THE IMPACT OF ADVERSE INCORPORATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION ON PRECARIZATION: A CASE STUDY ON THE SYRIAN MIGRANT WORKERS IN TURKEY

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Abstract

In the past seven years, millions of Syrian migrants have escaped from the civil war in Syria and settled in Turkey. Although the majority of them have entered to the Turkish labor market mostly through informal employment, the literature has mainly focused on the impact of Syrian migrant workers on the Turkish economy and native workers. Thus, this study is devoted to the analysis of the precarious working conditions of informally employed Syrian migrant workers in comparison with the working conditions of Turkish workers. It is defended that adverse incorporation of Syrian migrants into the labor market and social exclusion have been placing them into a precarity trap. To test this claim, textile sector is chosen as a case study -supported by data from surveys, ethnographic studies and interviews- to observe different dimensions of precariousness regarding working conditions in relation to the division between Syrian and Turkish workers. It is seen that while the precarious working conditions of Turkish workers have not been intensified due to the arrival of Syrian workers, they were negatively affected regarding their wage rates and employment opportunities. Syrian workers, on the other hand, tend to suffer from more intense precarious working conditions compared to their Turkish counterparts. Therefore, the study concludes with policy recommendations targeting the granting of refugee status to Syrians; reduction of their informal employment by reforming the work permit regulation; improving their working conditions by a multi-dimensional training scheme; and lastly encouraging investments and projects for achieving sustainable integration of Syrians into the Turkish society and economy.

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Introduction

Though predominantly regarded as a country of emigration, Turkey has been becoming an important destination for immigration especially for irregular labor migrants, transit migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, which can be included within the general framework of irregular migration. Despite the fact that Turkey has also become a 'migrant receiving country' in the past few decades due to a series of events in its neighboring countries[1], this change in the migration dynamics has been particularly fostered by the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in 2011, which has led millions of Syrians to flee from their country. As a neighboring country and a transit road to Europe, Turkey has been greatly influenced by this migrant inflow.

Official figures indicate that 256.971 Syrian migrants are being hosted in the camps, while another 2.521.907 of them, who are living outside of these camps in different regions of Turkey, are provided with healthcare, education and food aid (the Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, 2016). Even though these numbers already indicate the presence of a large Syrian population living inside the Turkish borders, it should also be added that the latest update for this data was in September 2016, and the data does not account for unregistered Syrians who constitute a significant portion of the Syrian population in Turkey.

It can therefore be argued that an inflow of this sort has the effect of not only changing the migration dynamics and related policies of Turkey but also introducing a new element to the social, economic and political spheres of the country, which needs to be addressed immediately. In that regard, the scope of this study will primarily target the labor market

[1] "the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, the regime change in Iran (1970s), the legal turmoil and wars in the Middle East caused by Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq (late 1980s and early 1990s), and finally the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (late 1980s and early 1990s)." (İçduygu, 2012:20)

dynamics that emerged as a result of the Syrian migrant inflow, with a particular emphasis on the textile sector.

When the focus is on the labor market impacts of the Syrian migrants, some preliminary points gain even further explanatory value. For instance, in the 2015 TISK (Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations) Report, it is highlighted that only 80 thousand of the people escaping Syria came to Turkey with passports, for whom residence and working permits were made easier to obtain (Erdoğan and Ünver, 2015:41). This number corresponds roughly to 3% of the entire Syrian migrant population in Turkey, which means that the remaining ones fall into the category of irregular migrants.

What is of great concern here is the fact that this category of migrants is the most problematic one since they are overwhelmingly employed in the informal sectors -and mostly as unskilled labor- due to the fact that they cannot apply for work permits (Erdoğan and Ünver, 2015:51). Moreover, the work permit process even for the Syrians with the legal status of 'under temporary protection' is quite challenging that it does not necessarily translate into the transfer to the formal economy. Thus, informal employment is observed as a phenomenon which is highly prevalent among the Syrian migrant population. This in turn can become a major factor influencing the extent to which both the irregular migrant workers and native workers have been encountering precarious work conditions.

It is thus of great importance to examine whether precariousness is a widely experienced phenomenon among the irregular migrant workers with Syrian origin as well as their native counterparts who have been affected by the labor supply shock that the Syrians have created. Having said that, the concept of precarization should be dwelled upon in order to clarify the scope of this study. In the context of globalization and the trend towards widening economic inequalities, precariousness emerges as a relatively new; but still

indispensible phenomenon which is closely linked to changing work patterns and worsening conditions of particular working populations.

The term 'precariousness' is adopted mainly from Guy Standing's definition as the defining feature of a new social class which emerged within globalization and marked by the performance of insecure labor and the lack of solidarity particularly through work (2011: 8). Accordingly, the precariat as a class consists of people who lack seven forms of work-related security: labor market security, employment security, job security, work security, skill reproduction security, income security and representation security (Standing, 2011: 10). These will be evaluated at greater length as part of the analytical framework.

Accordingly, it is the core of this study to explore if precarious working conditions are further fostered by the entrance of irregular Syrian migrants into the Turkish labor market. Tackling these issues has the potential to lead to further policy recommendations about what can be done in order to better accommodate this new dynamic in the Turkish economy in the long run by both better integrating the Syrian workers in the labor markets and also preserving the work rights and job security of the native workers.

Hence, this study will attempt to contribute to the literature by investigating the links between precarity and informal migrant labor in the context of the Syrian migrant inflow received by Turkey. As it will be further discussed, the existing literature is mostly focused on the changing employment and wage dynamics as a result of the labor supply shock created by the Syrian migrant crisis. The relationship between migrant and native workers has thus been handled from this scope of analysis. This might indeed provide insights about the short-term impacts of the Syrian migrant inflow.

For instance, Cengiz and Tekgüç write about the benefits of Syrian migrants' common lack of work permits. They put forward a possible argument, which themselves later argue

against, that if migrants had easier access to work permits it would increase the impact of the labor supply shock to the extent that the native workers would be adversely affected (2018:31). Following this argument, they add that since the general rate of informality is already high in Turkey, issuing work permits to the Syrian migrants immediately would not have created significantly different effects since they are already employed in the informal sector (p.31).

Although these two arguments represent different sides, their common point is the failure to evaluate impacts of the absence of work permits on the Syrian migrants in the long run and on a deeper level than a mere employment issue. In contrast, as it will be attempted to be shown throughout this study, the issue requires a more in-depth analysis in terms of exploring the situation once the Syrian migrants are incorporated into the Turkish labor market.

It is believed that this sort of an analysis is necessary for engaging into a much needed discussion on the medium to long run effects of the migrant inflow; and what sorts of policy recommendations can be made accordingly. After all, as it was accurately pointed out by Kavak, integration into the labor market and thus being employed does not necessarily put an end to the precarity; but might in fact worsen it (2016:34). In that regard, it is important to examine the working conditions of the target population to see whether the conditions are intensifying their precarity.

As part of this pursuit, the current work permit regulation for Syrian migrants under temporary protection will be extensively tackled in order to observe how it might actually be intensifying the precariousness of the Syrian migrant laborers by making their access to formal employment more challenging compared to their relatively easier access to informal employment. This discussion will eventually lead to debates on possible modifications to the

current regulation which would be needed to improve the rate of formal employment among Syrian migrants and therefore enhancing their working conditions.

In that framework, social exclusion and adverse incorporation will stand out as the main mechanisms through which Syrian migrant labor is faced with precarization. While social exclusion can be defined as "(…) the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from the society in which they live" (Hickey and du Toit, 2007: 2), adverse incorporation refers to how and to what extent particular livelihood strategies are enabled and constrained by particular interactions of economic, social and political dynamics over time and space (4). Although it is acknowledged that these two concepts do not look into entirely identical processes, it is also believed that there is an overlap regarding the phenomena they focus on. This overlap can arise in specific contexts due to particular dynamics and it is hereby defended that the case of Syrian migrant workers and their labor market integration in Turkey illustrates an example of how these two forces function interdependently over the labor market vulnerabilities of a particular group within a particular context. Thus, this study will employ the adverse incorporation and social exclusion (AISE) approach as the analytical framework.

Relatedly, the research question is: 'How do the adverse incorporation of Syrian migrants in the Turkish labor market and their social exclusion lead to their precarization?'. The time frame of this study will be limited to the interval from 2011 to the current date. Yet, legislations and regulations which date back to prior years will also be included in the analysis. This is necessary both for achieving an extensive understanding of the Turkish context regarding immigration and labor market dynamics and also for evaluating the changes triggered by the immigration of Syrians to the country.

Moreover, as indicated above, this research will reveal two dimensions regarding precarization of labor force in Turkey: it will investigate the impact of immigration on the already existing, native labor force; and second the precariousness of working conditions within the informally employed immigrant population. This attempt necessitates determining the dimensions of precarization through which differences and similarities between the migrant and native worker populations can be observed.

The hypothesis is that although both worker groups suffer from precarity, the dimensions in which they experience precariousness might differ in type and at intensity. It is believed that this is reinforced by the way in which Syrians are incorporated within the Turkish labor market. Thus, a thorough analysis cannot remain indifferent to the dynamics of integration which are mainly created by legislations, regulations and their on-the-field implications. This requires looking beyond the mere economic factors and unveiling the element of precariousness and how it relates to the economic, political and social existence of Syrian workers in Turkey.

Inevitably, there are sectorial differences regarding the incorporation of Syrian migrant labor and how their precariousness is shaped. This study will focus on the textile sector in order to acquire in-depth insights on the conditions of Syrian migrants who are informally employed in that sector. Textile is the sector in which Syrians are employed the most (30.4%), followed by construction (19.1%) and manufacturing (16.3%) (FLA and UNHCR, 2016).

Moreover, textile is one of the sectors with a high informal employment rate. While the formal employment in this sector accounts for 11% of the total employment in Turkey, the rate increases to 20% when informal employment is added (Yüksel, 2016:16). Coupled with a poor regulatory scheme operating in textile due to the peculiar multi-tiered supply chain structure of the sector, this already-existing informality might be creating even more severe

and unfair conditions for Syrian migrant workers. Thus, their vulnerabilities can be more clearly observed by studying this sector.

The textile case study will therefore be used to test the hypothesis and will be the main method employed. The case study will be based on discussing the parallels between survey data, ethnographic studies and the semi-structured interviews. Dimension of precariousness related to working conditions will be carefully evaluated in this framework.

Hence, the study will develop as follows: Chapter One will include the explanations and debates on the existing literature relevant to the topic. In Chapter Two, analytical framework will be presented. This includes defining precarity and dimensions of precariousness related to working conditions alongside what adverse incorporation and social exclusion scheme (AISE) is and why it is chosen as the most appropriate approach for examining how informally employed Syrian migrants are suffering from different dimensions of precariousness . Chapter Three will discuss the methodology. Other than introducing case study as the main method, the chapter will also include a discussion on why textile sector was chosen as the case. The content and purpose of the semi-structured interviews will also be explained here. Chapter Four will link irregular migration, informal labor and the integration of Syrian migrants to Turkish labor market. The legal status of Syrian migrants will also be dwelled upon for the sake of a contextual clarification. Chapter Five will consist of the analysis which includes 3 sections on work permit regulations for Syrians under temporary protection, the textile sector case study and finally policy recommendations. Finally, the concluding remarks will be provided after the analysis.

Chapter One: Literature Review

As it was noted before, much of the existing literature on the Syrian migrants in relation to the labor market relations focuses on the change in economic factors; such as employment, wage and prices (Aygül 2018; Balkan and Tümen 2016; Cengiz and Tekgüç 2018; Ceritoğlu et al. 2015; Del Carpio and Wagner 2015). For instance, there are studies that illustrate the effects of Syrian refugee inflow in relation to the labor market outcomes it creates for the natives; such as the 2015 IZA Report prepared by Akgündüz et al. which finds no significant employment impacts of the Syrian refugee inflow on the native population during the period between 2012 and 2013.

Among the negative effects of the inflow, inflation of food and housing prices as well as potential internal migrants' staying away from the regions saturated with the Syrian workers, are listed. However, it is also added that the effect of exit rates are small and insignificant (13-15). This might be partly due to the above mentioned insignificance of employment effects in the sense that exit rates did not significantly increase because natives are not driven out of the local labor markets.

The most crucial weakness of this report is its narrow temporal focus, which might fail to capture the changing dynamics and related medium to long-run effects of the inflow. Thus, they note that data on how the Syrian refugees are adapting to the Turkish labor market should be the focal point of further research in terms of studying the relationship between native and refugee populations (18).

Furthermore, Del Carpio and Wagner's study, which is one of the most influential ones on the impact of Syrian refugees on the Turkish labor market, indicates that the direct impacts of the labor supply shock that occurred as a result of this inflow were entirely on the informal labor market, causing both displacement of native workers in this sector and a

decrease in their wages (2015:20). This has the underlying reason of the high employment rates of the Syrian refugees in the informal sector due to the lack of work permits.

Nevertheless, the authors rightfully argue that since the inflow of Syrian refugees were relatively sudden and not driven by the availability of jobs in Turkey, it was not surprising that the immediate direct impacts were rather negative (2015: 5). They further discuss the indirect impact of the inflow on the formal labor market by writing that it caused an increase in the demand –around 3 additional for every 10 refugees- for native male workers without completed high school education, while no gains were observed for women and high-skilled natives in formal employment (21).

Moreover, Del Carpio and Wagner reveal the impact of the Syrian refugee inflow on the wages of Turkish workers. Their findings illustrate the residual wage impact is negative; meaning that when the changes are accounted for; the average wage of a Turkish worker with same observed characteristics dramatically declines -approximately by 79 Turkish liras per month-, whereas the formal sector is not influenced by any significant wage change (Del Carpio and Wagner, 2015: 23).

Consequently, the authors emphasize that this study aims at revealing the short-term trends created by the Syrian refugee inflow. Furthermore, their main concern is exploring the wage and employment impact of the inflow. The key issue thus remains as exploring the questions of to what extent, how and through which mechanisms Syrian refugees are being integrated into the Turkish labor market and society.

Another study provides somewhat complementary conclusions by arguing that while the Syrian refugee inflow reduced native employment in the informal sector in Turkey approximately by 2.2 percentage points, most of the displaced native males stayed unemployed, whereas most of their female counterparts left the labor force (Ceritoğlu et. al.

2015: 23-4). Though these studies constitute very useful departure points for further research, most of them date back to a couple of years earlier, which might lead to premature conclusions about the effects of irregular migration on Turkish labor market.

In that regard, a 2018 study on the labor market impacts of the Syrian refugees on the Turkish labor market is published by Cengiz and Tekgüç, which diverges from the prior literature with the argument that the Syrian refugee inflow has no adverse employment or wage effects on the native worker population. Similar to Del Carpio and Wagner, Cengiz and Tekgüç also argue that the native workers who were displaced from their jobs in the informal sector due to the labor supply shock created by the Syrian workers have been able to move to the formal sector (2018: 2).

As part of the positive impact of the Syrian refugee inflow, they further touch upon two points as follows: Firstly, the increasing housing demand has led to a growth in the residential construction sector. Secondly, partly due to the arrival of Syrian entrepreneurs, there has been a 24% increase in the number of new firms in the host provinces (2).

Therefore, this study does not only discard the claims about the negative effect of the Syrian refugees on the employment and wages of the native population, but also indicates that this phenomenon has the potential to actually contribute to the economic growth of Turkey. What is even more striking is their argument on how irregular migration has in fact fostered this positive picture. They acknowledge the fact that the majority of migrants are informally employed as they do not have work permits. Accordingly, they claim that if migrants had work permits, that would increase the impact of the labor supply shock and thereby adversely affect the native workers (31). Nevertheless, they do not provide an account for how the informal migrant workers are adversely affected by not having work permits. Indeed, this issue should be covered under the point of precarization of irregular migrant workers.

Exploring the implications of precariousness of the irregular migrant labor force, on the other hand, is crucial in order to formulate policy analysis for tackling particularly better integration of immigrant populations within the labor force. This claim can be supported by Goldring and Landolt's study on the Toronto labor market which discusses that migrant irregularization, if not accompanied by a combination of transition to secure legal status and improved market conditions, can become "(…)a long-term trap because low-wage and precarious jobs become a "sticky" web for people with precarious status." (2011: 336). Hence, it can be argued that although informal employment might have benefits for the immigrants as well as the native workers in the short run as it was stated by Cengiz and Tekgüç, this will intensify the precariousness of the irregular immigrants alongside making it difficult to integrate them to the Turkish society.

As it can be also be observed by looking at the studies discussed above, most of the literature on the labor market implications of the Syrian refugee inflow in Turkey focuses on how the native workers and particular sectors are affected by this sudden change in labor supply and demand dynamics. Under these circumstances, the 2017 study by Erol et. al. is an attempt to shed light on the ways in which Syrian workers are influenced by their forced migration and rather sudden incorporation in the Turkish labor market. Their survey results conducted among textile worker in Istanbul will be extensively used in the analysis section of this study.

Moreover, the 2015 Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TISK) Report prepared by Erdoğan and Ünver illustrates that approximately 97% of the entire Syrian refugee population can be categorized as irregular migrants. Even though this situation greatly contributes to the precarization of the refugee population, Erdoğan and Ünver also mention another aspect of the issue; which is the claim that Syrian refugees do not steal jobs from the native population but on the contrary fills the deficit caused by the lack of native laborers'

demand for unskilled jobs (2015: 55). Nevertheless, this short-term benefit of informality for boosting the economic activities can have detrimental effects in the middle and long runs due to increasing social tension (Erdoğan and Ünver, 2015:67). Therefore, one important issue that should be further discussed is the necessity of regulating the working permits of the Syrians in order to tackle with both their precarization and increasing social problems.

When it comes to precarization, the 2016 study commisioned by the European Parliament also acknowledges the fact that successful integration cannot be achieved in the presence of precarious employment conditions; thus policy makers should prioritize combating precarization of the Syrian refugees in the Turkish labor market (İçduygu, 2016: 32). In a similar fashion with Erdoğan and Ünver's study, İçduygu points out that the precarious employment conditions of the Syrian refugees are mainly sustained by their ad hoc status as being under temporary protection as well as the Turkish states' caution towards the integration issues. İçduygu gives the example of Article 96 of the 2013 Law on Foreigners and International Protection, whereby the term 'harmonization' deliberately replaced 'integration' (19).

Relatedly, İçduygu notes that the dominant labor market policy response towards the Syrian refugee inflow was rather protectionist by restricting the refugee workers' access to the market (29). This restriction, however, should not be perceived as exclusion. What will further be discussed in the proceeding chapters is the fact that it is indeed this restrictive form of inclusion that leads to the adverse incorporation of Syrians to the Turkish labor market and mainly to the informal economy. A serious attention should thus be given to the question of how current legislations and regulations can be modified to tackle the precarious working conditions of mainly Syrians but also those of the native workers who are adversely affected by the malfunctioning policies.

Reviewing the previous literature on the Syrian migrants in Turkey reveals that no unidimensional approach can be adequate for explaining the dynamics governing the tension between Turkish and Syrian workers. Thus, it can be argued that only the combination of both dimensions of native workers' precarity on one hand and Syrian workers' precarity on the other can provide a complete picture of the precarization of labor force, and the current literature on Turkey fails to fully incorporate them both within a single thorough analysis.

Chapter Two: Analytical Framework

In order to investigate how the precarity of the informally employed Syrian migrant workers is created, it is of great importance to primarily dwell upon the dynamics which foster the precarious conditions. This pursuit requires a carefully drawn analytical framework to analyze how these dynamics are constantly reproduced in a way that the same group of people are exposed to an ongoing –and might even intensifying- precarity.

The attempt of establishing the analytical framework necessitates defining the term precarity and identifying its aspects related to the scope of analysis. Therefore, this chapter begins with clarifying the conceptual ground regarding precarity and precariousness. Accordingly, an index will be created which consists of the relevant dimensions of precariousness. This index will later be used in the analysis part while the textile sector is closely examined with regards to the working conditions of Syrian and Turkish workers.

Deriving from Pierre Bordieu's analyses of the de-collectivization and social exclusion experienced within the French suburbs, in sociology the term precarity in the broadest sense refers to the conditions of work, employment and life in general which leads to insecurity and instability (fudge, 2014:70). What is crucial in the sociological definition is the recognition of precarity as a relational category; because as it was rightfully pinpointed by Dörre, it is always linked to the standards and definitions of 'normality' (p.73).

Hence, no single and concrete definition exists either for precarity or for precarious employment. This is partly due to the conceptual ambiguity between precarious employment and similar –yet not identical- concepts such as atypical, non-standard or contingent employment types (Fudge and MacCann, 2015:17). Although these concepts have overlapping aspects and are oftentimes used interchangeably, they do not fully address what precarious employment actually is.

As there is no official statistical measure of precarious work, the existing categories of atypical work are not necessarily precarious (p.17) and the existing precarious work relations and their legally identifiable factors are very much country specific (Kountouris, 2012:26), the most efficient way of observing precarity is to establish a theoretical framework and separately observing the elements included in the definition and by applying them to the relevant context; yet with acknowledging the fact that they tend to operate together and are thus interdependent on one another.

To be able to establish a framework consisting of the dimensions of precariousness, two concepts; namely insecurity and vulnerability, which are integral to precarity should initially be mentioned. The first one is insecurity, which highlights the economic aspect of precarity. According to Standing, the protection of seven forms of work-related security comes right after the access to basic needs in order to foster basic socio-economic security (2007:17), which relates to his previously mentioned argument that precarity depends on the insecurity rising from the full or partial absence of these seven forms of security[2]. These are important categories to bear in mind particularly when it comes to the problems faced by the informally employed Syrian migrant workers, as many of these problems inherently relate to work-related insecurities.

Nevertheless, the framework will be incomplete without introducing a further concept: vulnerability. The UK Commission on Vulnerable Employment defines this concept as "precarious work that places people at risk of continuing poverty and injustice resulting from an imbalance of power in the employer-worker relationship." (Fudge and MacCann, 2015:25), whereby it reveals that precarious work is a subset of vulnerability.

[2] labor market security, employment security, job security, work security, skill reproduction security, income security and representation security

At this point, three approaches to conceptualizing precarious work, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, gain importance. Kountouris (2012:24) categorizes these approaches as follows: in the first one, precariousness is seen as essentially dominating particular sectors of the labor market. In the second one, precariousness is associated with nonstandard work. Finally in the third one the focus is more on the dimensions and contexts of precariousness, whereby it is acknowledged that precariousness can apply beyond atypical work relations. For the purposes of this study, the third approach is picked as the level of operation since it allows the incorporation of the elements of both insecurity and vulnerability and therefore the evaluation of social, legal and regulatory dimensions alongside the economic one.

In the light of what has been discussed above, an index was created in order to better observe and categorize the problems which are first, commonly faced by the informally employed Syrian migrant workers and native workers and second, experienced differently and/or at different levels among these two groups. Identifying these dimensions and how they are currently being experienced within the relevant context by these two worker groups is of vital importance because only when the real problems are detected, can valid and efficient policy proposals be structured.

Accordingly, it should once more be emphasized that this pursuit requires looking beyond the economic factors and achieving a multi-dimensional approach to precariousness. For this purpose, the scheme composed by Fudge and MacCann about the dimensions of vulnerable work will be taken into consideration while investigating the reasons underneath precariousness.

Figure 1: Dimensions of Vulnerable Work (1)

Source: Fudge and MacCann (2015)

Among the six branches of vulnerable work, working conditions will have the central importance for the case study and will thus constitute the index of precariousness. The first point will be changed as working hours as the problem leading to precariousness in our case is not the insufficient but on the contrary extra-long working hours. Other branches will be mentioned when they are relevant to the discussion; yet without shifting the emphasis from the working conditions.

2.1. Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion (AISE) Scheme

After defining precarity and identifying the dimensions of precariousness, it should again be highlighted that the particular precarious conditions that are being discussed in the scope of this research derive not from the exclusion of Syrian migrants from the Turkish labor market but in fact from the specific ways in which they are somewhat being irregularly integrated into it.

Thus, it can be argued that Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion (AISE) paradigm offers a viable framework for understanding how the precarity of the Syrian migrants are fostered as well as how their relationship with the native population evolves. To clear the conceptual ground and understand their relevance to the context, the concepts of adverse incorporation and social exclusion should be dwelled upon. As it was argued by Hickey and du Toit, both of these concepts focus on the relationship between particular impoverished groups and larger social systems, networks and totalities (2007:15).

Adverse incorporation explains how chronic poverty and vulnerability are perpetuated through the terms on which people are incorporated into particular economic and social processes and structures (Phillips, 2013: 175). It is through these terms that workers' ability to accumulate and achieve long-term security can be severely impeded (p. 175). These terms can indeed be observed in the case of Turkey whereby Syrian migrants are provided very limited access to the formal economy and thus being overwhelmingly incorporated into the informal sectors.

Social exclusion, on the other hand, acts as a complementary mechanism as "(…) the adverse terms of incorporation are both conditioned and enabled by structures of social exclusion that arise from processes of 'social categorization." (p.176). Among what Tilly terms as 'social categorization', markers like gender, age, race, caste or religion are traditionally used in order to show how they shape vulnerability into exploitative labor relations (p.188). Migrant status can be added into this categorization as the most significant category which triggers social exclusion leading to adverse incorporation and exploitation in the studied context.

Although it was previously argued that social exclusion is not a helpful concept to understand the precarity of the informal Syrian migrant workers as all the informal workers

are to some extent socially excluded (Kavak, 2016: 39), it is hereby believed that there is merit in using the joint scheme of AISE in order to better grasp the circular process which creates a 'precarity trap' for the Syrian workers in particular. This circularity is formulated by Phillips as adverse incorporation generating poverty and vulnerability for particular groups which facilitate their exploitation; and this in turn creating further impoverishment (2013:176).

Applying this circularity to the context at hand, it can be claimed that social exclusion emerges as both the starting point and the end product of the current dynamics in Turkey: The migrant status of Syrians –and attached status of 'guests' and 'people under temporary protection'- leads to their social exclusion via certain mechanisms, which then pushes them rather to the informal economy whereby they suffer from highly precarious conditions. Their precarity, in turn, impoverishes them even further to the extent that they are trapped at the lower segments of not only economic but also social realms. Thus, their adverse incorporation into the economy poses the biggest obstacle for their overall integration as they create in Standing's words a 'shadow reserved army' which is perceived as a distinct group, 'the other' within the Turkish society.

Another crucial aspect of adverse incorporation is the interaction between institutions and individuals. The above mentioned mechanisms constitute the institutional regulations; such as prohibiting Syrians from having refugee status and adopting a restrictive work permit system. These are the regulations which results in the adverse incorporation of Syrians into the Turkish society and into the labor market in particular. Nonetheless it should once again be emphasized that these are not mechanisms of direct economic exclusion; but social exclusion reemerges as an indirect yet arguably indispensible result of such regulations.

In that sense the role of agents who are exposed to these regulations are not entirely neutralized. This argument runs parallel with Wood's insights about the vulnerability-creating consequences of imperfect markets, corrupt state practices and patriarchal norms that "They (poor people) manage this vulnerability through investing in and maintaining forms of social capital which produce desirable short-term, immediate outcomes and practical needs while postponing and putting at permanent risk more desirable forms of social capital which offer the strategic prospect of supporting needs and maintaining rights in the longer term." (1999: 16-17).

Observing this relationship between structures and agency is important as it points to the particular interaction between state, market, community and household, and how the terms of inclusion trap people into poverty (Hickey and du Toit, 2007: 4). Similarly, the majority of the Syrian migrants are faced with the trade-off between short-term and long-term benefits, whereby the urgency of the former inevitably manipulates the decision-making process.

As it will be evaluated in greater detail in Chapter 5, the current work permit regulation might be deterring Syrians from attempting to be employed in the formal sector as the length and hardship of the procedure severely impede their short-term gains. It might therefore be fair to refer Syrian's decision to look for informal employment as a 'guided decision' which results in a precarity trap in the long run.

Another benefit of the AISE approach is its multidimensional perspective. It maps the linkages with chronic poverty with respect to the political, economic, social and spatial dimensions of AISE (p.8). As it was mentioned before, the labor market existence of the Syrian workers in Turkey has overwhelmingly been studied in relation to economic factors such as unemployment, wage and price effects. The novelty that is tried to achieved here is to apply AISE's multidimensional perspective to the study of the labor market existence of the

Syrian workers and hence carry the AISE approach one step further by incorporating precarity as a final product.

For reaching to this aim the methodological approach was chosen as case study –as it was also advised by Hickey and du Toit- with a sectorial emphasis on textile. The details will be further clarified in the methodology section. Moreover, AISE research agenda is appropriate for policy implications evolving from contextualized and multi-sectoral approaches (p.6), which is suitable for the scope and purpose of this study.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The aim of this study is to analyze the features and structural peculiarities of precarization of Syrian migrant workers within the Turkish labor market in relation to the dynamics operating between the migrant and native worker populations. This requires adopting a more in-depth perspective on the issue and while not neglecting the numbers and aggregate data, being able to look beyond them. To be able to carry out such a study, the main focus should be directed to a specific segment within the Turkish labor market for achieving comprehensiveness and depth simultaneously.

Thus, the study employs a methodology whereby the Turkish textile sector and the dynamics created by the incorporation of the Syrian migrant workers into this sector will be handled as a case study. It is believed that this sort of an approach is urgent and necessary in order to assess the most pressing problems of the Syrian migrant workers and try to formulize meaningful solutions and policy recommendations accordingly.

What was noticed about the previous research is exactly the lack of or the inadequacy of this identification of the substantial problems of the Syrian migrant workers that are leading to their precarization. The quantitative researches tend to focus on the economic –be it sectoral, regional or country wide- outcomes of an unprecedented labor supply shock created by the Syrian migrant inflow. The ethnographic researches, on the other hand, explore the lives and experiences of a very small sample of migrant workers to the full extent; yet fail to account for generalizable problems due to their narrow focus. What is hereby tried to be achieved is therefore to combine the findings of these two strands of research within the textile sector- oriented case study and to carry them forward by addressing the problems within the framework of precarization.

Questions might be raised about focusing on a single case and the representativeness of the textile sector. For the first point it can indeed be said that a comparative case study of different sectors might reveal a more comprehensive picture. Nevertheless, the type of comprehensive survey data of the textile sector does not exist for other sectors. Therefore a valid sectoral comparison cannot be achieved yet. This can be the agenda for further research when adequate data becomes available.

For the second point regarding the representativeness of the textile sector, it should be once again emphasized that textile is the sector which has witnessed the greatest amount of Syrian migrant worker employment. As most of the Syrian migrants do not hold work permits, a significantly big portion of this amount belongs to informal employment. The expectation is that the vulnerabilities and precariousness of the Syrian migrant workers in this sector should be felt the most intensely and thus can be observed more clearly.

Furthermore, textile has some further advantages compared to the other sectors where Syrian migrant labor is heavily concentrated. For instance, as opposed to the construction sector textile is more representative regarding gender-balance. Agriculture, on the other hand, has some additional issues, the biggest of which is the dominance of seasonal work, that are not relevant to the analytical framework of precarity adopted in this study.

It is thus believed that the textile sector constitutes the most convenient conditions to evaluate through a single case study. To achieve that aim, the survey conducted by Erol et al. in 2017 among 603 textile workers in Istanbul will constitute the backbone of this study, as it will be used to draw conclusions regarding the problems and accordingly the dimensions of precariousness experienced by Syrian and Turkish workers.

While making policy recommendations, the sectoral focus will be kept in mind. However, this is not to say that a general discussion will not be made. In fact, it will be argued

that many of the problems are not peculiar to the textile sector, but are also felt by the majority of the Syrian migrants who are informally employed in other sectors. The policy recommendations will thus entail general measures alongside sector-specific proposals.

This choice can also be backed by the analytical framework of the study. "The relational, process-based and contextualised nature of AISE suggest that qualitative work will play a central role here. A particular focus is likely to fall on in-depth (often comparative) case-study analysis that involves the use of a range of different methods." (Hickey and du Toit, 2007:21). However, as Woolcock also draws attention on, this does not mean that quantitative data has no importance for AISE research, but rather means that it should be used within 'a valid and grounded relational account' of the key aspects of adverse incorporation and social exclusion within the given context so that a more comprehensive understanding on how and why certain groups are excluded can be reached (Hickey and du Toit, 2007:21). These ideas run parallel with the aim of this study to reconcile quantitative and ethnographic findings within a case study.

A further advice is to use survey data as part of the AISE research (Hickey and du Toit, 2007) to be able to test the broader applicability of the findings. This is indeed a supporting method which will be used for examining the corresponding aspects of the index of precariousness to the real life situation. Thus, surveys conducted among the textile workers will be closely evaluated.

Another supporting method includes the use of semi-structured interviews. Skype interviews, which were conducted with 7 people who represented NGOs working for improving the conditions of Syrian migrants, textile trade unions and 1 researcher, will be used for both introducing different perspectives on the issue and having expert opinions before moving on to the policy recommendations. Even though the focus of these interviews

are concentrated on the problems of the Syrian migrant workers in the textile industry, the interviewees were also asked about their opinions from a broader perspective about offering possible solutions to the already existing regulations and their implications.

While selecting the interviewees, not all of the contacted organizations replied in order to be a part of the study. The ones which accepted the offer, on the other hand, mostly provided other contacts within the same organization, in other organizations or individual researchers who are experts on the subject of Syrian workers in Turkey. Thus, the sample emerged out of a mixture of convenience and snowball samplings.

Furthermore, to come up with viable policy recommendations, the study will also involve policy analysis regarding the patterns and discontinuities of Turkish labor market policy regulating the economic participation and labor market activities of foreigners. The focus will be on the laws regarding the working permits, particularly *the Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners under Temporary Protection* published on 11 January 2016. This analysis will be included within the section of Discussion on the Work Permits. When the possible policy recommendations are given at the end of the study, this analysis alongside the suggestions gathered from the interviews will constitute the backbone of the discussion.

Chapter Four: Irregular Migration and Informal Economy, the Case of Syrian Refugees in Turkey

As it is also the case for precarization, irregular migration is a concept which tends to be context specific –particularly regarding the ways in which migrants fall into irregularity- and thus leaves room for ambiguity. In very broad terms, irregularity derives from being undocumented or under-documented, which essentially relates to lacking proper residence and/or work permits (Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2015:83). Since the irregular migrants cannot be employed formally, they tend to have precarious jobs which are referred to as "3D jobs" (dirty, difficult and dangerous).

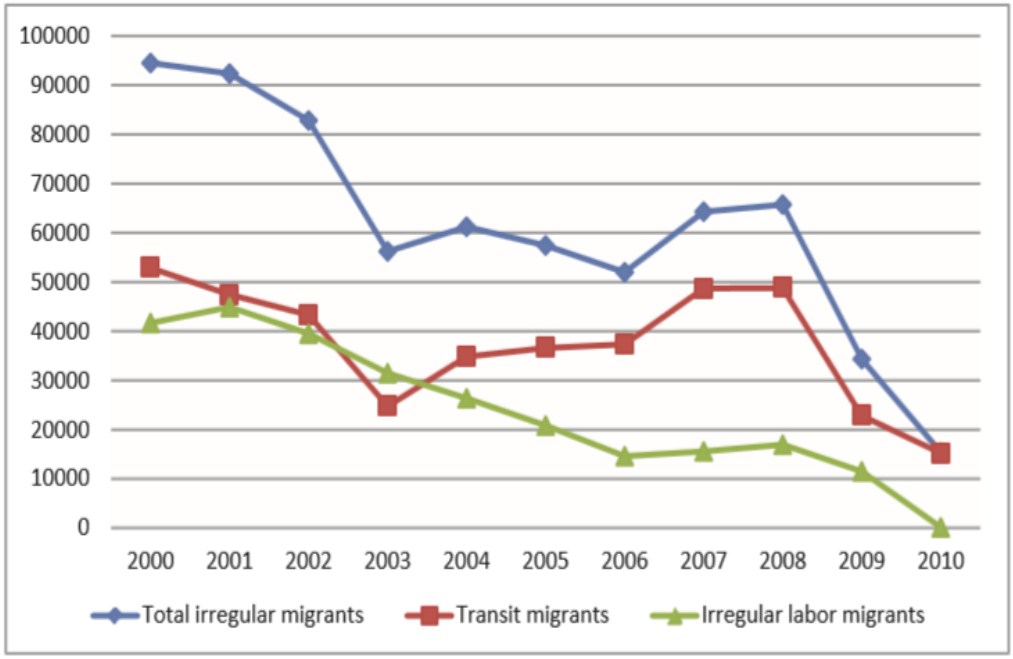
As a result, irregular migrants constitute a substantial portion of the precarious labor across the globe; such as the irregular migrants coming from the former southern republics of the Soviet Union to post-communist Russia, irregular Hispanic migrant workers in the United States and irregular labor migrants in the whole European Union (Schierup et al., 2014). Although these different irregular migrant groups share some common characteristics linked to illegality, lack of documents, lack of citizenship status or legal protection etc., the dominant causes leading to irregular migration vary considerably. These different backgrounds, which are mainly shaped by historical, political and geographical conditions, thus necessitate defining irregular migrants according to the relevant context.

For the Turkish context, the term irregular migrant can be used as an umbrella concept including the three categories as follows: 1) irregular labor migrants, 2) transit migrants and 3) asylum seekers and refugees. The reason for including these categories under one heading follows from the categorization which was suggested by İçduygu, because they overlap and fluctuate depending on migrants' drift from one category to another due to circumstances and opportunities (2012: 8). Considering the data from 1995 and 2003 IOM studies, İçduygu

notes that in those samples transit migrants constituted the larger group in the general framework of irregular migrants (p.17).

The Figure 2 shows the change in the irregular migration Turkey received between 2000 and 2010. The data end one year prior to the arrival of the Syrian migrants and thus reveals the situation before this massive inflow. It can be deduced from this figure that irregular migration had already been a considerable problem for Turkey even before 2011.

Figure 2: Irregular Migration in Turkey 2000-2010(1)



Source: İçduygu (2012)

Coupled with the information from 1995 and 2002 studies that in the first sample of irregular migrants quarter of the interviewees held residence permits and only 9 percent held work permits, while in the latter sample residence permit holders decreased to 16 percent and none of the interviewees held work permits (İçduygu, 2012:19), a conclusion can be drawn saying that Turkey had not exactly had a successful strategy for the integration of irregular migrants even before the arrival of irregular Syrian migrants in masses. Keeping in mind that the number of apprehended irregular migrants between 1995 and 2009 was 797000 (İçduygu,

2012: 21) whereas millions of Syrians irregularly immigrated in a shorter period of time, it would be fair to say that this inflow created a shock impact on Turkey.

Moreover, as opposed to 1995 and 2003 data about transit migrants being the largest group, it is now estimated that the majority of the Syrians are 'here to stay'. As it will be further discussed in Chapter 5, the inefficient legislation regarding work permits now poses even a bigger problem although changes were made to provide access for the Syrians under temporary protection to formal employment. Irregular migration thus continues to be one of the fundamental factors leading to informal employment and which in turn creates a precarization trap.

Still, some scholars separate irregular migration from 'managed migration' schemes and argue that the prevalent source of precarious migrant labor has shifted from the first to the latter (Schierup et al., 2014:51). However, Rittersberger-Tılıç, for instance, draws attention to the fact that the constant threat of deportability of irregular migrants is itself a powerful tool of control (2015: 88). From this perspective, irregular migration can still be regarded as a source of precarization within the framework of managed migration. Keeping in mind the context-specificity of irregular migration, its instrumentalisation can also be connected to the adverse incorporation of the Syrian migrants into the Turkish labor market.

As irregularity and informality are closely knit, it can be argued that incorporating Syrians mainly to the informal economy by hampering their access to formal employment might be a way for the state to manage this population in a way to favor the native workers. Visiting the literature on the potential migration inflows to create labor supply shock in the host country (Ceritoğlu et al. 2015, Borjas and Monras 2016, Cengiz and Tekgüç 2018), it might be argued that the informal economy absorbed this shock to a remarkable extend so that

natives in the formal economy are relatively better protected from the possible short-run negative wage and employment impacts of the shock.

Overall, neither irregular migration nor the precarity it causes is a novelty for the Turkish context. Nevertheless, as it is pinpointed by Şenses, increasing numbers of Syrians and their deepening precarity has the potential to "(…) disturb and possibly impact on the routinized practices of state agencies, organized labour and, indeed, emerging counter-precarity movements." (2016:983). To combat these problems, identifying the major dimensions of their precarity –particularly deriving from their work conditions- and creating more viable solutions for their better integration accordingly should be given the utmost importance. Integration to the formal labor market itself might not be enough for achieving social inclusion, but it is still a major factor for making the Syrian migrants active members of the Turkish society.

However, there are obstacles on the way of Syrians' inclusion in the formal labor market. The biggest and most important obstacle is the legal status of Syrians, which greatly hampers their economic and social integration due to its ambiguous and ad hoc regulations. As a matter of fact, Turkey is a signatory of the 1951 Geneva Convention[3] which defines the term 'refugee', outlines rights of refugees and determines the legal obligations of the signatory states. However, as Turkey maintains a geographical limitation only to the people originating from Europe, the Syrian migrants escaping from the war in their country have been given the status of 'temporary protection' with respect to the Law on Foreigners and International Protection which passed in 2014.

The problem with temporary protection is that it gives states greater elbowroom but less responsibility for regulating the rights and lives of the particular migrant groups (Mutlu et

[3] For more information, see http://www.unhcr.org/1951-refugee-convention.html

al. 2018:71). Thus, the Syrian migrants cannot benefit from the legal rights originating from the refugee status. When the issue is their labor market presence, this severely limits their options and constitutes the primary reason for their precarity.

Chapter Five: Analysis

5.1. Discussion on Work Permits

According to the Labor Statistics Report provided by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 13.290 work permits were issued for people with Syrian nationality as 13.288 of them for definite time and only 2 of them for indefinite time (2017: 125). Moreover, among the general number of work permits given to foreigners in 2016, 1.347 of them were given for manufacture of textiles (2017: 128). Looking at the numbers and recalling that the majority -almost 31%- of the Syrians are working in the textile sector, it can be understood that most of the Syrian refugees do not hold work permits and are therefore incorporated into the informal labor market. This situation raises questions about the efficiency of the current working permit regulation. At this point in addition to a brief overview of the past regulations, the conditions of the current regulation should be thoroughly discussed before moving on with further analysis.

To begin with, *The Law on Work Permits of Foreigners (Law No. 4817; dated 27 February 2003)* targeted the employment of foreign workers in the sectors where there are labor shortage and no adequate supply of native workers; yet no work permits would be issued for refugees (İçduygu, 2016: 19).

Regarding the access to the labor market, the proceeding *Law on Foreigners and International Protection (No. 6458)*, which passed in 2013, contained a new section that granted the right to apply for work permits to the applicants for international protection and conditional refugees (p. 19). Nevertheless, it was also included in the law that the access of mentioned parties to the labor market can be restricted under certain conditions related to the situation of the labor market and developments in the working life (p. 19). The vagueness of

this point might have resulted in arbitrary implementations and inefficiency in providing work permits to the mentioned parties.

These laws were inadequate for accommodating the changes brought by the Syrian migrant inflow due to the fact that as it was previously mentioned, the forced immigrants of Syria have the status of 'under temporary protection' instead of refugee. Thus, the Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners under Temporary Protection passed at the beginning of 2016 in order to regulate the labor market access of the Syrian 'guests'.

The articles of the law which are crucial for the scope of this study can be summarized as follows: Applications to obtain work permit can be made for foreigners under temporary protection 6 months after their date of registration for temporary protection; Work permit applications should be made by the employer who will be employing the foreigner under temporary protection; For granting the right to apply for work permits to the foreigners under temporary protection, provinces where resident permits are issued to foreigners pursuant to the Article 24 of the Temporary Protection Regulation shall be taken as basis; The number of foreigners in a work place cannot exceed 10 percent of the number of Turkish citizens in the same work place. While the work permit applications are evaluated, this employment quota for foreigners under temporary protection might be applied in different rates in consideration with the open work places and work placements in different sectors and provinces depending on the number of Turkish citizens employed in the work place; Applications might be lodged to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security for the foreigners, who will be receiving vocational training or on-the-job training through the courses under the arrangement of active work force services provided by the Turkish Labor Agency, to be employed in the same work

places after the end of the training programs; Foreigners under temporary protection cannot be paid under the minimum wage rate.[4]

The first thing that can be noticed about this law is its overwhelming inclusion of restrictive articles, which might act as a push-factor for Syrians to apply for work permits and a pull-factor for searching informal employment opportunities. To begin with, Syrians under temporary protection are obliged to wait at least 6 months before even being eligible for the work permit application. Taking into consideration the conditions resulting from their forced immigration and their possibly limited financial resources to sustain their lives, a period of 6 months might not be manageable for the majority of those who are in need of an immediate source of income.

Moreover, since employers have to apply for the work permit for Syrians, it might create further deterrence in two ways. Firstly, this situation creates an additional burden of handling the application process for the employers, which is not required if they employ a Turkish worker. Secondly, the employers have to pay an additional annual fee for every Syrian worker they employ, which again creates an extra cost. These two points can thus be regarded as restrictive articles for Syrians to receive work permits. Yet, it should also be kept in mind that similar procedures are applied in many countries for the issuing of work permits.

One last thing to note on this issue is a change in the regulation of work permit fees, which is valid since 15.12.2017 and introduced a decrease in the amount of fee paid for employing a Syrian worker from 537,50 TL (Turkish liras) to 200 TL.[5] Though it does not bring a complete innovation of the current regulation, this change might still provide employers with better incentives to employ Syrians under temporary protection.

[4] For the entire regulation, see http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/3.5.20168375.pdf
[5] See https://www.csgb.gov.tr/uigm/duyurular/gkk-harc/

A further issue about restrictiveness of the current regulation -as mentioned among the relevant articles- concerns the temporal limitations for making work permit application. Accordingly, Syrians under temporary protection can initiate the application procedure only in the province that they are registered in. This in turn reduces the range of their potential formal employment opportunities by limiting the job search with the registered province. Hence, it might be creating a reason for these people to also migrate across different provinces in order to increase their job finding opportunities. Yet, this means that they are indirectly pushed into the informal sector.

The article about the Syrian employee quota on the other hand is rather self-evident in the sense that it prescribes a direct restriction on the formal employment of Syrians under temporary protection. Thus, combined with the above discussed article on the temporal restriction, this part of the regulation leads to a further reduction of Syrians' chances to receive work permits and be formally employed.

When it comes to the article about the possible employment of the Syrians in the workplaces they receive vocational training or on-the-job training, it can be argued that there exists a window of opportunity not only for the Syrians to get integrated into the formal labor market but also for transforming the current regulation into a more efficient system by making these trainings more widespread and therefore increasing both the number and the skill level of the Syrians who can be formally employed. This issue will be discussed thoroughly as part of policy recommendations.

Finally, the last article stands out as a more protective rather than a restrictive one. It ensures a minimum guaranteed income for Syrians who are formally employed, and that might be a pull factor for them to apply for work permits especially considering the fact that

the probability of having a guaranteed and regular income is lower if they chose to look for informal employment.

Thence, one conclusion to be derived is that although there has been an improvement regarding work permit regulations across time, the current regulation still includes a significant amount of restrictive articles which can deter both the Syrians and the employers from going through the work permit application process. It is also noted by Şenses that even if the applicants meet with the criteria necessary to get a work permit, it is still at the discretion of the Ministry of Work to issue the permit, which provides the authorities with a discretionary power (2016: 980).

Recalling once again that up until now the majority of the Syrian migrants have been working on the informal sector, it can be said that there is a need for some innovations to the current regulation to be proposed. This discussion on the current work permit regulation will shed light on formalizing further policy recommendations particularly when it is accompanied by the evaluation of the opinions of NGOs working with Syrian migrants, trade unions and researchers who have expertise on the subject. Furthermore, it is a necessary step before moving on to the analysis as it will contribute to the argument that it is indeed the failures experienced in the initial stages of labor market integration that increases Syrian migrants' likelihood of ending up with precarious work conditions.

5.2. Case Study on the Turkish Textile Sector and Informal Syrian Migrant Workers

Textile is regarded as the sector within the manufacturing industry in which informality is the most widespread. The informal employment is estimated to constitute approximately half of the total employment in the sector (Yüksel, 2016:16). The peculiar

structure of textile sector creates a fertile environment for a flexible and informal labor market.

Korkmaz (2018) notes that suppliers, who enter into an agreement with international textile companies, accept orders above their production capacities; and then sub-contract the surplus to the sub-suppliers. Although international companies demand and organize inspections for ensuring the protection of worker rights and workplace safety, these inspections can only be made in the facilities of the main supplier. This causes informality mainly to arise in the second or third tier suppliers, which allows hundred thousands of Syrian migrants to be informally employed in these lower tiers of the textile supply chain (20018:103). These suppliers are mostly small or medium sized enterprises located mainly in the suburbs of Istanbul and other big cities (Danış, 2016:564).

In a work environment lacking proper regulations and inspections, both Syrian and native workers suffer from precarious working conditions. This case study will focus on the dimensions of precariousness that are felt the most heavily by these workers, by also emphasizing the different dimensions experienced differently among Syrian and native worker groups.

The initial and biggest problem of textile workers is thus informal employment. The reason for identifying it as the most crucial problem is twofold: First of all, it is a very wide-spread practice and this situation repeatedly comes up in different sources as the main factor causing workers' vulnerability. The survey research conducted by Erol et al., which includes 300 Syrian and 303 Turkish textile workers in Istanbul, found that approximately 60 percent of the Turkish workers (67,8% of men and 46,6% of women) and almost all of the Syrian workers (99,6% of men and 100% of women) are informally employed (2017:58).

Even though the field research of this survey ended in 2015 and the work permit regulation for Syrians under temporary protection was brought into force in 2016, 98% of the Syrian workers in the textile sector continue to be informally employed (Korkmaz, 2018:94). Though the informal employment rate is significantly high for both groups, the fact that almost none of the Syrians are formally employed should be given closer attention as it also relates to the work permit regulation for Syrians under temporary protection.

For instance, during our interviews with the advisor to the union leader of the Turkish Textile, Knitting and Clothing Industry Workers' Union (TEKSİF), he heavily emphasized that Syrians fall into the informal employment regardless of being registered by the government or not. He added that this is particularly common in the textile sector due to the structure of this sector. Similarly, the Project Coordinator in the Refugee Support Center (MÜDEM) also identified informality as the biggest problem, and related this situation to the difficulty for Syrians to get work permits.

It can therefore be inferred that although informal employment is a big cause of vulnerability for both Turkish and Syrian workers particularly in the textile sector, the latter group is more exposed to this type of informality due to their lack of work permits. In addition, Syrian workers in every sector suffer from informal employment. The field research conducted by Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center (HUGO) illustrates that one of the biggest common problem expressed by the Syrian migrants in six different cities regards their right to work and high exploitation they encounter when they are informally employed (2014:17).These once again pinpoint the vitality of proposing reforms to the current work permit regulation.

The second reason for informal employment to be the biggest problem of the textile workers is the fact that the different dimensions of precariousness experienced are either

caused or intensified by being informally employed. When workers are informally employed they cannot benefit from social security and worker rights, as their labor is not regulated by any mechanism. Therefore, when their labor is exploited and their rights are violated, there is no authority to file complaints to. Coupled with Syrian workers' extra-vulnerability due to the lack of citizenship status, they get precaritized at an even higher level. Below, different dimensions of precariousness will be elaborated on in order to see how informal employment intensifies precariousness and which problems are faced by Syrian as well as Turkish workers.

Within the scope of this study, factors that are categorized as working conditions will be discussed in detail. In that framework, the first dimension of precariousness relates to wages. Other than the wage rate, further elements which compose the income-receiving process will also be examined. The related literature argues that particularly the informal migrant labor tends to be a cheaper alternative to the native labor particularly for small and medium sized enterprises (Danış 2016; Erdoğdu et al. 2012), which potentially leads to a race to the bottom for native wages in case of a significant migrant labor supply (Balkan and Tümen 2016; Borjas and Monras 2016; Del Carpio and Wagner 2015).

This claim is also approved by the evidence regarding the case at hand. A study conducted at six districts of Istanbul where Syrian migrants are heavily populated includes the information that monthly wages for Syrians who live in those districts and work in textile sector is around 750 TL while it is 1500 TL for their Turkish counterparts (Kaya and Kıraç, 2016:29). Similarly, Erol et al.'s more comprehensive survey among 603 textile workers shows that while the average wage per month is 1134 TL for Syrian workers, it is 1395 for the Turkish workers. It should also be noted that gender differences are evident for both groups as the average monthly wage of women are lower than men among both Turkish and Syrian workers (2017:53). This might be showing that particularly when it comes to increasing

precariousness related to wages, gender is a sub-factor within the Syrian-Turkish separation which can cause inter-group differences both in Turkish and Syrian worker groups.

Indeed, the fact that Syrian women are faced with even more intense precarious conditions came up during the interviews. To give an example, the representative of the UMUT-SEN labor union specifically emphasized that the most vulnerable sub-groups among the Syrian workers are women and children. She even suggested that positive-discrimination regarding the issuing of work permits might be considered for women in order to reduce their hyper-precarity.

These findings about wage differentials also match with the interview conducted with two Syrian textile worker women.[6] In the interview they talk about being informally employed and report their weekly wages as 200 and 150 TL respectively[7]. They also mention that their brother, who is also a textile worker, earns 220 TL per week, and the Turkish workers are earning more than all of them. This supports the initial claims discussed above, which state that Syrian migrants are providing exploitable cheap labor for the employers. In addition to their very low wages, they say they have been earning the same amount for four years and their employer never raises their wages although he constantly says he will. This whole picture does not only support the initial claim about Syrians becoming a cheap labor force, but also reveals the extent of their severe exploitation.

One further aspect of wage dimension of precariousness is the unpredictability of wages, which can also be divided into two sub-categories. The first category is about how the wages are determined. The survey data illustrates that 92% of the respondents receive fixed wages whereas %7 of them are on piecework (2017:68). Although the data is not decomposed regarding the Turkish versus Syrian workers it might be argued that since a very high portion

[6] To watch the entire interview, see https://ekmekvegul.net/gundem/suriyeli-tekstil-iscileri-anlatiyor
[7] By the time this interview was conducted in 2017, the net minimum wage was 1404 TL, which is roughly 600 to 800 TL more than what those Syrian textile worker women earned in a month.

of the workers are on fixed wages this is not necessarily a significant problem for the majority of the respondents. However, when another question in the survey asked whether the workers –at least once- encountered with not being able to receive their wages despite their work, %41 of the Turkish and %18 of the Syrians replied as 'yes' (78). This indicates that having a fixed wage is not a sufficient condition for avoiding precariousness due to the unpredictability of one's wage.

When it comes to the second sub-category, which is the mode of payment, a different conclusion can be reached. While among the Turkish workers, 90,4% receives their wages in person, 4,7% receives via bank and 4,9% are on a double payroll (half in person, half via bank), 100% of the Syrians receive their wages in person (2017:60). The high rates of wage receiving in person are complementary to the high rates of working without social security and thus informal employment. It increases workers' insecurity as it provides employers with a greater power over the regularity and consistency of the wage amount since workers cannot have official records of the transition.

The last aspect of wage dimension of precariousness is about the deductions and unpaid work. About this issue the project coordinator in MÜDEM said that although working overtime is very common especially among the Syrian workers in the textile sector, their overtime payment is much lower than those of Turkish workers. He also touched upon the recent researches in the textile sector, and stated that Syrians work 50% more and earn 20% less than the Turkish workers. The case of two Syrian worker women can also be mentioned here as well, because the fact that their employer does not keep his promise to increase their wages can also be counted as unpaid work, as their wages are not even adjusted according to increasing inflation.

A similar example was provided by the General Coordinator at MÜDEM, from the project of MÜDEM to improve the conditions of the Syrian textile workers. During the inspections made in the workplaces as part of this project, what he said were the most common violations observed were unpaid work alongside extremely long working hours, abuse and discrimination which will be discussed thereafter. Director of International Relations Department in the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK) shared the same view that the Syrians work more and earn less than everyone else. He pointed that while in many work places where Syrian migrants work the overtime work is not counted, and even if it exists for the Turkish workers Syrians do not get paid for their overtime wage.

The survey, on the other hand, reveals somewhat different results. While 85,3% of the respondents said they receive their overtime wages, only 14,7% of them said the opposite (69). This might be showing that not receiving overtime wage does not necessarily contribute to the precariousness resulting from deductions and unpaid work. Nevertheless, two things should not be forgotten. First, the survey does not separate the ratios according to Turkish and Syrian worker groups, which can potentially point out to different implications. Secondly, informally employed workers and particularly Syrians might be hesitating to voice their complaints due to the fear of losing their jobs. The lack of legal protection might be deterring Syrians to complain about the double standards they encounter. This was also touched upon by Danış, who notes that during her field research a union representative indicated that employers in this sector pay overtime wages of Turkish workers whereas Syrians do not get paid since there is no authority they can complain to (2016:579). Thus, deductions and unpaid work particularly for Syrians should not be underestimated when the issue is to detect the factors leading to their precarity.

Another dimension of precariousness that was observed is working hours. According to Turkish Labor Law, 45 hours is the maximum working time per week.[8] However, in the textile sector survey, only the 2,3% of the respondents indicated they work for 45 hours in a week. The remaining 14,3% work for 46-50 hours, 32,2% work for 51-55 hours,19,7% work for 56-60 hours and 14,9% work 65+ hours (Erol et al., 2017:58). According to the information provided by Director of International Relations Department at DİSK, the average per day work time is 12.4 hours for Syrians, which is 5 hours more than the legal average. Taking into consideration that Syrian workers suffer from not receiving their overtime wages, this data puts forward the immense exploitation faced by these workers. Not only do they not receive a compensation for their extra work, but also face with the threats of increasing work accidents, decaying health, negative psychological impacts and failure to meet their social needs.

These long and sometimes unpredictable working hours also comes up in the interview of two Syrian worker women. They complain that there is not a determined quitting time, which means their daily work time is in their employer's discretion. The advisor to the union leader of TEKSİF also notes that it is not uncommon to see Syrian textile workers who work for 16-17 hours a day, which explicitly displays the inhumane dimension of this practice.

One further dimension of precariousness which is categorized under working conditions targets the abuse and discrimination experienced by workers. Once again, the results of survey data and interviews will be interpreted at the axis of Turkish-Syrian worker groups. To start with, when workers were asked whether they had at least one negative experience in work life, 57% of Turkish and 39% of Syrian workers affirmed having such experiences (2017:76). When the data is decomposed according to both nationality and gender, the results are as follows: 63% of the Turkish men, 46% of the Turkish women, 41%

[8] http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.4857.pdf

of the Syrian men and 18% of the Syrian women testified that they had at least one negative experience in work life (77).

Despite the fact that the rates are significantly high for both nationalities, it is striking that the rate is much lower for Syrians. One argument proposed by Erol et al. to explain this situation draws attention to the possibility that Syrians might be kept in discipline through the already unequal position of migrant labor rather than the negative sanctions in the labor process (76). The data about the question of being exposed to physical violence in the workplace somewhat supports this claim. While almost 9% of the Turkish workers (and the rate is almost 12% for the Turkish men) told that they had such an experience at least once, the rate is almost 2% for the Syrian workers (81). The rates for psychological violence are even higher with 17% of Turkish respondent and 8% of Syrian respondents saying they at least once had such an experience (82).

Yet still, Erol et al.'s argument should be approached with caution since there might be other factors influencing interviewees' responses. As it was mentioned above and also highlighted by Erol et al. (2017) repeatedly, Syrian workers might be more reluctant to share their complaints and negative experiences as opposed to Turkish workers –particularly men- who might be more comfortable with expressing their problems. Equally importantly, Erol et al. pinpoint an important aspect by saying that the longer presence of Turkish male workers in the Turkish labor market makes them automatically more experienced and thus more likely to at least once encounter with abuse and discrimination.

Strikingly, 50% of Syrian and 40% of Turkish workers responded approvingly when asked whether Syrians were discriminated against in the workplace. This signals that discrimination is a known and widespread problem for Syrian workers as well (90).

Lastly, precariousness deriving from the lack or insufficiency of control over working conditions can be discussed under this category. Although this may include a variety of elements, two of the most relevant ones for the case of Syrian migrant workers will be dealt with. Language knowledge is the first element which is integral for workers to know and defend their rights, be able to file complaints about unfair and abusive practices at workplace, sufficiently interact with their coworkers and employers, effectively work in the jobs suitable for their skill level, and be aware of the workplace safety regulations.

Despite this, the survey found that 17% of the Syrian workers can neither speak nor understand Turkish and 41% can understand but not speak. Additionally, the illiteracy rate is almost 79% (Erol et al., 2017: 50). This picture points to the inadequacy of current language trainings and the necessity of related regulations. After all, even if Syrian migrants can find jobs without knowing Turkish, this restrains their choices mostly with informal employment and hampers their control over working conditions for the reasons specified above.

Skill level and dequalification is the second element in this category which contributes to Syrian workers' precarity. Some of the skills migrants acquired in their home countries may not be transferrable to the labor market needs of the host country (Borjas and Monras, 2016:15). To be more specific, especially the migrants who are coming from high education and skill backgrounds tend to still end up in low-skill and informal jobs due to the lack of nostrification, proof of their skills and education, and Turkish language knowledge. The interviewee representing DİSK identified dequalification as a general problem among the Syrian migrants and stated that highly skilled people like lawyers, pharmacists, journalists and writers are mostly working at low-skill service and construction jobs in Turkey.

The education level statistics about the textile sector workers in Erol et al.'s survey also signal a similar trend. While the rate of workers with middle school or lower degrees

constitutes 60% of the Syrians, it is 78% for the Turkish workers. Furthermore, the rate of university graduates in the sector is 2% for Turkish workers whereas it is 7% for their Syrian counterparts (20017: 33). Since the Syrian workers have significantly higher education level in the sector, it can be taken as an indicator that Syrian migrants settle for jobs below their skill level. This phenomenon, namely dequalification, leads to further precarization of skilled Syrian workers by hindering their control over the choice of employment and working conditions.

Having evaluated different dimensions of precariousness related to working conditions within the textile sector, it can indeed be seen that Syrian and Turkish workers tend to differ in the types and intensity of the precarity they experienced. First of all, it is not surprising that both worker groups are exposed to precarious working conditions. This picture can substantially be attributed to the general high rate of informality in the textile sector. However, when the findings were decomposed, it was observed that Syrian workers are particularly precaritized due to dequalification, lack of citizenship status and language knowledge. Their level of precariousness is also higher when it comes to informal employment, low wages, receiving wages in person, deduction of wages, unpaid work and long working hours.

Turkish workers, on the other hand, appear to face with more precarious conditions regarding irregular wages, and abuse and discrimination in the workplace. Nevertheless, regarding the debates on their rising problems due to the incorporation of Syrian migrants into the Turkish labor market, it can be said that they are mostly negatively affected in terms of their wages and employment rather than their working conditions. Former expert at HAK-İŞ reported that the heavy presence of Syrian workers in the informal economy drags the wages of Turkish workers under the minimum level. Even the perception of the Turkish workers

support this claim, as the survey reveals that 73% of men and 60% of women think Syrians drag the wages down both in textile and in the Turkish labor market in general (88).

In the meantime the representative from DİSK reported that the claims about not having any native worker left in the textile sector actually reflected a true point to a certain degree, as employers chose Syrian workers to lower their production costs. As 70% of female and 80% of male Turkish workers also agree that employers prefer Syrian workers (87), it can be regarded as an accurate claim. Consequently, it can be stated that Turkish workers are not experiencing with increasing precarity due to the incorporation of Syrian workers, but facing greater threat of unemployment and lower wages. Hence, the argument is that the policies aiming at job creation and incentivizing formal employment for Syrian migrants will potentially benefit natives as well.

5.3. Policy Recommendations

After evaluating the current legislation that entails Syrian's legal status in Turkey, work permit regulations and their labor market participation alongside the dimension of precariousness related to working conditions in the textile sector, some policy recommendations can be made. Although the analysis focused on the textile sector, the discussion in this section will have a broader scope as most of the recommendations can be applied to different sectors. That, in fact, helped acquiring a comprehensive perspective and putting together different aspects which might have wider and/or more viable outcomes if applied together.

For having clearly-defined arguments, the policy recommendations will be presented under four categories. In that sense, it is believed that even though the primary aim is to find remedies to the precarity which derives from working conditions, the long-term improvement

depends on taking measures in a more general framework. Thus, the first category includes the recommendations for achieving integration of Syrians to the Turkish society. This inevitably requires progress in two major areas; namely legal and social realms.

As it was repeatedly touched upon throughout the study, the legal status of Syrians constitutes a big obstacle for their further integration and adaptation to the socio-economic life in Turkey. For one, temporary protection has no equivalent in international law. As one of the interviewees, who is a researcher writer, rightfully pointed out, this situation prevents Syrians in Turkey from being protected by the international law in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention. Thus, he argues that the most urgent policy change should be granting refugee status to the Syrians so that their rights and conditions can be improved and protected as part of the 1951 Convention. He thinks that this is also important for regulating Syrians' labor market participation through formal channels and their working conditions, as the Turkish government will be responsible from their work lives towards the international community. This should indeed be the fundamental change because no matter how efficient and developmental solutions are proposed, they will still face with the risk of failing in practice if Syrians' rights are not protected and necessary legal mechanisms for implementing further policies are not operating to begin with.

The second dimension of policies on integration concerns social integration. As it was discussed as part of the analytical framework, social exclusion is both the starting point and the end product of Syrian's vicious 'precariousness' cycle. The social exclusion arises due to the combination of Syrians' above discussed legal status and perceptions about them among the native population. Integrating the Syrian immigrants better into the Turkish society thus requires policies which can get them acquainted with the Turkish culture as well as enable mutual cultural exchange and toleration to emerge. These policies should be followed

simultaneously with taking legal steps towards granting Syrians refugee status so that a solid ground for further measures towards Syrians' formal labor market integration can be created.

The former expert at the HAK-İŞ labor union and current project consultant to İLO presented a parallel argument that accommodating the Syrian migrants cannot be limited to employment; they have to be socially accommodated as well. For serving this end, he proposed basic trainings on Turkish culture, social life and harmonization which can be supported by language and vocational trainings later on. Indeed, this kind of trainings has the potential to smooth the process of integration and can make Syrians' job easier in their future life in Turkey. Thus, it can be suggested that these trainings should initially be implemented in the camps so that when the immigrants leave they will at least have a preparation for the life outside of the camps. As for the ones already settled in the cities, public courses can be opened by the government alongside trainings organized by NGOs.

Furthermore, similar trainings should be given to the native population and particularly to the people who share their neighborhoods and work environments with the Syrian migrants. In that framework, the general coordinator at MÜDEM suggested trainings should target creating public awareness especially for combatting discrimination at the workplace. It can be added that not only native employees but also employers should be educated about the detrimental effects of discrimination on the Syrian migrants. Enhancing social awareness can be quite influential for reducing Syrian migrant workers' precariousness deriving from abuse and discrimination.

Taking the above discussion as a departure point, the second category will focus particularly on different types of trainings. The first and perhaps the most vital part of these trainings is language skill-building. This is not only absolutely necessary for Syrian migrants' social integration but also fundamental for their incorporation in the formal labor market and

solving their problems regarding working conditions. Acquiring language proficiency in Turkish will allow Syrians to resist and take action against unfair practices and discrimination.

Regarding this issue, the former expert of HAK-İŞ informed that the prerequisite for latest vocational trainings is enrolling to a Turkish language course at least for the A1 level, and since 2017, A2 level courses are also given to a wider population. Interesting enough, the other interviewees coming from different work backgrounds all reported that language is still a pressing issue and current courses are not adequate either in number or in quality.

Thus, it is evident that language trainings should be further systematized. Different ideas have been put forward during the interviews regarding the most efficient application. The ideas revolve around the following options: having state-controlled language trainings given as a prerequisite for formal employment, local projects targeting the Syrian workers in particular regions, sectoral language trainings and finally workplace oriented trainings. On this issue, the project coordinator at MÜDEM drew attention to a commonly encountered problem, which is the conflicting training and working hours. He highlighted that this is the main reason why many of the Syrian workers cannot attend to the language courses. Taking this into consideration, it can be argued that language trainings organized by the workplace might be a remedy for this. Still, the content and operation of these trainings can be regulated by the state to ensure the sustainability of this workplace-oriented system.

In addition, language learning is a step towards overcoming dequalification. Coupled with vocational trainings, it will enable Syrian migrants to compete for jobs which are suitable for their educational background, job experience and skill level. That kind of a joint-training scheme will also have the potential of skill-creation. In fact, a local project was launched in İzmir province which can pose an example for future projects. The project, which started at

the beginning of 2018, is financed by İzmir Governorate and UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and supported by other stakeholder institutions[9]. The Syrian participants of the project will be trained for operating textile machines alongside A1 level Turkish. Taking this as an example, similar projects can be launched in different regions and different sectors as well.

The other equally important measure for tackling the problem of dequalification is to extending and enhancing the accessibility of the system which evaluates proof of Syrian migrants' past education and vocational experience; and further apply placement tests to achieve skill match. Although the former expert of HAK-İŞ reported that there are successful examples of this practice, it is still not entirely generalized. As the representative of ÖZİPLİK-İŞ argued, the government should regulate the implementation so that it can become a full-scope system.

A further benefit of language training can be observed through its contribution to workplace safety. The advisor at TEKSİF noted that language is of vital importance both for the workers and the workplace, as mistakes arising from lack of language knowledge can cause material damage, physical injuries and even loss of lives. Of course, this should be supported with workplace safety trainings which can also organized according to the particular conditions of each work-place.

A different dimension of language trainings regarding labor union strategies was put forward by the researcher interviewee. He rightfully argued that for protecting the rights of Syrian workers, the unions should be more involved with the entire process. This inevitably requires union representatives to interact with Syrian workers. Thus, he recommended that the labor unions should initiate projects for giving Arabic and English trainings to their

[9] http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/suriyeliler-icin-dil-ve-is-firsati-40705867

representatives so that the demands and complaints of the Syrian workers can be accessed more easily.

The third category entails the possible reform proposals for the current work permit regulation for Syrians under temporary protection. These recommendations will be of particular importance as they are indispensible for taking action against informal employment and can also directly impact the working conditions of the Syrians. Thus, they should target both increasing accessibility of work permits for Syrians and encouraging employers to apply for it. As MÜDEM General Coordinator stated, the mechanisms for responding concerns of the employers about formally employing Syrians are currently missing. Employers hesitate to choose this path as they can already informally employ Syrians for much lower costs. To solve this problem, he proposed that tax advantages and social security support contributions can be considered.

Another measure for encouraging employers is to abolish the fee that the employers need to pay when applying for a work permit and later for every year that a Syrian employee works for them. This is also proposed not only by both representatives of MÜDEM but also by the International Relations expert of one of the biggest textile labor unions, ÖZİPLİK-İŞ. Indeed, it can be a very efficient policy change which might have significant incentivizing effects in the short-run. Other than their evident financial benefits for employers, these measures, if applied, will also show the support of government for the formal employment of Syrians, which can also have implicit positive impacts for their further social integration.

A further issue raised about work permits was its temporal limitation. Although it was emphasized by the former expert of HAK-İŞ that the current work permit regulation allows Syrians to search for formal employment outside of the city they were registered in upon receiving permission from the governor of that city, this is still not a common practice. The

labor union ÖZİPLİK-İŞ therefore regards abolishing the temporal limitation of work permit application altogether as a complementary step for making the existing regulation more effective. It is actually a viable policy recommendation as it has the potential to relieve the over-saturated domestic job markets and reallocate the labor supply to the regions where there is higher demand. In other words, if the temporal limitation is abolished, it can allow Syrians to look for jobs at other cities where their chances of being formally employed are higher due to greater labor demand; and therefore decrease the heavy concentration of informal employment in specific regions where Syrians are registered in the most. It may also help tackling the crowding out effect on wages of native workers –particularly the ones in the informal sectors- by reducing the labor supply surplus created by the Syrian workers in particular regions.

The last set of policy recommendations is related to a broader scheme of investments and projects organized and supported by the government, public and private sector actors. During the interviews regional planning backed by sectoral encouragement for formal employment stood out as the most important necessity for long-term policy making. For instance, the former expert of HAK-İŞ suggested that big companies should invest particularly to the regions where Syrian population is the highest. If these companies establish labor-intensive facilities and employ Syrian migrants, it will be a great step towards reducing informal employment and improving the precarious working conditions.

A similar point was made by the researcher interviewee, who touched upon the fact that so far Syrian migrant labor has unfortunately been utilized mainly by the informal sectors, and the Turkish industries should start using it in big factories and for skilled-jobs with the help of a possible policy change targeting a minimum employment quota for the Syrians in big factories. In addition, the project coordinator at MÜDEM, while sharing similar

views about the necessity of regional planning and investment, proposed that Syrian migrants should be directed to the sectors where labor demand is higher.

Consequently, it is clearly indispensible that a comprehensive coordination and cooperation among different actors is vital to meet these long-term targets. Even though financial support might come from the government, specific companies, NGOs or other organizations, the process should be evaluated with all of its dimensions from needs assessment and feasibility studies to implementation and inspection of the projects by incorporating all the necessary actors from public and private spheres, different sectors, regions and working domains.

These four set of policy recommendations can serve as a starting point for tackling the problems of informal employment and accompanying precarious working conditions of the Syrian migrant workers in Turkey. These categories were created so as to target tangible and practical solutions for the problems that currently pressing and have the potential of intensifying even further. Although the recommendations were formulated based on the major problem areas of the Syrian workers in the textile sector, it is believed that they can –and even must- be generalizable as most of the above addressed problems are faced by the majority of Syrian migrant population and require coordination among different actors.

Nevertheless, the role of the general high rate of informal employment in Turkey and more specifically in the textile sector should not be underestimated. The informal economy has always been significantly large in Turkey, which is estimated to be approximately 33,6% (9 million 25 thousand people) of the total employment (Erol et al., 2017:16). Hence, it should be kept in mind that specific policies for improving Syrians' labor market position and working condition should be backed by general economic reforms and regulations to combat informality in order to make the outcomes deep-scaled and sustainable.

Conclusion

By looking at the emerging dynamics as a result of the incorporation of the Syrian migrant workers into the Turkish labor market, this study aimed at investigating the connection between informal migrant labor and precarity in the context of Turkey. This incorporation, as discussed throughout the study, did not evolve in a way to successfully integrate Syrian migrants to the Turkish society and economy. Instead, it was defended in this study that adverse incorporation emerged as a result of social exclusion on one hand and obstruction of the formal employment of Syrians on the other. This in turn, paved the way for a vicious cycle of precariousness which trapped the Syrian migrant workers into even further vulnerability and social exclusion.

Although it has been evident that most of the Syrian migrants have been informally employed and thus facing precarious working conditions, the majority of the literature has focused on the impacts of this labor supply shock on Turkish economy and native workers within the framework of wages, prices and employment. This study therefore contributed to the existing literature by looking beyond the immediate impacts and rather investigating the working conditions once the Syrian migrants are employed.

Furthermore, the issue was handled from two dimensions for achieving a complete understanding of the issue at hand: the precarious working conditions of the Syrian workers, who are overwhelmingly informally employed, were examined simultaneously with the conditions of their Turkish counterparts. This was done by focusing on the textile sector as a case study and making in-depth comparisons between the two worker groups.

While studying the textile sector, the intention was to combine aggregate data from surveys, ethnographic research and interview results so that a complete picture can be created.

It is believed that this approach greatly contributed to accurately identifying the biggest problems of workers regarding their working conditions.

The hypothesis was that despite the fact that both Turkish and Syrian workers suffer from precarious working conditions, the type and intensity of precarity differ for these groups. Indeed, what was seen as a result is that while Syrian workers experience precarity deriving from working conditions more intensely, their presence particularly in the informal market negatively affects Turkish workers in terms of declining wages and decreasing chances of finding employment.

Thus, policy recommendations were emerged by keeping in mind that informal employment of the Syrian migrants is the first and foremost problem that needs to be solved, as it is the biggest reason of precarious working conditions. Keeping in mind that successful integration cannot be achieved in the presence of precarious working conditions (İçduygu, 2016), it was argued that granting Syrian migrants refugee status and reforming the current work permit regulation are the two most crucial policy changes which should be adopted immediately. In addition, complementary policies were proposed regarding the necessary trainings for Syrian workers as well as their Turkish coworkers and employers. It was seem necessary for combatting discrimination in the workplace and achieving greater social integration.

There were some limitations to the study as a result of the inadequacy of data and comprehensive resources. As it was said, most of the quantitative research done so far does not include aggregate data on the working conditions of Syrian workers. This is mainly because of the difficulty of conducting such research when it comes to informal economy. Moreover, the most extensively used survey data is only limited with textile workers in Istanbul and even then, some results were not decomposed so as to reflect the differences

between Syrian and Turkish workers. This revealed the need for extensive field research which is not limited to ethnographic studies. In addition, if similar surveys become available for different sectors, a comparative case study can be conducted to see the sectoral differences regarding the precarious working conditions of the Syrian workers. This can be a potential agenda for further research.

The last limitation occurred due to the unavailability of data about the change in working conditions of Syrians who were granted work permits. If results such as significant sectoral shifts, improvement in working conditions and further changes can be detected, it will contribute to the formation of a stronger argument regarding the benefits of work permit. However as the regulation was only issued in 2016, gathering that kind of a comprehensive data might not be viable in the short term. Again, future research might reveal better policy recommendations about how to reform the work permit regulation in order to combat with precarity of Syrian migrants in Turkey.

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