not to deprive them of their childhood practices. It is also worth noting that his friend arranges the work. Otherwise, he may have the right to prevent Hanan from working. In fact, it will not be acceptable to engage in the labor market, if there is no tie between the male family member and the employer himself. Regardless of the reliance of the household, which could not be fully achieved without the contribution of women's labor. Hanan is not the only one who stands against and breaks common practices. Similar situations start to be more observable in the aftermath of the war. On certain occasions, it served as the cause of the increase in divorce rates. The priorities of women undergo a significant shift upon facing death. A majority of the women I interviewed have indicated that their anxieties regarding fighting societal constraints were intertwined with concerns over societal perceptions. However, upon relocating to a different community, these women are able to assert their autonomy and embrace newfound freedom. However, not all women are able to publicly practice this freedom.

My family except my mother does not know that I am working and they know that I am joining one of the Turkish language courses provided by the municipality. As I suffer from depression, the psychologist told me to work and engage in society more (Raghad).

Raghad claims that she hides her work from her family due to the dominance of male authority within the household, which has repeatedly prevented her work. She states that her primary motivation for engaging in this work arises from her psychological situation. Raghad emphasizes that her treatment involves active participation in society through employment as her psychologist implies. Furthermore, she reveals that instead, her family knows that she is learning the Turkish language at a women's center provided by one of the municipalities in Adana. Numerous women, like Raghad, would hide the nature of their work and utilize projects facilitated by government establishments or non-governmental organizations that focus on assisting refugee women as a facade for their activities. This tactic is popularly used and particularly employed due to the finding that certain projects of this nature decline to take men in, as a means to safeguard the privacy of women within these facilities. In fact, the interviews conducted with male laborers have affirmed the preference for these centers and programs as a suitable alternative for female family members, particularly when

considering their secure environment and the provision of a monthly stipend in exchange for participation.

The case of Raghad is not considered just for her need to cover her work but also for her responsibility toward the house as the domestic labor that Marx has mentioned. Even though Marx has not underlined the gender issue, particularly in the dual systems perspective which considers capitalism and patriarchy as two distinct- but often related- systems of oppression that exist alongside one another (Glover, 2021, pp: 36-37).

At the weekend, the first day I spend with the Household Chore as the only single daughter in the house, cleaning and making food, the second day for resting I used to spend it in the central park of Adana (Raghad).

Female oppression is primarily connected to the sexual system and the societal expectations of women in terms of reproduction (Glover, 2021, p. 39). However, the focus was more on sterilization cases and no attempt was made to relate this oppression to the single female groups who are still under the domination of the traditional patriarchal structure. Raghad expresses her distress over her current circumstances, especially since she comes home tired from work. However, she finds herself unable to avoid the responsibilities of preparing meals for her two brothers and maintaining the household. At the same time, her mother knows about her work, but she does not support Raghad and expects her the same performance.

On the other hand, besides that workplace environment is extremely unfavorable due to several factors similar to what is mentioned in the previous part. The situation seems to be more complicated when women are married.

I have been working at the same atelier for more than seven years, I never changed my workplace because my employer is at the same time my brothers' friend. I have tried many times to look for another job. However, my employer has always succeeded in convincing me by making a salary raise (Nasa).

In fact, the cultural practice restricts women from improving their financial situation, as they need to find a job that aligns with their family's values while complying with the necessities of the job. Nasa admits that she merely feigns the intention to quit her

job as a means to negotiate a salary increase. However, she cannot leave especially since her employer treats her well and acts with understanding if she needs to leave early. Nasa states that even though her husband does not work but he does not show any responsibility towards the children or the household chores. This embodies the summary of the oppression that women suffer from, as they are exploited by the capitalist system through meager wages and harsh working conditions, and by the patriarchal system that makes them responsible for raising children and securing their needs in addition to securing a suitable environment for their husbands.

In specific instances, violence in the workplace may escalate to physical violence and sexual harassment by co-workers. Young has defined similar practices as violence, the last face of oppression, in which members of certain groups in society have the constant fear of being threatened by violent acts that are not limited to themselves but to their families and properties as well (Young, 1990, 61). The study has revealed that girls and women are more likely to be exposed to sexual harassment, while married women are less exposed to similar situations. Samira has personally encountered this situation, yet her employer has failed to address the matter with the responsible people. Due to her inability to defend herself in the informal work environment, Samira's co-workers refrained from intervening out of fear that the situation might worsen and they would also have to face the consequences like being exposed to punishment or deportation. That is the reason Samira raises the issue of the difference between Syrian and Turkish employers for female workers as she finds herself in a more trustful environment when working with Syrian employers. She states that she would not have left through such a situation if her employer was not Turkish.

I am Kurdish, last week I was talking with other Kurdish Syrian workers, and my Kurdish Turkish workmates got mad at me. They told me to avoid Syrian Kurdish people and to spend time with them, but I refused what they said. They started shouting at me and then they started hitting me (Samira).

With regard to the difference between Syrian and non-migrant employers, women are generally less likely to be humiliated when working with Syrian employers. My interviewees have propounded that this was the case because they believed that Syrian employers were more respectful towards women as compared to employers of

different cultural and traditional backgrounds. In my opinion, this could be because Syrian employers were simply more understanding of the struggles people may be facing and thus tended to be empathetic towards their employees, regardless of their nationality.

To summarize, it can be said that female SUTP workers suffer from multi-layered based on their ethnic and sexual status. In addition, they were exposed to physical and verbal violence which was not observed with male SUTP workers thinking that women are not strong enough to protect themselves and at the end of the day, they start to look for a place where they could be treated as what the identified as human beings, and not looking anymore for a better salary. All female participants in the interviews express that they are subjected to derogatory treatment and have their sense of self-worth stripped not just in the workplace but also in their houses as they need to continue working there. Despite their repeated attempts to address their rights in charge, their concerns are consistently dismissed and they are used as they have stated 24/24 a day. The capitalist system exploits them as cheap labor and the patriarchal system with the support of society exploits them as domestic workers.

CHAPTER 4

MIGRATION AND URBAN EXPERIENCES

4.1. The right to the city and Urban Experience of Syrian Labor.

Neoliberal policies have consistently contributed to social and spatial injustices. In recent years, these inequalities have become particularly evident in regions experiencing constant demographic changes resulting from influxes of migrants. The host communities have struggled to cope with these influxes and have faced significant challenges in meeting the demands of the new inhabitants, placing a strain on national and local governments. In the case of Turkey as well, cities have emerged as the primary destinations for migrants, further exacerbating the strain on social interaction spaces and the labor market. Consequently, the roles of public institutions within these cities have undergone a transformation, leading to the creation of new spaces due to changes in social relations.

The interviews have revealed that new inhabitants are unable to fully access the services and resources within the urban space. This raises important questions about the right to the city and the impact of oppression in this context. Henri Lefebvre (1996, p. 174), who first defined the concept of ‘the right to the city’, sees the right to the city as an attempt to change the exclusive zones in a city in a manner that it would be able to host the multifarious social connections of the city in question, and he describes this process as de-alienation, suggesting that the right to the city makes residents able to use the space in the city, and not feel excluded from its advantages. Thus, according to this approach “the urban,” is a space that fulfills the needs of its inhabitants and maintains use value for all (1996, pp. 67–68). The ‘urban space’ referred to in this context is a space that facilitates interaction and connection among inhabitants, enabling them to overcome existing divisions (Purcell, 2014, p.149). However, interviews suggest that the accessibility to such spaces, including neighborhoods,

markets, and parks, is restricted. This raises the question of why these limitations exist, particularly in the absence of any explicit policies prohibiting such engagement. Moreover, it may open up the way for further conflicts and separations in urban spaces. Cenk Saraçoğlu & Danièle Bélanger (2021, p. 2) have defined these practices as “Informal disciplinary techniques” by the local people toward Syrian migrants. These observations are exemplified by the restriction of Syrian children from engaging in recreational activities in public parks, as interviewees have reported, or the deliberate targeting of Syrian-owned markets for any disagreement between a Turkish national and a Syrian migrant.

A year ago, my neighbor who owns a bakery experienced a riot caused by young Turkish individuals. They broke the shop windows in protest of a crime committed by a Syrian murderer in Istanbul. Unfortunately, none of the other neighbors offered assistance, and even when the bakery owner sought help from the police, he was unable to recover his losses (Mustafa).

Here it appears that the locals decided to act as rulers and punish the Syrian migrants in response to the mentioned crime, Mostafa says that they stayed at home for several days to make sure that their neighbors' anger calmed down. Unfortunately, these incidents are constantly repeated and prevent immigrants from enjoying the safe use of the space.

Purcell has classified the right to the city for urban inhabitants into two main groups: the right to ‘participation’ and the right to ‘appropriation’. The right to ‘participation’ emphasizes the fundamental importance of involving city residents in all decision-making processes that shape the development and functioning of the urban experience. The right to ‘appropriation’ refers to the entitlement of individuals to physically access, settle, and utilize urban spaces, thereby ensuring their physical presence within these areas. (2002, p. 101). If we consider these two groups with regard to the Syrian refugee experience, we find that according to the respondents, Syrians do not have the right to ‘participation’ as this requires having citizenship in most situations. However, though they have the right to ‘appropriation’, this comes with several limitations and legal dimensions due to their status as being under temporary protection. Lamentably, as Giorgio Agamben (1998) states, temporary protection is the most prevailing approach that restricts the living conditions of refugees and acts as a strategy to subdue

and control the “bare lives” of the refugees in urban areas. Hence, it is unsurprising that Turkey continues to experience ambiguity and a lack of clarity regarding the fundamental rights of Syrian refugees within its borders. This is primarily due to the temporary protection status provided to refugees, which fails to offer a reliable, enduring solution for those fleeing Syria and seeking safety in Turkey. The rights afforded to individuals with temporary protection status do not completely safeguard Syrian migrants, particularly due to their insufficient integration into the host country and the lack of full acceptance within the local community. Furthermore, the host community lacks sufficient knowledge to determine these rights that make it deal with these guests. Also, Syrians here feel abandoned, as whenever they need to fight for their basic human rights, they are fully aware that they will not be able to get them. Hence, it is unsurprising that Turkey continues to experience ambiguity and a lack of clarity regarding the fundamental rights of Syrian refugees within its borders. This is primarily due to the temporary protection status provided to refugees, which fails to offer a reliable, enduring solution for those fleeing Syria and seeking safety in Turkey. Therefore, the restrictions imposed on temporary protection, as well as the prevailing public sentiment and the exploitation experienced by Syrians, diminish the advantages that come with the ‘appropriation’ rights that Purcell (2014) examines. Interviewees acknowledge that they have the ability to visit parks without any legal restrictions; however, the actions they encounter from others limit their opportunities for diverse urban experiences. This phenomenon is also observed in their children, as they are denied access to the community culture by their neighbors. What I mean here is the culture that children gain through the different activities in the residential streets, parks, and playgrounds. The presence of apprehension towards these informal disciplinary actions, coupled with the absence of effective legal regulation, serves as a hindrance to this integration and practicing their rights.

Academic research has introduced a novel concept of citizenship, namely ‘urban citizenship’ to explore the inclusivity and availability of spaces and services within urban environments, in order to accommodate diverse groups simultaneously. This concept raises numerous issues concerning justice and equality (UN-HABITAT, ISSC, UNESCO, 2010). The concept does not acknowledge the phenomenon of ‘marginalization’, which will be examined below as one of the forms of oppression

experienced by Syrians in their urban environment. This analysis will explore how marginalization gradually deprives Syrians of their right to the city. For Young, marginalization can be identified as the riskiest manifestation of oppression, as it entails the exclusion of an entire group of individuals from meaningful engagement in societal activities (1988, p.281). As it encompasses not only social engagement but also encompasses the inequitable distribution of resources, resulting in an economic downturn and precarious circumstances. This turns them into a more ‘dependent’ group of people in the community. Young (1988) adds that being dependent means having to follow rules and listen to people who make decisions about your life. These people can be from social services or other organizations. They have the power to control what you do and how you live (1988, p.281). In the preceding section, I have mentioned the cash assistance provided by the Red Crescent and now we can directly establish a connection to it. Social assistance is contingent upon the absence of any official documentation verifying the employment status of a family member, thereby compelling them to engage in informal labor. Additionally, any property owned by the family is often found to be registered under the names of other individuals who are either relatives or acquaintances not to act as a burden for the mentioned cash assistance. These factors also have an impact on limiting the scope of the right to the city for the Syrians in Turkey. The assumption made by Young regarding the role of welfare agencies in determining the needs of individuals holds true, particularly due to the fact that individuals in positions of responsibility, such as politicians or decision-makers, possess the requisite knowledge to determine what is beneficial for those they provide assistance to. Conversely, marginalized or dependent individuals are not granted the authority to assert their own understanding of what is most advantageous for them. Mayer goes further and argues that the right to the city needs to be considered a ‘human right’, and the governments must ensure the implementation of this right for urban citizens (2012, p.613). Securing the right to the city for urban inhabitants, including refugees and migrants, and recognizing it as a fundamental human right can significantly transform their urban experience. This can be achieved by effectively enforcing accountability measures against those who oppose this right, thereby enhancing and safeguarding the overall quality of the urban experience for Syrians.

I have worked in multiple places, and a lot of my Turkish co-workers would often tell our male Syrian co-workers that they were not courageous because they had to leave their homes during the conflict and were unable to resist the foreign military forces (Raghad).

In the case of the response of the local people who do not accept the migrants to accept their rights, Raghad who defines herself as a peaceful person, expressed her desire for Turkish citizens to display empathy, rather than view individuals like herself as mere war refugees or fearful of their homeland. Numerous participants, including Raghad, voiced their reluctance to engage in discussions with Turkish individuals who habitually judge them for being displaced from their hometown. Such discussions consistently pave the way for reduced levels of social interaction between the two groups. In a similar case in Brazil, Mark Purcell in his article comes to the conclusion that it is imperative for the government to acknowledge the multifaceted social function of urban space alongside its economic role (2014, p.142). However, the scope of its purpose is limited to the protection of property rights, with the objective of finding a middle ground that addresses both the interests of property owners and the societal needs and use value of urban residents.

So, it is important to bear in mind that when the Turkish government allows refugees to be a part of their strategies, given their current participation in the labor market, and their contribution to the informal economy. The general urban experience for both local and foreign urban inhabitants may improve by providing the needs of all individuals in society, as the government is often unable to reach the minor groups during the decision-making process.

4.2. The evolution of urban space under the impact of different migration flows.

The second set of questions in the interviews conducted for this thesis has been designed to understand the impact of the migration of the interviewees to the urban area on the city itself. Following the assessment of their right to the city, I would like to examine their actions pertaining to the various available facets of the urban environment and how they change the city structures over time after their movement.

Lefebvre comes up with the concept of 'right to the city' and suggests that groups, classes, or fractions cannot establish themselves or acknowledge each other as

significant entities unless they create or construct a physical space. Ideas, representations, or values that fail to manifest in space and consequently fail to generate an appropriate physical structure will lose their essence and become insignificant symbols (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 416-417). In Lefebvre's conception of space, scale is overlooked. It is not sufficient to simply maintain a specific space in order to have an impact; it is also necessary for this space to be recognized on a map and to establish itself within a hierarchical relationship of scales (Kärrholm et al., 2022, p.274). The cases examined in this study have shown that Syrian migrants, who are marginalized newcomers, appropriate and establish control over new spaces from positions of disadvantage and inequality. These kinds of activities challenge the existing relations of scale (Kärrholm et al., 2022, p.271). The impact becomes apparent through the presence of different street furniture that reflects the new ethnic character of the neighborhoods alongside the change in demographics, specifically in the residential areas selected by the respondents for their dwellings such as Denizli, Kıbrıs, and Akıncılar neighborhoods. The shops display signboards written in Arabic and, certain products being sold are unfamiliar to the local population. Over time and driven by the Syrian consumer demand, these items have been made available in non-immigrant stores as well. It also appears that the neighborhoods that my interviewees choose to live in have distinctive characteristics and are mostly settled by individuals from low-income backgrounds. The photographs below, which were captured by the author, show the Kıbrıs Street in the Meydan neighborhood



Figure 4. 1 Photo of Kıbrıs Street taken by the author



Figure 4. 2 Photo of Meydan Neighborhood taken by the author

Kıbrıs street is an important setting for our analysis as a significant majority (60%) of the individuals interviewed for this thesis cited this zone as their residence. These images show signage written in Arabic, which indicates the presence of Syrian residents in the neighborhood. During my research of the area, I noticed a notable number of Syrians on this street, all of whom seemed to have limited interaction with the local residents of the area. The dominant language heard was Arabic, and there was a noticeable presence of women in the area. Upon inquiring about this phenomenon, it was revealed that the long working hours of the Syrian men restricted their ability to engage in grocery shopping as they did in their home country. Therefore, this duty became a responsibility of the female members of the family. In fact, several male interviews also have pointed out that they prefer this situation as this ensures that the women in their family are not subjected to marginalization and are instead able to go out freely, meet their needs, and socialize with other Syrian women in a place they consider a hub for the Syrian population.

When my wife and I first came to Adana, we were in an unfavorable area for Syrians. At that time, when my wife needed to go to the market to buy groceries and other necessities, they kept saying 'Suriyelisin', you are Syrian and you need to go home (Salam).

Salam has mentioned the reason for moving to Meydan as the psychological status of his wife gets worse after hearing similar words consistently, and she even refuses to go out and get their needs. However, upon relocating to Meydan, she experiences significant improvement and adamantly refuses to relocate anymore. The problem here, in my opinion, however, is that such behaviors can lead to urban segregation through the unequal allocation of these minor social groups – migrant group in our case- within the urban environment and in a broader context as Rätzzel argues, social inclusion and the continuity of the city can be endangered (Rätzzel 2005). This concentration should not be underestimated in its impact in breaking the social and cultural continuity of the city especially because invisible borders are built either by the services which do not address local needs or by the sense of alienation experienced by the local population in these neighborhoods.



Figure 4. 3 Photo of Kibris Street taken by the author

Moving on now to consider the noticeable use of active transportation methods such as bicycles, scooters, and walking. According to those interviewed, alternative modes of transportation such as minibusses, buses, or taxis pose a financial strain due to their low incomes. As a result, these types of shared small vehicles are commonly utilized in densely populated urban areas like Kibris Street but can pose a risk on the main

boulevard of the city. Additionally, the limited capacities of these modes of transportation restrict the usage by all family members simultaneously which, in turn, means limited mobility in the city. The transportation factor is actually a significant consideration for interviewees when deciding to accept a job offer, as they prefer employers who provide shuttle services. If such services are not available, interviewees will select their accommodation accordingly, as we will discuss in the following section of this chapter. More importantly, due to their reliance on these modes of transportation, interviewees typically avoid long-distance travel and instead limit themselves to their residential neighborhoods. Consequently, they must make certain that they are able to meet their diverse physical, material, and social needs within this restricted geographical scope.

The third aspect pertains to the impact of building durability and lack of municipal services in the urban environment where the participants reside, indicating a sense of disorder and disregard for the surroundings. Both demographic and economic expansion in the region has resulted in a steady rise in the demand for housing and urban infrastructure (Andersson & Andersson, 2019, p.9). Furthermore, the construction of houses is inherently inflexible due to the constraints of the housing market, resulting in a fixed lifespan that is determined by the continuous strain exerted on the structure, primarily determined by the volume of households it accommodates. One primary factor contributing to the aforementioned pressure is the lack of affordability in housing, particularly for households relying on a sole breadwinner. This is evident in the challenging housing-cost-to-income ratios, which prevent the ability to accommodate one family per residence.

The photos I provide, derived from personal observations made in the Meydan and Dervişler neighborhoods where the majority of interviewees reside, demonstrate the evident presence of impoverished housing conditions characterized by cramped and inadequately maintained streets. These conditions significantly diminish the overall quality of life experienced by the residents. The infrastructure of these neighborhoods is very underdeveloped. Neighborhood heads (Muhtar) liaise with the municipalities responsible for essential infrastructure services like roads, and pavements, ensure water supply, and help resolve infrastructure-related problems. However, the responsibility for urban planning falls outside the scope of their formal services. As a

result, these neighborhoods took on a somewhat informal and economically disadvantaged character, resembling a less formalized and financially limited version of the urban area.



Figure 4. 4 Photo of Dervişler Neighborhood taken by the author

In addition, the marginal and ambiguous status of Syrian rental housing becomes evident in these regions. The prevalence of informal rental housing in urban areas results from the limited availability of housing options for migrants who face significant discrimination and disadvantages in securing alternative forms of accommodation (Song et al., 2008). According to the responses that 80% of the interview participants provide, the landlords, in their attempt to evade taxes and limit tenants' rights, tend to refrain from implementing rental agreements. Recently, there has been an emergence of rental housing specifically designed to cater to marginalized groups within society. Furthermore, there are the services that the municipality provides which according to the respondents has been located in the neighborhoods where residents possess the financial means to access these services.

There is a great building called SEYTİM belongs to the municipality which provides technology-related courses. Citizens and non-citizens from all ages can join it freely. I wish it was close to our neighborhood so my children could benefit from these services and improve their skills (Salam).

Salam has claimed his inability to afford housing in these neighborhoods, which consequently prevents him from joining himself or his children in these activities. Unfortunately, they are compelled to utilize two to three modes of transportation, which cost time and money.

The services-based development strategy implemented by the municipal government did not prioritize these economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, resulting in a lack of efficiency in their management. The ability of local governments through field visits - due to the absence of the municipality building in these neighborhoods - to include these groups in their strategies is advantageous as it can enhance the dynamic character of the urban space.

4.3. The location and housing choices of refugees: the factors/dynamics that affect urban experience

In this section, two key issues of the urban experience of migrants are discussed. The first issue pertains to their housing choices, which have been extensively examined in migration studies.

Considerable research has been conducted on the phenomenon of domestication and the establishment of a sense of home, as well as the challenges associated with attaining a feeling of belonging (Boccagni & Brighenti, 2017, p.3). Migration studies have indicated that the home serves as a crucial space, primarily due to the absence of alternative venues, where young children can acquire knowledge about their parents' cultural and religious customs within their newly adopted countries (Hirvi, 2016, p.24). Larsen (2011) provides an example from Denmark to demonstrate how migrants are viewed as disruptive to the established social order due to their lack of familiarity with the local Danish cultural norms and practices concerning domestic life. In reference to this issue, Vacher (2007) has provided an in-depth analysis of the notion of the home as a sanctuary, emphasizing how it allows individuals to escape the scrutiny of societal integration. This sheds light on the increased understanding of the differentiation between public and private spaces among migrants. All these studies underline the significance of housing for migrants, as it serves as a physical domain that distinctively shelters them from the challenges they encounter in their professional and social spheres. Within this designated space, migrants are shielded from judgment

by others and are afforded the opportunity to exercise their autonomy and exert control which is typically stripped away from them.

The price elasticity of housing is a crucial factor to be carefully evaluated in the decision-making process, particularly given the average salary of \$380 and the requirement to allocate approximately 30%- 40% of income towards rent.

Hürriyet is considered a cheap place to afford so when I came here and started to look for a house, this neighborhood was suitable even though it was not safe. When I come back home from my work, I lock my doors and never contact anyone (Omar).

Omar is not the only interviewee who mentions safety as a real concern, leading to constant worry and a desire to relocate. Similarly, Fadi states that he stayed in Gülpınar- Meydan Neighborhood for two years but, with regards to safety, the neighborhood was unacceptable, so much so that he propounded that despite being a male, he would never feel safe going out alone at night. So, the primary factor that compels individuals to reside in unsafe urban areas is the inadequacy of their salaries, and when presented with the opportunity to earn more, they actively seek to relocate. Fadi exemplifies this behavior as he promptly procured a new residence on Emniyet Street, forgoing the remaining two months of his tenancy at his previous house. About the vicinity of Emniyet and Kibris streets, individuals interviewed express a lack of concern for their families while they were at work, as they were confident in the social support system available to them. This was due to the presence of a significant concentration of Syrian individuals in these areas, who either reside or work there. At this point, interviewees highlight the linguistic barriers they face as they believe that without knowledge of Turkish, they may be unable to seek assistance from the local population in case of trouble.

Precarious urban environments are not the only issue that my interviewees shed light upon, in fact, there were also some interviewees who claimed that they experienced adverse effects due to discriminatory practices prevalent within the labor market.

I started to rarely go out to socialize with other people, I do not trust anyone anymore. When I have time, I spend it just with my son. It is not possible for him to play in the

neighborhood as he has been exposed to discrimination from our neighbors' children many times. I wish I did not know Turkish as their words hurt us all the time (Hanan).

After experiencing discrimination and verbal abuse at work, Hanan begins to limit her social interactions and engagements, consequently hindering her son's integration into the local community. So, the mobility of SUTPs is restricted by the statutory limitations on their movement between cities, while these discriminatory practices further constrain their mobility within the city and even within their own neighborhood.

I am spending all the time at my house, I am living alone. My family went back to Syria, and I told them I want to stay and work. After being exposed to physical and sexual violence at my workplace, I started not to leave the house. I want to start psychological therapy to overcome this (Samira).

When I met Samira, it was evident that she was in a distressed state as she spoke with intensity. She mentioned that she agreed to be interviewed solely to express her grievances about the hardships she has endured. This shows the challenges that women encounter because they are unable to express themselves out loud due to societal biases against them. This results in the SUTPs shutting themselves off and disengaging from social interactions. Samira experiences remorse for not accompanying her family and for losing her right to the city against her will rather than by choice.

It is noteworthy that the results of the study clearly show that the interaction of female workers in the urban area was almost non-existent due to in the prevalence of domestic labor. Moreover, the form of social interaction experienced by married women is mostly with neighbors, mother-in-laws, and mothers in order to complete their responsibilities such as securing childcare during working hours, or doing groceries.

In this regard, the second issue pertains to the social lives of workers which can be separated into two groups: those who are employed in textile workshops and express that they do not have time for socializing, and those who are employed in the furniture sector and claim that they do find the time for socializing after work. The first category - those who are employed in textile workshops - complained of not having a social life, and being able to even rarely visit/integrate with their relatives and friends.

On weekdays, we do not have time for socializing, I mean we visit other people just in case of death, sickness, and urgent situations. At the weekend we go out, visit our friends and relatives, or do household-related tasks. In these times, it is really hard to find time for yourself and your social relations, but I am doing my best to achieve it (Yusuf).

Interviewees from the second category - those who are employed in the furniture sector - asserted the comfort of their experience within their work timings and environment. They also declared that they usually reside in the same neighborhoods as their work colleagues and thus are able to socialize with them even after work. In fact, these workers emphasized that this situation boosted their sense of inclusion and social stability in their host communities, all of which improved their urban experiences as a migrant in Turkey. Not only this but these employees also asserted that they would be unwilling to change their workplace and their neighborhoods so that they do not lose this sense of stability. While those who work in the furniture sector state that are comfortable with the work environment, they live within the same neighborhood as their workmates and keep socializing with them after work, they emphasize each which boosts their inclusion and stabilization in the host community and makes their urban life quality better, as they do not even prefer to change their work or their neighborhood not to lose this stabilization.

I am satisfied with my work environment and my workmates. We respect each other and we are more like friends. We visit each other on special days. We help each other when needed. Last year I lost my mother, and they all stand by me, trying to support me. They did not go to work for three days both Turkish and Syrians (Nader).

Nader states his friends who are employed elsewhere consistently express their admiration for the friendly work atmosphere he enjoys, as they often face considerable challenges in finding employers that prioritize the well-being of their employees.

To conclude, the section indicates that refugees tend to concentrate in specific areas, such as Meydan, due to a desire for a sense of belonging that is lacking in their daily lives. This preference for a homely environment is primarily related to the physical aspects of their home, which guarantees them to be far from the challenges they face in their professional and social spheres, even if it is in precarious urban environments.

Additionally, the detrimental effects that hinder their social integration are connected to discriminatory practices within the labor market, which have shown a clear differential in the sectors of textile and furniture workshops.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to understand the case of SUTPs in the labor market as informal workers in Adana and the challenges they face and proposed that holding the status of Temporary Protection imposes restrictions on their experience in the urban spaces of the host country. In line with this purpose, it has emerged that Temporary Protection status set the ground for preventing the inclusion of SUTPs in the precarious class. Besides the Temporary Protection limitations, this thesis argues that the forms of oppression that SUTPs are exposed to in the labor market certainly limit the possibility of SUTPs integration into the urban space. Thus, absorb in the long run their ability to be active citizens and practice their right to the city.

Regarding oppressive actions, the intersection of Young's model of Five Faces of Oppression and informal migrant labor showed that the various practices of injustice towards SUTPs can be represented with the Five Faces of Oppression. Three faces were observed and handled in this study. The first one is exploitation, which is evident in the labor market with informal workers and happen mostly in three acts either by not accepting to officially hire SUTPs and obtain their work permits, by putting pressure on them psychologically and physically, or by giving lower wages. Also, SUTPs having specific legal status is a factor that is linked to the causes of placing them in a particular weak social status. The second one is marginalization; the analysis has revealed that similar practices are more noticeable within urban environments. Moreover, there is a link that shows that being exposed to exploitation increases the possibility of being marginalized in everyday activities. Then, it has become evident how these characteristics bring a crucial function in investigating the field of migration inequity. The third one is violence; the study has indicated that violent acts are more evident within urban environments, which makes especially male interviewees worry about their families. On the other hand, violence towards women reveals itself as in

verbal and physical violence in both production and social reproduction spaces and as sexual harassment by co-workers. Additionally, the dual system of oppression has emerged from the investigation of instances in which female workers were subjected to acts of oppression based on both the aforementioned factors and their gender. Even though not all the faces were handled in the study. It would be more valuable for further research to investigate the other faces in the frame of migration studies.

In doing so, using the semi-structured interviews alongside literature and archival documents and based on the findings of the thesis, it could be stated that SUTPs were unable to understand their situation in Turkey. Nonetheless, the status of temporary protection is not limited to a specific time, which is the reason for the government's inability to develop a strategic plan to deal with the issue. Still, the limits that are associated with it, such as limited work permits and the difficulty of movement from one city to another and recently from one neighborhood to another enable them to search for other potential job opportunities that allow them to improve the economic situation.

On the other hand, the weak ties, as Granovetter calls it, or the social capital, as Bourdieu calls it, that play an essential role in defining SUTPs experience in the labor market. Those who benefit from these links are less vulnerable to exploitation and more open to social life and urban experience. This study was conducted with workers from both furniture and textile workshops. Participants who took advantage of these networking opportunities were more commonly found in the furniture workshops. They consistently reported having a strong connection with their co-workers and employers and did not experience acts of exploitation from Turkish employers. Additionally, they mentioned that they were able to establish connections with neighbors from the local community. However, those who do not have similar ties had to prove their ability to work and do better than their co-workers in order not to be subjected to humiliation or discrimination.

Finally, this study has shown that SUTPs subjected to the observed forms of oppression have preferred to be concentrated in one zone to create a sense of belonging and a sense of safety when they leave their families alone at their houses. Furthermore, the establishment of these concentrations has resulted in the formation of

neighborhoods that do not attract local residents to go through which leads to potential urban segregation.

To conclude, the findings of this study do not suggest that that all SUTPs are under systemic oppression, However, that being a migrant is a contributing factor that enhances vulnerability to oppression and that refugees are an integral part of society and the urban structure, so what they face directly affects their practicing their right to the city.

5.1. Limitations and Further Research

The hard work circumstances for 70% of the participants changed the medium that the research was supposed to be held. Initially, it was planned to lead the fieldwork of this study with face-to-face interviews, however, that was not preferred by the participants as they reach their houses at a late hour. That is why, online platforms were employed in order to conduct the interviews and collect data. Certainly, this can be considered a limitation of the study as it restricts the ability to acquire more open-ended responses that can enrich the study.

Furthermore, due to the informal nature of SUTPs work, the participants shared their concerns regarding legal repercussions such as accounting issues and deportation, should their stories become known. These apprehensions resulted in a significant number of potential participants declining to join the study, thereby necessitating a considerable amount of time to obtain a sufficient number of interviews.

Finally, there is limited access to data (Migration Management Office) which made the author unable to analyze the statistical data of SUTPs related to gender and employment situation according to their neighborhoods and districts. Yet, in order for future research to have greater relevance, it would be advantageous for the researchers to explore the same issue across various cities characterized by varying levels of socio-economic development. In addition, examining the formal sector would be useful to see whether informality has a role in these practices. Moreover, the analysis I have provided using Young's Five Faces of Oppression demonstrates its relevance to migrants, particularly in its ability to offer new perspectives on the nature of injustices in relation to migration and serve as a valuable resource for migration and urban researchers seeking to address issues of injustice within the context of migration.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
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14 OCAK 2022

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. E. Atilla AYTEKİN

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Zeynep ZALT "Faces of Foreign Labor Exploitation: The Case of Syrian Refugees and Migrants in Turkey." başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **0088-ODTÜİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Demographic information

- Would you mind introducing yourself? (Gender, Age , Location, Education, Marital Status, Job position)
- What city are you originally from/what city does your family reside in?

General Question

- What can you tell me about your life in Turkey? What do you feel about it?
- How do you spend your weekdays and your weekends?

Education:

Main Question:

- What can you tell about your education level and its role in entering your professional life?

Sub- Questions:

- Did you receive any training here or any kind of vocational classes?
- Do you speak a language other than Arabic? If yes, which languages?
- Could you learn the Turkish Language? If not, why?

Economic/Financial standing:

Main question

- Are you able to afford your basic needs? Please elaborate on the difference between your economic standing in your home country and the host country.

Professional life

Main Questions:

- How could you find your first job/ how was the process of finding a job? Are you working in the same profession now? If not, how often do you change Jobs? Please elaborate on the difference between looking for a job in your home country and the host country.

- What can you tell about the environment of your workplace? What kind of problems that you have faced?
- What kind of jobs do you find suitable for your qualification?

Sub Questions:

- What questions were asked in the job interview?
- Does your current job match with your education and qualifications?
- Do you consider yourself qualified, unqualified, or overqualified for your job?
- Could you get a working permit? How many hours a day do you work and how many days a week?
- Do you think workers with different nationalities are paid the same?
- What is your employer's and your workmates' attitude towards you during work?
- How is your relationship with the other employees at your workplace?
- Are there any other Syrian employees at your workplace? If not, why?
- Have you ever been through a period of unemployment? Why?
- Is your monthly income enough to cover your monthly expenses? Or do you receive any support from the state or other NGOs?
- Have you experienced a change in the income-expense balance according to pre-war conditions? If you have, in which expenditures have you changed?
- Are you satisfied with your workplace?

Social Life

Main Questions:

- How much time is left for your social life?
- What/ where activities do you do in order to socialize?

Access

Main Questions:

- Do you find any problems in accessing any kind of services? (Private and Public institutions/ Health and educational facilities)

Security

Main Questions:

- How secure do you feel in the host country? (Workplace, neighborhood)

Final Questions:

- Would you consider immigrating to another country? If YES/ NO, Why?
- What about being back in Syria?



C. INTERVIEW SAMPLE

- **Would you mind introducing yourself? (Gender, Age, Location, Education, Marital Status, Job position)**

I live in Adana near the Emniyat, Meydan Neighborhood. I am single I work in one of the textile factories in Kocavezir neighborhood in Çarşı. We live as me and my mother in the house. I am a kind of multi-purpose worker. I work on both the designing and the ironing phases. I am 27 years old. Unfortunately, I could not complete my high school in Syria because of the war. I came here at first alone then my mother, my brothers and sisters followed me. I came Adana because of my family and friends who came before me.

- **What can you tell me about your life in Turkey? What do you feel about it?**

If you want me to tell you about my life in Turkey, I will be talking about my work. But let me start from the beginning, In Syria I was working as air conditioning and refrigeration technician while studying. I had my own place at the beginning of the conflict. But I closed it because of the war. When I came to Turkey 8 year ago, I wanted to practice my work, but language prevented me from doing so. I was not able to communicate either with my boss or with the costumers. I was not able to explain the damaged part or what we need to do. Also, the salary was too law, I worked in air conditioning and refrigeration for three weeks when I came. And my boss gave me 50 Tl a week.

I had previous knowledge and experience in the textile industry, so I quit my job as an air conditioning and refrigeration technician and started in the textile industry. They gave me 250 Tl weekly, 5 times what I earned in my previous job. We came here with nothing, I did not have the luxury to do what I am expertise in, I needed to follow who gave me a better wage.

Actually, I cannot say that I satisfied with my life here as I could not take any step further in eight years. I could not improve my economic situation, I work to afford my

primary needs only. I dream to have my own workplace, do something for my children future. I am 27 years old; I have been here for more than 8 years, but I could not do any of that. I have the same routine every day, work, eat and sleep.

In 2017 I moved to Istanbul for a while, and I noticed how it was different from Adana. I mean here in Adana you can either find a Turkish or Syrian worker at the ateliers. In Istanbul, you can find Egyptian, Afghan, Iraqi, Syrian, etc. You never feel foreign, they know how to deal with workers from other nationalities. The wages were better, and the opportunities were diverse. You can always find a job in Istanbul. In 2017, my salary in Adana was 400 TL, in Istanbul it was 800 TL a week. I even had the chance to do additional work and earn extra money. The plan was to move with my family permanently there, but I could not because of the permissions we needed to get in order to move

I am not satisfied with my life here but when we compare it with Syria, it is better. I have tried to apply to the resettlement procedures and humanitarian admission programs to go Europe, but I was not accepted. EU Illegal Border Crossing is not safe at all, I cannot take such a risk, so I kept working here.

- **How do you spend your weekdays and your weekends?**

After work, I go to the gym every other day, when I don't go to the gym, I do my groceries and then go back home by at most 8:30 pm. I never go home late.

At the weekend, I either spend it at home, visit my relatives, spend time with my friends, or if the weather was good, we go out for a kind of picnic, but this is considered a rare situation.

- **How could you find your first job/ how was the process of finding a job? Are you working in the same profession now? If not, how often do you change Jobs? Please elaborate on the difference between looking for a job in your home country and the host country.**

My advantage when I started working was that I was an expert in the textile sector, otherwise I would have started as a middleman with lower wages. But I know cutting, ironing and other functions that enabled me to find a job easier. I lost my dad at the age of eight, so I had to work and help my mother. I used to work at the textile ateliers of my relatives from the age of 8 until 12, I used to go with my brother, work part time at school time and full time in holidays. I got enough experience at the mentioned four

years. Now my main role is to work on ironing, but if needed I work on the machine, design and cut cloths.

In Syria, at the age of 12 I quitted working in textile and moved to air conditioning and refrigeration sector. I worked for four years at the same place with the same chef, after that and because of the salary I changed my workplace for about one and a half year. Then I decided to start my own work. In four months, I could earn good money enough to cover all the expenses I needed to open my own place. Unfortunately, the conflict in Syria have started and because of the main electric problem we had at that time, I had to close my workplace.

In Turkey I have changed my workplace many times, I cannot even count them for you. The first reason behind it was bad treatment. At first, when we came to Turkey, they mentioned us as ‘’ Syrians who do not know Turkish’’, even though I was an expert, but the language was the most important barrier preventing me from communicating with my workmates. They were using the command style and we couldn't discuss them because we didn't know the Turkish language. I overcame this problem as I have learned Turkish. Secondly, the low wages made me leave my job many times, I was asking for a raise, but the employer rarely responded. Finally, giving unpaid breaks either because of the end of the season or the end of the order.

In Syria, employer-worker relationship is totally different, it more like family members relationship, father-son relationship that is why after 4 years from changing my profession, my former employer from my first job opened his arms for me again to work with him. Also, we never asked for extra money for our overtime because whenever we needed permission for days off, my employer approved without a salary cut, he never got angry because I got work late. Here if you were late for even ten minutes, you will have problems, and if you did that 3 or 4 times you will be fired. In Syria when my brother went to do his military service, his employer used to pay his salary even he was not working.

- **What can you tell about the environment of your workplace? / What kind of problems that you have faced?**

In my current workplace 80% of the workers are Syrians, the reason why Syrian workers number is high that Syrian workers are more easy-going, they say okay for all the orders because they have no other chance. On the other hand, the Turkish workers used to protest, they even refuse to work with us and treat us very badly. In my

workplace, the most important thing for our employer is to give more effort and to have better experience that is why Syrians salaries are better than Turkish workers' salaries. They have objected many times for this situation, but our employer is a fair man and he never obey them.

I work five and a half days a week. Starting on Monday until Saturday, from 8 am until 7 pm every day except Saturdays until 1 pm. I work informally and frankly I do not look for a job with a permission and a health insurance because such jobs come with lower wages. They tell us to pay our insurance which will decrease our salary. Now I get 5000 Tl a month, my friend who pays his insurance get 3000 to 3500 TL. That is why we do not prefer it. However, if I got an offer with the same salary and a health insurance, for sure I will be happy with it. The atelier's capacity is about 50 workers and 95% of them are working illegally.

Also, the conditions of the textile factories where I can find a job with health insurance and work permit are so hard, you cannot use headphones, and you cannot touch your phones. No coffee n tea you will act more like a machine. In the ateliers, it is better I mean if I had a phone call, I could answer it at least and have a tea break. It does not matter how urgent your condition is.

My current employer who is Turkish, I have known him for about seven years, we worked together several times, and the last one and a half years were without any breaks. At first, he was treating me badly but then he started to know me and my work better and now he treats me very well. I was happier at my workplace. Now we have some problems because everything is getting more expensive. We have asked for a raise, but it was not enough. We have asked for more, but our employer refused to do so. However, I have worked in about forty ateliers and none of them was better than where I work now, that is why I keep working.

- **Do you find any problems in accessing any kind of services? (Private and Public institutions)**

As a Syrian I need to go to the migration office for data verification. Going there means losing one or a half day work. The same happens when going to hospital with my mother as she has a chronic illness. Unfortunately, even though those situations are a must, employers never pay for it. I mean we have low wages, and this really affects us badly.

- **How much time is left for your social life? What/ where activities do you do in order to socialize?**

We do not have time for our social life, and I wish our work hours were shorter. I am planning with my brother to work for our own interests, but I need always to lie to get permission as I cannot do that except for urgent situations. For sure any permission is unpaid, but I use it to get raw material to use for our work as when I go back home all the shops are closed.

- **How secure do you feel in the host country? (Workplace, neighborhood)**

I have stayed in Gülpınar Neighborhood for two years and it was really bad in terms of safety, I never went out at night when I was there, but I could not change it because of my low salary, it was also possible to find another place because they have always asked for an annual rent, and I had no chance to save money at that time. When I changed my workplace and had a better salary, I was able to do that and the first thing I did was look for another house. When I found one in Emniyet Street I moved directly even though I had two months to finish the year in my previous house.

The Emniyet Street is safer and closer to my workplace. Also, most of my relatives and friends are staying here, and I can find all Syrian products that I need.

I never feel safe at work as well as I can be fired for any tiny thing. The same at Adana, it is the worst place in Turkey. I wish I could register as a refugee for Europe, I may have a better life there, I can get my rights here I am not able to do so I can even go from city to another without getting permission I am forcibly living in Adana.

I think the solution can be reached by giving citizenship to all Syrians so we will not be treated in a different way.

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Son on yılda göç tartışması önem kazanmış ve literatürü zenginleştirmiştir. Alanda birçok çalışmanın yapıldığı ve göç politikalarına ilişkin çeşitli tartışmaların gündeme geldiği dikkat çekmektedir. 2011'den bu yana Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerin sayısı her geçen gün katlanarak artmaktadır. 2011-2015 yılları arasında uygulanan “açık kapı” politikası sonucunda Suriyeli mülteciler, herhangi bir siyasi kontrol veya kimlik kanıtı şartı aranmaksızın sınır kapılarından Türkiye'ye girdiler. Sonuçta "Suriyelilerin yakında geri döneceği" varsayılmaktaydı (Saraçoğlu ve Belanger, 2018). Suriye krizinin başlangıcından bu yana Türkiye, en fazla sayıda yerinden edilmiş Suriyeliye sahip ülke olmuştur. Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı tarafından yayınlanan istatistiklere göre 2023 yılında 3.522.036 milyon Suriyeli geçici koruma altındadır. Dahası, bu sayıya kayıtsız veya oturma izni bulunan Suriyeliler dahil değildir.

Suriye'deki iç çatışmalar devam ederken, Türkiye'de ise Suriyeli göçmenlerin barınması, taşınması ve güvenliği ile ilgili konuları düzenleyen uygun politikaların bulunmaması sebebiyle sosyopolitik gerilimler patlak verdi (Dinçer ve diğerleri, 2013; Öner ve diğerleri, 2020). Ardından 2012'den 2016'ya kadar Türkiye açık kapı politikasını değiştirerek Suriyelilerin sınırdan girişine sınırlamalar ve yasaklar koymaya başladı (Özen, 2016). Türkiye, Memişoğlu ve Ilgıt'ın (2016) iddia ettiği gibi, yalnızca Suriyelilere ev sahipliği yapmakla kalmayıp aynı zamanda Avrupa yakasına geçmek isteyenler için bir köprü olduğu için bir “göç ülkesi” haline geldi. Bunun yanında, Türkiye, uluslararası göçmen akışının sayısını kontrol etmede çok önemli rol oynadı.

Tezde, Suriyeli göçmenleri, Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyeliler (SUTPs) olarak anmayı tercih ediyorum. Çünkü Türkiye'de kazandıkları yasal statünün, ev sahibi ülkede hayatlarının şekillenmesinde en önemli etken olduğuna inanıyorum. Hiç şüphesiz, göçle ilgili araştırmalara da büyük ölçüde katkıda bulunmuştur. Son dönemde literatürde yer alan birçok göç çalışmasına benzer şekilde, tezin genel amacı Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçmenlerin kentsel deneyimlerini araştırmaktır. Ancak,

özellikle Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçmenlerin işgücü piyasasında karşı karşıya kaldıkları çeşitli baskılar konusunda analiz yapılmaktadır. Bu nedenle, tezin özellikle iki kaygısı vardır. İlki, Türkiye'deki geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin sahip oldukları sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik sermayenin yeni gelenler olarak uyum süreçlerini kolaylaştırmada veya sorunlaştırmada oynadığı rolü incelemeye dayanmaktadır. Geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin göçleri sırasında karşılaştıkları çeşitli zorlukları ele alan kavramsal çerçevelerden yararlanmayı amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin hem üretim hem de yeniden üretim alanlarında haklarına ulaşma potansiyelini tanımlayan önemli konuları gündeme getirmektedir. İkinci kaygı, göç, baskı ve prekarya kavramlarının birbiriyle ilişkili olduğunun ve daha sonraki kentsel çalışmalarda kullanılabileceğinin altını çizmektedir.

Araştırmam, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin sosyal ve kültürel sermayelerinin ağlar ve ilişkiler kurmak için gerekli olduğunu ve bu varlıkları yaratmak için çok çaba gerektiğini gösterdi. Trepte ve Scharkow (2017), sosyal sermayenin faydalarından birinin, benzer kritik yaşam olaylarında ihtiyaç duyulan desteği sağlaması olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Bourdieu (1986) de “sosyal sermaye” kavramı altında bu zayıf bağlara önem atfetmektedir. Bourdieu'ye göre, göçmenlerin yeteneklerine uygun işgücü piyasasına katılmalarını sağlamada en etkili olan üç sermaye kategorisi ekonomik sermaye, kültürel sermaye ve sosyal sermayedir. Liu ve diğerleri (2017) de bu fikre katılıyor ve göçmenlerin sahip olduğu sosyal bağlar ne kadar güçlüyse, öznel iyi oluşlarının o kadar arttığına inanıyor. Gerçekten de sığınmacı ve mültecilerin farklı ülkelerde nasıl yönetildiğine dair kesin bir cevap yoktur. Çünkü bu durum, her ülkenin kendine özgü siyasi ve ekonomik koşullarına bağlı olarak değişebilir. Örneğin, mevcut işgücü sıkıntısı olduğunda, sığınmacıların kayıt dışı piyasaya girişi, kayıtlı ekonomiye katılımdan daha kolay olabilir (Saraçoğlu ve Belanger, 2018). Göçmenler genellikle yerli işçilere ödenenden daha düşük ücretlerle çalışmak zorunda kalmıştır. Bunu durum, kamuoyunun göçmenlere yönelik tutumunu değiştirmekte ve genellikle göçmenlerin yerel işçilerin yerini aldığı ve ulusal işsizlik oranını artırdığı izlenimini verdiği için nefret söylemini artırmaktadır.

Buradan hareketle bu çalışma, özellikle Adana örneği ile ilgili sorular sorarak kayıt dışı sektördeki geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelileri sorunsallaştırmaktadır. Bu sorunun ardından ortaya çıkan sorular şunlardır:

- Geçici koruma statüsünün muğlak özelliklerinin kent haklarına bir yük olarak rolü nedir?
- Geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin ev sahibi ülkelerde sahip olduğu sınırlamaları şekillendirmede kayıt dışı ekonominin önemi nedir?
- Geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin sahip olduğu farklı sermaye türleri, ev sahibi ülkedeki alışma ve uyum süreçlerini nasıl etkiler?
- Geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin emeğinin maruz kaldığı baskı biçimleri nelerdir?
- Kontrol süreçleri ve politikaları, nasıl geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin savunmasızlığına ve güvencesizliğine katkıda bulunan bir faktör olarak hareket edebilir?
- Emek sömürsünün türü, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin maruz kaldıkları kentsel baskıyı nasıl etkiler?

Bu soruları cevaplamak için araştırmanın aşamaları ve her biriyle ilişkili hedefler tasarlanmıştır. Literatür taraması, göç, Bourdieu'nün sermaye biçimleri kavramsallaştırması, baskının yüzleri, kentsel deneyim ve kent hakkı hakkındaki güncel literatürü araştırmama ve literatürdeki boşluğu güncellemeye yardımcı olan araştırmanın ilk aşamasıdır. Ardından, mülakat soruları formüle edildikten ve dahil edilmesi planlanan hedef gruplar belirlendikten sonra pilot çalışma gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu aşamanın arkasındaki sebep, mülakat sorularının etkinliğini anlamak ve mülakat sorularını yeniden ele almaktır. Üçüncü aşama, ana konuları doğrudan katılımcılardan öğrenerek anlayabilmem için yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yaparak veri toplamadır. Dördüncüsü, çalışmada ele alınması gereken ilgi alanlarını tanımlamak için kullandığım en önemli aşama olan veri analizidir. Son olarak, görüşmelerin sonucu aracılığıyla literatüre yeniden baktığım ve daha fazla argüman için yeni kanıtlar sağladığım yansıma ve sonuç bölümü gelmektedir.

Araştırma boyunca yararlandığım teorik çerçeve açısından bakıldığında, göçle ilgili literatürün çoğunlukla göçmenlerin neoliberal politikalar ve kapitalist ekonomik sistem altında maruz kaldıkları kötü ekonomik durum ve toplumsal entegrasyonlarının boyutları etrafında döndüğünü gözlemledim. Göçmenleri incelerken, özellikle ev sahibi ülkede on yıldan fazla ikamet ettikleri durumlarda, onları - oy hakkı olmaksızın

- vatandaş olarak kabul etmek bence gereklidir. Bu tez için, Suriyeli göçmenin bir vatandaş olarak deneyimlerini analiz etmeye yardımcı olacak teoriler kullanıldı. Zira siyasi durumda geçici olsa bile göçmen, kentsel mekanın bir parçasıdır ve ekonomiye katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Tez, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin işgücü baskısının farklılaşmasının ardındaki nedenleri analiz etmek ve vurgulamak için ilk olarak Pierre Bourdieu'nün (1986) yaklaşımını ve onun sermaye teorisini Mark Granovetter'in (1973) zayıf bağların gücüne ilişkin görüşü ile birlikte kullanır. Bu bağlamda, Her ne kadar Bourdieu ekonomik sermayenin elde edilmesinde ve geliştirilmesinde sosyal sermayenin rolüne daha fazla odaklansa da, Bourdieu ve Granovetter'in uyum sağlamada toplumsal ilişkilere önem vermesinden hareketle, kayıt dışı piyasanın her zaman bir adaletsizlik ve mücadele alanı sağladığı söylenebilir. Tezde savunulan bu görüş, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin ev sahibi ülkeye uyum sağlamalarını kolaylaştırmada ve işgücü piyasasındaki deneyimlerini tanımlamada sosyal ilişkilerinin önemini göstermektedir.

Geçici koruma altındaki Suriyeliler arasında yinelenen sömürü ve şiddet temaları dikkate alındığında, Iris Young'ın farklı baskı türlerini değerlendirme çerçevesi, bu deneyimleri anlamının ve kategorize etmenin bir yolu olarak kullanıldı. Iris Marion Young (1988) sosyal adaletsizliğin beş baskı biçimi olarak kavramsallaştırılabileceğini savunuyor: sömürü, marjinalleştirme, güçsüzlük, kültürel emperyalizm ve şiddet. Young'a (1988, s.278) göre, sömürülen sosyal gruplar, kendileriyle diğer sosyal gruplar arasında bir güç eşitsizliğinin üretildiği ve emeklerinin başka bir gruba fayda sağlamasıyla sonuçlanan sistematik bir sürece tabidir. Öte yandan, marjinalleşmeyle karşı karşıya kalan sosyal gruplar, yerleşik sosyal yapılardan ve emek sistemlerinden dışlanmalarıyla belirlenebilir. Sonuç olarak, yeteneklerini toplum tarafından tanınan ve kabul edilen şekillerde kullanmak için sınırlı şanslarla karşılaşır (Young, 1988, s.281). Sürekli göçten etkilenen bir dünyada, baskıyla örtüşen göçü anlamak, göçmenlerin yasal statüsünden etkilenen sistematik tahakküm sürecini keşfetmemizi gerektirir. Bu nedenle, bu sistematik süreci nedenleri ve sonuçları çerçevesinde irdelemek zorunludur.

Young'ın (1988) sömürü tanımı üzerine düşünüldüğünde, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli işçilerin belirsiz ve güvencesiz yaşam koşullarına karşı savunmasız kalmalarına yol açan sömürü uygulamalarına maruz kaldıkları ortaya çıkıyor. Danièle Bélanger &

Cenk Saracoglu (2018), kayıt dışı sektörde mülteci işçi çalıştırılmasına ilişkin olarak Türk hükümeti tarafından konulan Suriyeli mültecilerin geçici olarak korunmasına yönelik kısıtlamaların bir esneklik duygusu verdiğini ve disiplin cezalarının, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelileri istismar etmekte, devlet ile işverenler arasındaki ilişkiye katkıda bulunduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Araştırma sonuçları hem Türk hem de Suriyeli işverenlerin, ucuz işgücü oldukları için Suriyeli işçi çalıştırmayı yüksek oranda tercih ettiklerini ortaya koymaktadır. Nitekim işçilerin milliyetlerine göre adaletsiz dağılımı Suriyeli ve Türk işçiler arasındaki gerilimi alevlendirmektedir. Bu dinamik, işverenlerin milliyetleri nedeniyle Türk işçilere ayrıcalık gösteriyor olması nedeniyle, iş arkadaşları arasında şiddeti beslemektedir. Sonuç olarak, Suriyeli işçiler haklarını savunma konusunda önemli engellerle karşılaşmakta ve bu da onları ya bu koşullara boyun eğmeye ya da başka bir yerde iş aramaya yöneltmektedir. Bu deneyimler, hem kentsel deneyimleri üzerinde doğrudan bir etkiye sahiptir hem de ev sahibi topluluklara ne ölçüde entegre olabildiklerini etkiler. Ayrıca tez, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyeli kadın işçilerin etnik ve cinsel statülerine bağlı olarak çok katmanlı sorunlar yaşadıklarını göstermektedir. Ayrıca, kadın işçiler, kadınların kendilerini koruyabilecek kadar güçlü olmadığını düşünüldüğünden, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyeli erkek işçilerinde gözlemlenmeyen fiziksel ve sözel şiddete maruz kalmışlar ve günün sonunda, daha iyi maaşlar aramayı bırakıp, insan gibi muamele görebilecekleri bir yer aramaya başlamışlardır. Görüşmelerdeki tüm kadın katılımcılar, buldukları yerde çalışmaya devam etmeleri gerektiğinden, sadece iş yerinde değil, evlerinde de aşağılayıcı muameleye maruz kaldıklarını ve öz-değerlerinin sıyrıldığını ifade etmektedirler. Kendi haklarını savunma girişimlerine rağmen, endişeleri sürekli olarak reddedilmekte ve kendi ifadeleriyle günde 24 saat kullanılmaktadırlar. Kapitalist sistem onları ucuz emek olarak, ataerkil sistem ise toplumun desteğiyle ev işçisi olarak sömürüyor.

Kentsel mekanın farklı göç akımlarının etkisi altında geçirdiği evrimi ortaya koyan sonuçlar, Henri Lefebvre'nin (1991) mekan ve yeni mekanların nasıl üretildiğine dair yaklaşımı çerçevesinde incelenmektedir. Kısaca, çeşitli baskı eylemlerine maruz kalan geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin faaliyetleriyle yeni alanlar ürettikleri ve evcilleştirme yoluyla kendilerini daha çok ürettikleri söylenebilir. Bu tez bulgularına göre, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyeliler genellikle temel ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için

kazanç elde etmek için çalışmaktadır. Ancak gündelik mekânsal pratiklerinin emek piyasasındaki deneyimlerine göre farklılaştığı ve bunun da yaşadıkları mekânları, aidiyet duygusunu korumak için sahiplenmelerine yol açtığı açıktır. Görüşmeler, yeni sakinlerin kentsel mekandaki hizmetlere ve kaynaklara tam olarak erişemediklerini ortaya koydu. Bu, kent hakkına ve bu bağlamda baskının etkisine ilişkin önemli soruları gündeme getiriyor.

'Kent hakkı' kavramını ilk kez tanımlayan Henri Lefebvre (1996, s. 174), kent hakkını, bir kentteki münhasır bölgeleri değiştirebilecek şekilde değiştirme girişimi olarak görmektedir. Söz konusu şehrin çok yönlü sosyal bağlantılarına ev sahipliği yapıyor ve bu süreci yabancılaşmadan arındırma olarak tanımlıyor. Aynı zamanda, şehir hakkının, yaşayanların şehrin mekanını kullanmasını ve şehrin avantajlarından dışlanmış hissetmemesini sağladığını öne sürüyor. Dolayısıyla, bu yaklaşıma göre "kent", sakinlerinin ihtiyaçlarını karşılayan ve herkes için kullanım değerini koruyan geniş bir alandır (1996, s. 67–68). Bu bağlamda atıfta bulunulan 'kentsel mekan', yaşayanlar arasındaki etkileşimi ve bağlantıyı kolaylaştıran, mevcut bölünmelerin üstesinden gelmelerini sağlayan bir mekandır (Purcell, 2014, s.149). Bununla birlikte, görüşmeler, mahalleler, pazarlar ve parklar dahil olmak üzere bu tür alanlara erişimin kısıtlı olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu, özellikle bu tür bir angajmanı yasaklayan herhangi bir açık politikanın yokluğunda, bu sınırlamaların neden var olduğu sorusunu gündeme getirmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, hem geçici korumaya getirilen sınırlamalar hem de hakim kamuoyu ve Suriyelilerin yaşadığı sömürü, Prucell'in (2014) incelediği 'sahiplenme' hakları ile gelen avantajları azaltmaktadır. Görüşmeciler herhangi bir yasal sınırlama olmadan parkları ziyaret edebileceklerini kabul etseler de başkaları tarafından maruz bırakıldıkları davranışlar, çeşitli kentsel deneyimlere sahip olma imkanlarını kısıtlamaktadır. Bu durum, komşuları tarafından topluluk kültürüne erişimi engellenen çocuklarında da gözlemlenmektedir. Burada kastettiğim, çocukların, yaşadıkları sokaklarda, parklarda ve oyun alanlarında çeşitli aktivitelerle kazandıkları kültürdür. Bu gayri resmi disipline edici pratiklere karşı duyulan endişelerin varlığı, etkili yasal düzenlemelerin yokluğuyla birleşerek entegrasyon ve hakların uygulanmasına engel teşkil etmektedir.

Görüştüğüm kişilerin yaşamayı tercih ettikleri mahallelerin de kendine has özellikleri olduğu ve çoğunlukla dar gelirlilerin oturduğu mahalleler olduğu görülüyor. Yazarın

çaktığı yukarıdaki fotoğraflar, Meydan mahallesindeki Kıbrıs Caddesi'ni gösteriyor. Bu sokak, analizimiz için önemli bir ortamdır. Çünkü bu tez için görüşülen kişilerin önemli bir çoğunluğu (%60) ikametgahı olarak bu bölgeyi belirtmiştir. Bu görüntüler, mahallede Suriyelilerin varlığını gösteren Arapça yazılmış tabelaları gösteriyor. Bölgeyle ilgili araştırmam sırasında, bu sokakta dikkate değer sayıda Suriyeli fark ettim ve bunların hepsinin bölgenin yerel sakinleriyle sınırlı bir etkileşimi varmış gibi görünüyordu. Duyulan baskın dil Arapçaydı ve bölgede dikkat çekici bir kadın varlığı vardı. Bu olgu sorgulandığında, Suriyeli erkeklerin uzun çalışma saatlerinin kendi ülkelerinde olduğu gibi market alışverişi yapmalarını kısıtladığı ortaya çıktı. Dolayısıyla bu görev, ailenin kadın üyelerine ait bir sorumluluk haline gelmişti. Hatta birkaç erkek görüşme de, ailedeki kadınların ötekileştirmeye maruz kalmamasını ve bunun yerine, Suriyeli nüfusu için merkez olarak gördükleri bir yerde, özgürce dışarı çıkabilmelerini, ihtiyaçlarını karşılayabilmelerini ve diğer Suriyeli kadınlarla sosyalleşebilmelerini sağladığı için bu durumu tercih ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bisiklet, scooter ve yürüyüş gibi aktif ulaşım yöntemlerinin gözle görülür kullanımını ele alarak devam ediyoruz. Görüşülen kişilere göre, minibüs, otobüs, taksi gibi alternatif ulaşım araçları, gelirlerinin düşük olması nedeniyle maddi sıkıntı yaratıyor. Sonuç olarak, bu tür paylaşımlı küçük araçlar genellikle Kıbrıs Caddesi gibi yoğun nüfuslu kentsel alanlarda kullanılsa da şehrin ana bulvarında risk oluşturabilir. Ek olarak, bu ulaşım modlarının sınırlı kapasiteleri, tüm aile üyelerinin aynı anda kullanımını kısıtlamakta ve bu durum, şehirde sınırlı hareketlilik anlamına gelmektedir. Ulaşım faktörü, bir iş teklifini kabul etmeye karar verirken görüşülen kişiler için önemli bir husustur, çünkü onlar servis hizmeti veren işverenleri tercih ederler. Bu tür hizmetler mevcut değilse, konaklama yerlerini buna göre seçerler. Üçüncü husus, katılımcıların ikamet ettikleri kentsel çevrede bina dayanıklılığının ve belediye hizmetlerinin eksikliğinin etkisiyle ilgilidir. Bu durum, bir düzensizlik duygusuna ve çevreye aldırış edilmediğine işaret etmektedir. Bölgedeki hem demografik hem de ekonomik genişleme, konut ve kentsel altyapı talebinde istikrarlı bir artışa neden olmuştur (Andersson & Andersson, 2019, s.9). Ayrıca, konut piyasasının kısıtlamaları nedeniyle evlerin inşası doğası gereği esnek değildir ve bu, esas olarak barındırdığı hanelerin büyüklüğü tarafından belirlenen, yapıya uygulanan sürekli gerilim tarafından belirlenen sabit bir kullanım ömrü ile sonuçlanır.

Yukarıda belirtilen baskıya katkıda bulunan birincil faktörlerden biri, özellikle geçimini sağlayan tek bir kişiye dayanan haneler için konut maliyetlerinin karşılanabilir olmamasıdır. Bu durum, mesken başına bir ailenin barınmasını engelleyen zorlayıcı barınma maliyeti-gelir oranlarında açıkça görülmektedir.

Metodolojik çerçeve, bu çalışmanın birincil amaçlarına ulaşmak için tamamlanmış ve yürütülmüştür. Her bir aşamanın tüm çalışmadaki rolünü tanımlamak için açıklanmıştır. Bu çalışma, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin çalıştığı işgücü piyasasının koşullarını anlamayı ve bu koşulların tanımlanmasında sahip oldukları farklı sermaye biçimlerinin rolünü vurgulayarak, bu koşulların kentsel deneyimler üzerindeki etkisini öne çıkarmayı amaçladığından, karma bir nitel araştırma yaklaşımı benimsenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın birincil verileri, geçici koruma altındaki 17 Suriyeli (tekstil atölyelerinde çalışan 6 kadın ve 6 erkek ve mobilya atölyelerinde çalışan 5 erkek) ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ile toplanmıştır. Arşiv verileri, kişisel gözlemler ve uzman tartışmaları bu verileri desteklemiştir. Görüşmeler, Şubat ve Ekim 2022 arasında gerçekleşmiştir. Bu sürenin uzunluğu, araştırmaya katılmayı kabul eden kişilerin bulunmasında karşılaşılan sorunlardan kaynaklanmaktadır. İkincil veriler, IOM (Uluslararası Göç Örgütü), IGAM (İltica ve Göç Araştırma Merkezi), ILO (Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü) ve GİGM (Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı) arşivleri gibi resmi çevrimiçi veritabanlarından toplanmaktadır. Bu aşama, literatürdeki boşlukları bulmaya ve tekrardan kaçınmaya yardımcı olduğu için problemi daha iyi tanımlamak ve araştırma modelini geliştirmek için çalışmada önemlidir. Katılımcıların %70'i için ağır çalışma koşulları, araştırmanın yapılması gereken ortamı değiştirdi. Başlangıçta bu saha çalışmasının yüz yüze görüşmeler şeklinde yürütülmesi planlanmış, ancak katılımcılar evlerine geç saatte ulaşıklarından bu yöntem pek tercih edilmemiştir. Bu nedenle görüşmeleri gerçekleştirmek ve veri toplamak için çevrimiçi platformlardan yararlanılmıştır. Elbette bu, çalışmayı zenginleştirebilecek daha açık uçlu yanıtlar elde etmeyi kısıtladığı için çalışmanın bir sınırlılığı olarak kabul edilebilir.

Ayrıca, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin çalışmalarının gayri resmi doğası nedeniyle, katılımcılar, hikayelerinin öğrenilmesi durumunda muhasebe sorunları ve sınır dışı edilme gibi yasal yansımalara ilişkin endişelerini paylaştılar. Bu endişeler, önemli sayıda potansiyel katılımcının çalışmaya katılmayı reddetmesine neden oldu ve bu nedenle, yeterli sayıda görüşme yapmak için önemli miktarda zaman gerektirdi.

Son olarak, verilere erişimin sınırlı olması (Göç İdaresi Ofisi), yazarın, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin cinsiyet ve istihdam durumlarına ilişkin istatistiksel verileri yaşadıkları mahallelere ve ilçelere göre analiz edebilmesine engel olmuştur.

Bununla birlikte, araştırmanın daha iyi aydınlatılmasının üç nedeni vardır. Bunlar, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin Adana'da en çok bahsettiği iki sektördeki koşulların incelenmesiyle başlamaktadır. Ortaya çıkan farklılıklar, katılımcıların günlük yaşamlarında görülen, bir sektörün durumunun analiz edilmesi halinde fark edilmesi zor olacak çeşitli örüntüleri ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca, nitel araştırma yöntemleri (kartopu örnekleme) kullanmak, örneklerin bulunmasına ve kimliklerinin açığa çıkmasını istemedikleri için öne çıkıp araştırma çalışmalarına katılmak istemeyen kararsız öznelerin (sample hesitant subjects) ikna edilmesine yardımcı olmuştur. Son olarak, bazı katılımcılar uzun çalışma saatleri nedeniyle başlangıçta araştırmanın bir parçası olmayı kabul etmediklerinden görüşmelerin çevrimiçi olarak gerçekleştirilebilmesi için esneklik sağlanması önemlidir.

Bu çalışma, Adana'da kayıt dışı işçiler olarak işgücü piyasasındaki geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin durumunu ve karşılaştıkları zorlukları anlamaya çalışmış ve Geçici Koruma statüsüne sahip olmanın, ev sahibi ülkenin kentsel alanlarındaki deneyimlerine kısıtlamalar getirdiğini öne sürmüştür. Bu amaç doğrultusunda yapılan araştırma sonunda, Geçici Koruma statüsünün geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin güvencesiz sınıfa dahil edilmesine zemin hazırladığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu tez, Geçici Koruma sınırlamalarının yanı sıra, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin işgücü piyasasında maruz kaldıkları baskı biçimlerinin de onların kentsel mekana entegre olma olasılıklarını kesinlikle sınırladığını iddia etmektedir.

Baskıcı eylemlere bakıldığında, Young'ın (1988) Baskının Beş Yüzü modeli ile kayıt dışı göçmen emeğinin kesişimi, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilere yönelik adil olmayan uygulamaların Baskının Beş Yüzü ile temsil edilebileceği görülmüştür. Bu çalışmada Üç yüz gözlemlenmiş ve ele alınmıştır. Birincisi, işgücü piyasasında kayıt dışı işçilerle kendini gösteren ve çoğunlukla geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin resmi olarak işe alınmasını ve çalışma izinlerinin alınmasını kabul etmemek, onlara psikolojik ve fiziksel baskı uygulamak ya da daha düşük ücret vermek şeklinde üç eylemde ortaya çıkan sömürdür. Ayrıca, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin belirli

bir yasal statüye sahip olması, onları belirli bir zayıf sosyal statüye yerleştirmenin nedenleriyle bağlantılı bir faktördür. İkinci yüz marjinalleştirmez. Analizler benzer uygulamaların kentsel ortamlarda daha belirgin olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca, sömürüye maruz kalmanın günlük faaliyetlerde ötekileştirilme olasılığını artırdığını gösteren bir bağlantı vardır. Daha sonra, bu özelliklerin göç eşitsizliği alanını incelemede ne kadar önemli bir işlevi yerine getirdiği ortaya çıkmıştır. Ayrıca, kadın işçilerin hem söz konusu faktörler hem de cinsiyetleri temelinde baskı eylemlerine maruz kaldıkları örneklerin incelenmesiyle, ikili baskı sistemi ortaya çıkmıştır. Üçüncü yüzse toplumdaki belirli grupların üyelerinin her zaman yalnızca kendileriyle sınırlı olmayıp ailelerini ve mallarını da kapsayan şiddet eylemleriyle tehdit edilme korkusu yaşadıkları bir durumdur (Young, 1990, 61).Çalışmada tüm yüzler ele alınmasa da diğer yüzlerin göç çalışmaları çerçevesinde araştırılması ileri araştırmalar için değerli olacaktır.

Bunun neticesinde, Young'ın Five Faces of Zulüm kitabını kullanarak sağladığım analiz, eserin göçmenlerle ilgisini, özellikle de göçle ilgili adaletsizliklerin doğasına yeni bakış açıları sunma ve göç bağlamında adaletsizlik sorunlarına değinmek isteyen göç ve kent araştırmacıları için değerli bir kaynak olarak hizmet etme becerisini ortaya koymaktadır.

Sonuçta, literatür ve arşiv belgelerinin yanı sıra yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler kullanılarak ve tezin bulgularına dayanarak geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin Türkiye'deki durumlarını anlayamadıkları söylenebilir. Her şeye rağmen, geçici koruma statüsünün belirli bir süre ile sınırlı olmaması, hükümetin konuyla ilgili stratejik bir plan geliştirememesinin nedenidir. Bununla birlikte, sınırlı çalışma izinleri, bir şehirden diğerine ve son zamanlarda bir mahalleden diğerine hareket etmenin zorluğu gibi geçici koruma statüsünden kaynaklanan sınırlamalar, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin ekonomik durumlarını iyileştirmelerine olanak tanıyacak potansiyel iş fırsatları aramalarına engel olmaktadır. . Öte yandan, Granovetter'in deyimiyle zayıf bağlar veya Bourdieu'nün deyimiyle sosyal sermaye, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin işgücü piyasasındaki deneyimlerini tanımlamada çok önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu bağlantılardan yararlananlar, sömürüye karşı daha az savunmasız ve sosyal hayata ve kentsel deneyime daha açıktır. Bu çalışma

hem mobilya hem de tekstil atölyelerinde çalışan işçilerle yürütülmüştür. Fakat, bu ağ oluşturma fırsatlarından yararlanan katılımcılar daha çok mobilya atölyelerinde bulunmuştur. Mobilya atölyelerinde çalışan görüşmeciler, sürekli olarak iş arkadaşları ve işverenleriyle güçlü bir bağları olduğunu ve Türk işverenlerinden istismar eylemlerine maruz kalmadıklarını bildirdiler. Ayrıca, yerel topluluktan komşularıyla bağlantı kurabildiklerini de belirttiler. Benzer bağları olmayanlar ise aşağılanma ve ayrımcılığa maruz kalmamak için iş yapabildiklerini ve iş arkadaşlarından daha iyi çalışabildiklerini kanıtlamak zorundaydı.

Son olarak bu çalışma, gözlenen baskı biçimlerine maruz kalan geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin, ailelerini evlerinde yalnız bıraktıklarında, aidiyet ve güvenlik duygusu oluşturmak için tek bir bölgede toplanmayı tercih ettiklerini göstermiştir. Ayrıca, bu yoğunlaşmaların kurulması, yerel halkı çekmeyen ve potansiyel kentsel ayrılmaya yol açan mahallelerin oluşmasına neden olmuştur.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışmanın bulguları, tüm geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerin sistemik baskı altında olduğunu göstermemektedir. Ancak göçmen olmanın baskıya karşı savunmasızlığı artıran bir faktör olduğunu ve mültecilerin toplumun ve kentsel yapının ayrılmaz bir parçası olduğunu, dolayısıyla karşılaştıkları durumların kent haklarını kullanmalarını doğrudan etkilemekte olduğunu göstermektedir. Yine de gelecekteki araştırmaların daha uygun olabilmeleri için, araştırmacıların aynı konuyu farklı sosyo-ekonomik gelişmişlik düzeyleriyle karakterize edilen çeşitli şehirlerde keşfetmeleri avantajlı olacaktır. Ayrıca kayıt dışılığın bu uygulamalarda bir rolü olup olmadığını görmek için kayıtlı sektörü incelemek faydalı olacaktır.

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