



THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

**LABOR FOR SALE: A CASE STUDY OF PRECARIOUSNESS AND
POLITICAL TENDENCY IN THE WORKERS BAZAAR**

Master's Thesis

MERVE KÖSE

Political Science

August 2021



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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results that are not original to this work. I declare that this thesis is written according to the writing rules of Social Sciences University of Ankara, Institute of Social Sciences.

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To Ömer, Ahmet, Zeynep and Ferhan

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to determine the qualitative characteristics of precariousness and political orientation of the workers in the Ulus Labor Bazaar located in the center of the city in Ankara and to reveal the possible relationship between these two. This study is based on ethnographic research, non-participant and participant observations and in-depth interviews with workers in the Ulus Labor Bazaar. The findings regarding precariousness and political orientation in the field research were evaluated with the literature of precarity and political orientation in the world and Turkey in particular, and similarities and differences were analyzed in this context. The field has been handled based on the precarity literature, and the forms of precariousness specific to the case, the folded precariousness, and the aspects of precarity that go beyond the working life of the workers have been identified. While determining the political orientation of the workers, the factors that are effective on political orientation were determined and it was discussed whether precariousness is one of them. This thesis, which was prepared to increase the visibility of non-factory labor in the social sciences literature and to determine the effect of precariousness on political preferences, is the first academic study on the Ulus Labor Market.

Keywords: labor market, precariousness, employment norms, precariat, worker, political tendency

ÖZET

Bu tez Ankara’da şehrin merkezinde yer alan Ulus İşçi Pazarındaki işçilerin güvencesizliklerinin nitel özelliklerini ve politik yönelimlerini saptamayı ve bu ikisi arasındaki muhtemel ilişkiyi ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, etnografik araştırma, katılımcı ve katılımcı olmayan gözlem ve Ulus işçi pazarındaki işçiler ile yapılan derinlemesine mülakatlara dayanmaktadır. Saha araştırmasındaki güvencesizlik ve siyasi yönelime yönelik bulgular dünya ve Türkiye özelinde güvencesizlik ve siyasi yönelim literatürü ile değerlendirilmiş ve bu bağlamda benzerlik ve farklılıklar analiz edilmiştir. Saha, güvencesizlik literatüründen yola çıkılarak ele alınmış ve gruba özgü güvencesizlik biçimleri, katlanmış güvencesizlikler ve güvencesizliğin işçilerin çalışma hayatının dışına taşan yönleri tespit edilmiştir. İşçilerin siyasi yönelimleri tespit edilirken burada etkili olan faktörler belirlenmiş ve güvencesizliğin bunlardan biri olup olmadığı tartışılmıştır. Fabrika dışı emeğin sosyal bilimler literatüründeki görünürlüğünü artırmak ve güvencesizliğin siyasi tercihler üzerindeki etkisini belirlemek amacıyla hazırlanan bu tez Ulus İşçi Pazarı üzerine yapılmış ilk akademik çalışmadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: işçi pazarı, güvencesizlik, istihdam normları, prekarya, işçi, siyasi yönelim

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU: European Union

FP: Felicity Party

GP: Good Party

ILO: International Labour Organization

JDP: Justice and Development Party

PDP: Peoples' Democratic Party

RPP: Republican People's Party

NMP: Nationalist Movement Party

PKK: Kurdistan Worker Party

HESA Labour Watch: Health and Safety Labour Watch

T.C: Republic of Turkey

TRT: Turkish Radio and Television Corporation

TURKSTAT: Turkish Statistical Institute

U.K: United Kingdom

U.S: United States of America

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Many definitions of precariousness have been made in the literature. It is basically a situation where working conditions are uncertain and this uncertainty spreads to all other areas of life. The uncertainty of the work period, constant changing of employers with the job, the failure in the providing of life insurance, not implementing the occupational safety rules, and facing structural and continuous unemployment affect the psychological state, future plans, family life, and social life of precarious people.

Precariousness indicates a process in the labor sector. The transition of employment can explain that from so-called standard jobs to nonstandard jobs. Standard jobs are defined as employment in which the working conditions and the employer are specific, not subject to a deadline, where dismissal is based on rules, certain holidays, social security, and job security are provided to the workers. On the other hand, precarious jobs have emerged as employment model the opposite of all these features, with changes in the market in some certain aspects. The precarious employment model, where there is no fixed job, no employer, no wages, social security, and job security is spreading rapidly worldwide. Now, things have shifted to an axis that depends on a certain period, depends on uncertain conditions, the employer is constantly changing, cost avoidance concentrates only on labor, and as a result, vital norms for employees such as job security and social security evaporate.

This thesis, I aim to increase the visibility of non-factory labor and to determine the unique precarious experiences and political orientations of a group of people who put up their labor in a shop window in the middle of the capital city of Turkey, consists of a conceptual discussion on precariousness, political orientation, and examples of precariousness in Turkey and field research based on narratives and testimonies collected from Ulus Labor market laborers. Therefore, this research mainly asks as follows: What are the experiences of the precariousness of workers in this market? What are the political orientations of these workers? To what extent is there a connection between precarity and

political orientation in the Ulus Worker Bazaar? One of the main arguments of this thesis is that precariousness is not just about working conditions. Precariousness is a situation that can affect people's domestic relations, social life, political and socio-economic preferences. For this reason, it is significant and valuable to determine the political orientation of this group in Ulus, which seems homogeneous in the context of precariousness and socio-economic status, as it reveals the political preferences of an ignored group of people.

Before starting the fieldwork, I considered that there would be no connection between precariousness and political preferences. The possibility that precariousness does not affect the political preferences of the workers led me to the question of which factors are effective in the political preferences of the workers in Ulus Worker Bazaar. Therefore, regardless of precariousness, determining the factors that affect the political orientation of these people who are waiting for a job in the middle of the city every day, is one of the main research questions that guides this thesis.

The main principle question of the research is to identify the precariousness and political orientation of workers and reveal the (possible) correlation between these two. For this purpose, I collected data in field research through in-depth interviews and I framed these by the following variables and themes: the demographic characteristics, daily life practices, precarious experiences, and political orientations of the workers were investigated.

In the first chapter of this research, a conceptual discussion on precariousness is a defining marker of laborers. This conceptual discussion covers the emergence of precarious work, the reasons for its emergence, people who are more vulnerable to precarious work, types of precarious work, the effects of precariousness beyond working conditions, and whether the precarious form a new social class. In this conceptual discussion on precariousness, the studies of social scientists who contributed to the field were critically engaged, analyzed, examined and re-examined.

The second chapter informs about the methodology of this research. In this chapter, I will offer an overview of my fieldwork, which includes details about data collection, analysis of the collected data, sampling, and preliminary study, and reveals the limitations and challenges faced during the research.

In the third chapter, precarity in Turkey is discussed. This chapter examines the historical background of precarity in Turkey and offers a critical reading on the precarious experiences of some precarious groups. In this chapter, my objective is to make sense of the history of labor and labor policies of Turkey. Hence, as make sense of the dimensions of precarious work in Turkey and to build the research topic of this thesis on historical and economic policy changes.

The fourth chapter is about the Ulus Labor Market. In this chapter, I evaluate the historical development of the Ulus Labor Market and its current structure. Moreover, I analyzed the answers of the participants in the fieldwork of this research and the general demographic characteristics of the workers, their working and living conditions, and their experiences of precarity are explained. This research is based on the assumption that precariousness varies for each individual. With this understanding, an evaluation will be presented within a systematic framework regarding the view of the Ulus Labor Market of the precariousness that emerged as a result of each participant's response and observations.

In the last chapter, in which the political orientation of the workers is determined, I tried to draw a conceptual framework regarding Turkey's social and political structure. The political orientation of the workers, their reasons for voting, their views on successful politicians, Turkey's current problems, and immigrants were evaluated. Focusing on the political orientation of the workers is one of the values that make this thesis original. Conventional studies on labor have focused on work-related issues and ignored workers' views on the political structure of the country in which they live. Studies on political orientation are generally built on making sense of political preferences based on class, religion, sect, race, and ethnicity. Considering the occupation, working conditions, and socio-economic situation, making sense of the political orientation of groups such as the workers in Ulus, which constitutes a small and homogeneous community, contributes to understanding the current political situation in Turkey. In this research, after determining the political orientation of the workers, the findings were placed in a conceptual framework regarding Turkey's social and political structure. The political orientations identified are the existing political parties in Turkey shaped by Turkish and Kurdish nationalism, conservatism, Islam, Alevism, leftism, and secularism. Then, the link

between precariousness and political orientation was examined and the chapter was concluded with an analysis of the workers' evaluations of government policies.

This research is about a concrete labor bazaar where labor is put up for daily sale and available in the city's middle. The incarnated visibility of non-factory labor in the middle of the city is an extraordinary field of study to reveal the relationship of labor with urbanization and social and political life. Labor markets that proliferated with precariousness are missing in the social science literature about workers and laborers. With this research, my objective is to contribute a unique case-study based on narratives and interviews collected from the fieldwork regarding daily informal laborers in Ankara – this is also the significance of this study.

CHAPTER 2 A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS ON PRECARIOUSNESS

The worker-employer relationship, which was shaped during industrialization and the emergence of the working class, was eroded. Then, new relationships emerged following the spirit of the 1980s' new economic policies. This chapter will discuss the main changes, transitions, and approaches in the employment and employment policies. The emergence of precarious working and living conditions will only have meanings due to understanding these changes, shifts and approaches.

2.1 THE SHIFT FROM STANDARD EMPLOYMENT TO PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT

All over the world, employment policies and relations have changed dramatically since the 1930s till now. This changing nature of employment has direct impacts on workers and their relations within the market. Why is that? What had happened that the work relations had changed, with a single regular employer with regular hours and salaries? Why did precariousness and informal working types increase? How can the current situation of the labor market be explained?

Between the 1940s and 1970s, working conditions and job opportunities are more suitable for workers generally than the current situation in the world. In this period, there were solidified security and economic gains in labor relations. These recoveries have emerged due to the implementation of the Keynesian economic model, the state's effectiveness in employee and employer relations, the visibility and power of workers' parties in the world, and widespread labor movements. Moreover, Arne Kalleberg posits that employment relations are more regulated by time (2009, p. 4). During this time period, the employee and employer relationship seems to be based on a time structure that is convenient for both of them.

In the 1980s, there were many transformations in the economy almost all over the world. Globalization cause to increase in competitiveness among firms therefore, firms search for new ways to reduce their costs. Deregulation policies of governments, especially Thatcher and Reagan's policies, in the economy and particularly in the employment, have led to many changes in this field. According to Fudge and Owens, this situation has caused a significant change in employment relationships and bring into being commercialization of that kind of relationship (2006, p. 8). The market became the sole determinant of labor demand, and government intervention is minimized. Then employees started to seek to reduce costs and restructure employers' conditions from their contract to the provision of social services. Technological developments have significant effects on the labor market as well. Labor-intensive works are replaced with the development of technology, machine and information technologies. These indicate a fundamental shift in the workforce: the shift from standard work to precarious work. In the later parts of the research, I explain the ground of this transition process after defining the standard and precarious work.

2.1.1. Employment model until the 1990s: Standard work

J. Burgess observes that in its simplest and most straightforward definition, standard work corresponds to full-time, continuing, paid employment (1997, p. 85). This definition presupposes and emphasizes the dimensions of job security in workplaces. In standard work, workers continue to work without uncertainties in general. In other words, in the standard working model, workers have job security, strict job definition, job continuity, necessary social rights and life insurances, and definite and permanent wages.

Furthermore, Gerry Rodgers argues that regulations or collective agreement, regular and permanent jobs, proper social and working conditions, and ensuring social stability for workers are essential characteristics of standard employment (1989, p. 1). Thus, workers have the power to come together and collaborate against the employer when they encounter any problems, for example, when working conditions deteriorate or they cannot get their wages.

In Vosko's view, in standard work, workers have a single and permanent employer and can reach certain benefits (2010, p. 1). Vosko identifies standard work as something like that for industry workers supported by law, to have full-time and

permanent jobs and regular job-related things (2010, p. 4). It means they have consistent working time and wages; workers can access social benefits as well.

Guy Standing (2011) explained precarious work with standard work. In other words, according to him, precarity came about with the disappearance of some features of the standard job. He identifies workers in precarious work as 'precariat' and according to him, these workers are different from the traditional proletariat and combine a distinctive socio-economic group. While explaining the situation of the workers, he used labor security that workers have been lacking. Industrial workers have them but this new group of workers does not have these securities and benefits. Standing explain these with seven kinds of security (2011, pp. 10-11). The first one is labor market security, which means that workers have a proper and full-time commitment and wage. The second security is related to employment and it protects the workers from dismissal and firing by their employers. The third one is job security, which allows workers to access their capabilities, skills, and social mobility. The fourth one is work security which means social protection against any work accident or illness. It contains regulation of working hours, working conditions, etc. The fifth one is skill reproduction security and which is related to the gain and use of competencies. The sixth one is income security and as its name suggests, it is security on protected, fixed and continuous wage. And the last one is representation security and it has a connection with a collective movement among workers through trade unions or other related issues (Standing, 2011, pp. 10-11) Historically, people who work in factories - named proletariat have these seven consequential security forms and arrangements. But this is not valid for workers in precarious work.

2.1.2. Precarious Work

In the last few decades, the nature of employment and its effects on the economy have changed worldwide. Working and living conditions, wages, supply, and demand of labor have been and continue to be affected by this change. This change has caused many structural changes in the labor market. While the supply and demand of labor have become more fragile, working norms have become more flexible. The transition from manpower to machine power in agriculture and industry has made the transition of labor from industrial and agricultural sectors to the service sector obligatory. Due to the nature

of the service sector, work has become shorter or uncertain periods, mainly project-based, unstable, irregular, and dependent on bad and flexible working conditions such as working hours, contract type and job duration.

In a significant analysis, Gerry Rodgers (1989) explained labor market changes with four dimensions. The first one is related to “labor market conditions” (Rodgers, 1989, pp. 9-10). Accordingly, the constant high unemployment makes job seekers vulnerable and this leads to jobs becoming precarious. The second is “the industrial system and enterprise structure” (Rodgers, 1989, pp. 10-11). Rodgers associated this concept with companies, according to which companies provide permanent employment for employees performing core services while employing short-term, temporary, agency workers for other jobs. The third change in Rodgers’s argumentation is “the institutional framework of the labor market.” Stating that the state and collective organizations are important actors in the labor market, Rodgers noted that there is a relationship between the increase in part-time employment and the increase in precarious jobs in some European countries concerning employment policies (1989, p. 11). The fourth change that Rodgers stipulates is “the consequences for individuals and their responses.” In this heading, it is stated that the decisions regarding wages, working conditions, and continuity of work in precarious jobs are taken by the employer, and he claimed that precarious jobs are increased with women's participation in the labor market (Rodgers, 1989, pp. 12-13). As I can understand from here, the changes in the labor market are too diverse to be explained by a single factor. On the one hand, there is a more political factor such as employment policies and there are social factors such as women's participation in the workforce and structural factors such as the industrial system and enterprise structure.

Precarious work appears in the literature as the opposite of the standard work. Although the standard job has many positive aspects compared to the precarious jobs, many difficulties for workers are seen in the standard job. Long working hours, shift work, strenuous work that requires manual effort, high risk of occupational accidents and obstacles to union solidarity are among the negativities faced by workers in standard work. Precarious work lacks some of the characteristics that standard work has or fulfills for its workers. In other words, precarious work has emerged with the loss of the features of the standard work, which has been safe, stable, and certain, which continued until the 1990s.

After all, labor market, and nature of work, and work becomes different from the traditional fixed, continuous, low-waged, single employer and secure jobs. These circumstances caused the emergence of a new discussion and a new concept started to be used for non-standard kinds of work in the literature: *Precarious work*.

Many scholars identify precarious work in different ways. Rodgers (1989) identified precarious work within four features. According to him, the first feature of the precarious work is the lack of continuity (Rodgers, 1989, p. 3). In precarious work, workers are employed in flexible situations and generally for short terms. There is no guarantee for workers like ‘this work will take this long.’ Therefore, workers were always looking for new temporary jobs and employment relations to survive. In addition to that, because of this nature of precarity, the risk of losing job is very high (Rodgers, 1989, p. 3). Because of the absence of any long-term and sound contracted workers have to work in uncertain conditions and insecurities.

Moreover, according to Rodgers, the second feature of precariousness is control over work (1989, p. 3). This control means almost everything related to work, such as wage, contract, employment relations, duration, working conditions, workplace, and finally, the work itself. The control of workers in precarious work in these areas is limited in most cases. They are not capable of deciding on work. And also, workplaces, durations, and wages are changeable from work to work and employer to employer. In short, workers in precariousness are not capable of decisions that are related to their work.

The third feature of precariousness is identified as the safety of the workers by Rodgers (1989, p. 3). This means a lot of different areas that have a connection with the workers’ protection. Labor safety during work, social insurance, and legal and collective organizations’ protection where it is necessary are some of those areas. Finally, the fourth feature of Rodger’s argumentation on precariousness is about wage specifically (1989, p. 3). In precarious work the wage is also ambiguous and, in some cases, it is not sufficient to survive. Generally, low wages are offered for even the most dangerous work such as mining, construction, disaster management, and firefighter and these people have to accept it. Especially in metropolitan cities, precarious work is related to poverty and lack of employment opportunities.

Furthermore, Arne Kalleberg observes how working arrangements and low quality of work are the main characteristics that why nonstandard employment is different from standard employment (1997, p. 1). Compared to standard work, generally, nonstandard/precarious work is low quality and has limited benefits. Besides the abovementioned low wages, frequently, there is no pension, health insurance and there is insecurity in the duration of a job (Kalleberg, et al., 1997).

In addition to that, precariousness is related to labor flexibility and re-commodification and it means that works are getting more temporary and project-oriented these days. (Standing, 2011, p. 32). Working in temporary and project-based jobs affects workers in terms of social security, job experience, and wages. Of course, this situation is preferred by employers because it reduces costs (Standing, 2011, p. 32). As Standing indicates that, in the U.S., workers are lack health insurance, paid vacation and many of them did not get the necessary healthcare that even led to situations in which they lost their lives because of temporary contract and this situation is valid for the European countries as well (2011, p. 35).

Flexibility also works on a division of labor and workers switch between tasks, jobs, and workplaces (Standing, 2011, p. 36). As can be seen here, a situation -whatever it is- actually affects many things, not only the job or the current working conditions. For instance, the situation above is also an obstacle for getting experienced and building a career for workers in precarious work. According to Standing, flexibility in the wage system is another feature of precariousness and in this situation workers' wages are unpredictable, insecure, and quickly changeable (2011, p. 43). These types of works remind something related to a stint of work. In addition to all of these, the competition among workers, the excess labor supply, and employers' desire to reduce costs are added here; there is a high risk of finding a job and losing a job in precarious work.

Guy Standing (2011) explained the workers working in precarious jobs with the concept of "denizen." Denizen means that people who live and work in precariousness have limited access to rights than other citizens (Standing, 2011, p. 14). According to this argument, they cannot access and enjoy many rights in that country, whether they are citizens of the country or not. Some of them could have the right to vote, job security, the right to a health-related living, and union rights.

Moreover, Rodgers also argued that precarious work and the level of precarity differ from country to country and sector to sector (1989, p. 4). Each country has a different social state understanding, development status, government types, law, economic system, etc. For instance, in welfare states, the state protects its citizens in employment-related issues. It has the authority to organize the working conditions within the law system and other regulations enforced. For this reason, precariousness is experienced on a narrower scale in countries with a more vital welfare state, and working and living conditions are better compared to other countries. In addition, precarious jobs have huge and certain differences even in the same country. Every job has its insecurities. Since precariousness can be defined by the employee-employer relationship, employment contract, and the constant but irregular change in working conditions, precarity is different for each job. While this situation increases the heterogeneity of precarious work, it reveals the difficulty of determining the limits of precarity and defining it.

Defining precariousness is quite difficult since it has many different dimensions and aspects. Duration of job, type of contract, working conditions, uncertain/low wages, right to paid/unpaid leave, social facilities, social security, work safety affect the level of precariousness. In other words, jobs in precariousness are indefinite and workers have to change jobs ‘constantly.’ This necessity and excess supply in the labor force adversely affect the working conditions, wage, and professional competence. In other words, works and work times are constantly changing. Accordingly, things like working conditions, wages, job security also vary from job to job. Therefore, there is a continuous loop here. Even if works and things change, workers have to face constant precariousness. Things like jobs and working time change but precariousness is constant and not variable.

2.2. THE GROUNDS OF PRECARIOUSNESS

Historically, the world economy has gone through many changes. These changes have influenced and continue to affect the governance understanding of states, market dynamics, and the development of fundamental economic indicators worldwide. The labor market is also one of the affected areas in this context, as was mentioned before. Behind the emergence of precarious work since the 1990s, the effects of these changes are observed. In this study, I will explain the fundamental reasons for the emergence of precarious work under four main headings:

- The transition from Keynesian policies to neoliberal ones
- Effects of globalization on employment
- Changes in production models
- Increasing women's participation in employment

First of all, the end of Keynesian policies is one of the main reasons for the emergence of precarious working conditions. Although with a difference in their conceptualization, Neilson and Rossiter (2008) have the same argument. They argue that precarity emerged in the transition time from social (welfare) state to Fordist state and it maybe have potential additions to political structure (Neilson & Rossiter, 2008, pp. 54-55). Hence, in a Keynesian political economy, a system in which monetary policy and fiscal policy are effective, state intervenes with social welfare employment projects (Palley, 2005, p. 21). In this economic model and thought, which affected the world economy from the Second World War to the 1980s, the state intervenes in the economy, expenditure, and tax with some sort of tools.

The implementation of Keynesianism by states in the real political sphere has created welfare states. In welfare states, the state taking an active role in the market for the economic and social well-being of the citizens (Britannica, 2015). During this period, Palley argues that social security is provided in the labor market and that unions are strongly against employers (2005, p. 21). The welfare state period was a period of relatively positive social and economic development for workers who earned their income based on wages. Strikes could be made against poor working conditions; workers were provided with social security, and labor's legal basis was expanded during these years.

In the 1980s, dissolution in the welfare state and the social policies began to be observed in many countries and become the subject of numerous studies. Buğra posits that neoliberalism, which emerged with globalization, has made it prevalent that Keynesian economic policies based on the regulation of demand using modern economic methods are unsustainable (2018, p. 75). The dissolution of the social welfare state did not decrease in social policies and a decrease in public expenditures in this area (Buğra, 2018, pp. 76-77). Still, it was the starting point for structural changes in the field of employment.

Secondly, globalization has certain effects on precariousness. With the impacts of globalization, the world economy is getting more connected; therefore, changes in a part of the world affect the other parts (Standing, 2011, p. 27). In addition, globalization has brought the mobility of financial capital with it (Buğra, 2018, p. 72). Neoliberal influences have shifted the capital from underdeveloped or developing Asian and African countries where labor is excessive and cheap to the developed ones. This resulted in flexibility in employment, worsening working conditions, and a decrease in wages. As mentioned earlier, these all signs of precariousness are started to be observed in the labor market.

As a result of globalization, Standing observed the commodification -being subject to the market (Standing, 2011)- of labor is getting one of the main reasons for the emergence of precarious work (2011, p. 26). With reference to this argumentation, the fact that labor became available for sale caused people to work in precarious jobs with poor working conditions. With the effect of globalization, the relocation of the workforce has also become easier. People migrate to different countries to find work, and this creates armies of unemployed immigrants.

Furthermore, new labor supplies have been observed in the labor market worldwide since the 2000s due to the explosion in the world population, industrialization process, and developments in information systems. Standing evaluated this labor supply as the emergence of Chindia (2011, p. 28). That is, the excess supply and mobility of labor in these countries have affected employment conditions worldwide. With the new workers entering the market, wages have fallen further, and the working conditions have deteriorated.

New and excessive labor supply have changed the employment relations and firms' situations as well. As Standing stated that, firms want more flexible employment relations after all of these changes (2011, pp. 29-30). The intensification of the labor supply causes the workers to submit to the conditions desired by the companies. Because there are workers who have to work regardless of the circumstances and therefore it is uncertain if this has any end.

The third cause, the change in production models and the sectoral transition has significant effects on the emergence of precarious work. Different names can be made for

the transformation here, such as the transition from Fordist production to post-Fordist production or from machine technologies to information technologies.

Firstly, the Fordist production model takes its name from Ford factories. In factories where thousands of identical cars are produced every day, this mode of production has become the norm for more than half a century (Rifkin, 1995, p. 95). Manpower could not fully fulfill this standard production and would slow the production. Over time, this mass-production model began to shift from the automobile sector to other sectors (Rifkin, 1995, p. 100). While Fordism decreased labour demand, it provided regular employment and benefits to worker. Working in Fordist production is full-time and lifelong, and the right to income, social inclusion, and citizenship are dominant in working life in European countries (Giorgi, 2016, p. 52).

While fast and mass production increased the market shares and profit rates of the companies, it also provided mastery and standardization in part production. In summary, jobs have become in the U.S. where the need for manpower has decreased and even become the rule, mechanization provides convenience in production.

Nevertheless, while these were happening in the U.S. and Europe, there were also developments in other parts of the world. Toyota, a Japanese automobile giant, has combined new management techniques with machines to produce more output using fewer resources and labor (Rifkin, 1995, p. 100). This reform process upset many balances in the production system. Machinery and computerization have left many people unemployed.

From time immemorial, one of the most prominent aims of the owners of capital has been to reduce costs and thus increase their profits. Since mechanization increases efficiency and requires less manpower, it was immediately applied by employers/capital owners. Similarly, Rifkin argues that companies have started to switch to new information and telecommunication technologies in relation to the competition in the world market and as a result of this nearly 2 million production jobs disappeared and millions of people were unemployed (1995, pp. 5-8).

The increase in automation and informatics in the post-Fordist production model causes the value of labor to decrease (Giorgi, 2016, p. 54). Labor has literally become a

burden for capital owners. While automation and informatics increased profits, too much labor started to mean only excess cost.

While the Fordist production model is dominant in industrial relations, unemployment can be considered as a personal deficiency, today the situation has completely changed (Giorgi, 2016, p. 53). While industrial developments before the last few decades brought the replacement of human physical power by machines, the recent changes in computer-based technologies commit to eliminating the machine and human factor in the labor process (Rifkin, 1995, p. 5). As computers provide more and more information, many white-collar workers have also lost their jobs. With the existence of computers, many professions, from account managers to salespeople, from transport workers to warehouse workers, have been left unemployed (Rifkin, 1995, p. 105). As a result, it can be said that the mechanization in agriculture cut the peasants from their lands and put them in a workerization process. At the same time, masses of workers who started to work in factories in big industrial cities were facing unemployment or precarious work with the transition to standard/Fordist production in factories first and then to information and automation technologies.

The last cause for precarious work is increasing women's participation in employment. Women began to actively participate in the labor market mainly after World War II because of the crucial absence of men's labor – during and after the war. Therefore, the traditional roles of women as caregivers and men as breadwinners were began to change. From those times, the presence of women in workforce has increased. As Acker suggests, gender is one of the key issues that affect the whole society and for that matter the labor market and labor relations (1992, p. 567). The labor market has undergone a structural change with the introduction of women.

There are some differences between the work process of women and men due to biological reasons. When women decide to have a child, they spend a part of the pregnancy period and a period after birth on leave. In addition to these, baby care and breastfeeding are among the needs of women might affect continuity of work. At the same time, these situations have revealed that women may prefer project-based, short-term or part-time jobs. Therefore, working in precarious jobs may be preferences for some women in this manner.

Regardless of whether above-mentioned type of work is preferred or compulsory, the entry of women into the labor market and the increase in the rate of female employees in the market have changed many norms related to work such as employee-employer relations, leave periods, working time, continuity and contract terms.

In addition to these four grounds, Fudge and Owens (2006, p. 3) argue that one of the most important causes for emergence of precariousness is related to technological developments, especially information technologies and systems, have begun to change rapidly the workplace conditions. In their view, technological transformations have had consequential impacts on workplace conditions. Furthermore, there have been many changes and innovations in working relations and conditions in the last few decades. For instance, layoffs are becoming a fundamental factor for employers' strategies in the market. These phenomena caused an increase in reducing labor costs and undermine collectivity among workers (Kalleberg, 2009, p. 5). Weakening the positions of unions and declining institutional protections of workers led to disempowerment of workers (Kalleberg, 2009, p. 3).

Consequently, these causes of precariousness are interrelated and affect each other. The abandonment of Keynesian policies, the implementation of neo-liberal policies and the change in production models with the development of technology, and the transition from labor power to machine power have revealed structural unemployment and surplus in labor supply. With the increase in women's participation in the workforce the differentiation of work in terms of time and place has brought about a change in the existing characteristics of labor. All of these are factors that reveal, spread, and structuralize precariousness.

2.3. WHO ARE PRECARIOUS PEOPLE?

As mentioned in the previous sections, precariousness is a concept that has just started to emerge in the social sciences literature. Therefore, the theoretical and practical dimensions of the concept is still in a process of formation. Most people agree that people living in precariousness form a considerably heterogeneous community rather than a homogeneous one.

This heterogeneity of course causes some difficulties in the creation and development of the concept. There is no consensus on it, and it requires more time, research, and effort to make evaluations about the people working under these working conditions and their life experiences. Precariousness is a situation experienced by many people today. As it will be stated later, there may be newcomers to this situation or those who leave this group over time.

People involved in precariousness can be divided into many groups. These groups can be examined under two headings: the precarious people who have different identities and precarious people who work in different jobs and experience precariousness with these employment patterns. The employment issue will be discussed later. Now, the first heading will be examined.

People in the first heading are divided into many subgroups. They are involved in precarious employment due to their identity or physical conditions. In this regard, women, migrants, old and young people, people with disabilities, and ethnically, racially or religiously minorities are included in this category. Moreover, there are groups other than these: sexual minorities (Hollibaugh & Weiss, 2015), criminals, and interns (Standing, 2011).

There is a remarkable increase in precarious work in the 1990s and women and migrants are at the center of these working types and as it was mentioned earlier, precariousness emerged as a concept, when women and migrants displaced the established rules of the labor market. For this reason, femininity and immigration are identities under this heading at the point of experiencing and conceptualizing the precariousness. It can be said that precariousness is theorized around the discussions on women and migrants. In the next subheadings, these discussions will be reviewed while explaining precarious employment and the reasons behind its emergence. In this manner, precariousness and its theorization will be made clearer.

2.3.1. Women

The standard employment relationship was designed for the male breadwinner and female caregiver model (Fraser, 1997). In this type of employment, as because they mostly have a certain income, social insurance, and other benefits, there is no problem

for a family in which a man is capable of maintenance of his family. However, as a result of the increase in the activity and presence of women in the labor market and the differentiation of women's job preferences due to their family duties, these standard employee-employer relations have changed.

As Vosko and Fudge (2001) indicate that from the post-World War II era to the 1970s, the labor market is considered as a distinction between standard and non-standard works. This distinction also means the characteristic of the women's and men's jobs. It means that, they stated that in those years, most women were employed in precarious and non-standard jobs, while most men were employed in standard jobs (Fudge & Vosko, 2001, p. 300). In other words, women were not employed to replace men after the war but were forced to work in worse conditions than men. This initial situation will gradually lead to the feminization of the labor market and its rules, and these rules will begin to be enforced on all workers beyond women.

While explaining Canadian labor law and employment relationships, Fudge and Vosko assert that working conditions are getting worse in the beginnings of the 1970s for both men and women and in those years non-standard work began to rise and gendered norms are effective on employment relationships (2001, p. 301). Therefore, gendered contracts, changes in collective bargaining systems, and working conditions bring along new employment relationships and new/gendered labor regulation.

As it has already been mentioned, Vosko (2002) identifies these eroding with a new concept as "feminization of employment norms". Women in the labor market make the market's rules more proper for women in such aspects as leave and this is bringing with important changes in employment norms and labor market dynamics. Works are getting more non-standard, part-time or project-based jobs, less waged and unstable.

Standing (2011) named this situation as the feminization of living and labor. According to him, the entry of women into labor market has had a double effect on employment and the first effect is women taking more job than before and the second one is more job is becoming more flexible as a result of taking by women (Standing, 2011, p. 60). Women's ongoing presence in the labor market, especially in the service sector, is both cause and result of the feminization of labor force. This brings with the informalization of working conditions in labor market (Vosko L. , 2010; Standing, 2011).

It means that the entry of women into the labor market may have led to a diversification of works in the service sector and high preference of women for these kinds of works. With the participation of women in the workforce, many part-time and project-based jobs have started to be given to women. Therefore, it can be said that there are direct relations between women's participation in the labor market and rising precarious work.

To return to the previous topic, as Vosko et al. indicated that feminization of employment norms has four aspects: high rates of women participation informal labor market, ongoing division in industry and occupation, polarization between/among men and women, the definition of some precarious jobs as "women's jobs" (2003, p. 460). Therefore, when women entered the labor market, some jobs that were not seen as suitable for men started to be given to women. These are usually precarious work and started to be done by women. Thus, the feminization of labor norms emerged and reproduced through this process.

Vosko et al. (2003) argue that some certain jobs are considered as "women's work" and these kinds of work is one of the most precarious works among others. According to them, whether a job is full-time or not is more decisive than whether it is temporary or not. Accordingly, they consider many dimensions of work as the certainty of work continuing, firm size, and union protection (Cranford, Vosko, & Zukewich, 2003, p. 468). In the light of these, part-time work is considered an important dimension in precarious work related to temporary work. Part-time permanent work is followed to it, then full-time temporary and full-time permanent jobs are seen the least precarious job and women are employed in part-time permanent and part-time temporary work (Cranford, Vosko, & Zukewich, 2003, pp. 468-469). This indicates that the gendered notion of precarious work differs from different kinds of precarious work.

Even if they work in the same kind of precarious work, women receive fewer wages than men. And women tend to be employed part-time and in small firms more than men (Cranford, Vosko, & Zukewich, 2003, p. 474). Women also have to work without work security and union protection. Inequalities between sexual orientations, the wage gap, the feminization of work norms, polarization between men and women (Cranford, Vosko, & Zukewich, 2003; Zeytinoğlu & Muteshi, 2000; Kalleberg, et al., 1997) demonstrates gender dimension in employment.

The women's employment in precarious work in which they work temporarily or without contract is widespread phenomena across all the world. Women are employed in precarious works and non-regular work is related to women's share in the labor market in Japan and South Korea and half of women work in precarious works there (2011, pp. 60-61). Moreover, wage inequalities between women and men are quite widespread across the world countries. For instance, in the U.K, the percentage is decreased to 40 but wage inequalities between sexes still exist (Standing, 2011, pp. 60-62).

Another reason for the high percentage of women's participation in precarious work is that women work as sex workers. Standing also observes millions of women work in sexual exploitation industries (2011, p. 63). This is also expanding the reason for precarious work, especially for women since they are very vulnerable when unemployment rates are high.

In conclusion, there are clear relations between the rise of precarious work and women's participation in the workforce. All over the world, most women are employed in the service sector and the expansion of the service sector is related to the expansion of precarious work. Therefore, it can be said that women's participation, service sector, and precarious work affect each other and affected by others. This rising percentage of women's participation in precarious work is changing by the transformation in work norms. Feminization of work norms is changing both the structure of the work and working conditions. As a result of this changing, women may also want to work in part-time or project-based works. Situations of women in precarious work have risen from these interacting reasons and resulting conditions.

2.3.2. Migrants

Migrant workers are one of the most vulnerable groups in terms of employment all over the world. There are many reasons behind this. In this section, these reasons will be addressed in conjunction with other immigrant employment conditions. Citizens of a nation have full permission to reach obligation and rights, and migrants are generally excluded from these rights as Vosko mentioned (2010, pp. 9-10). Therefore, citizen workers and migrant workers have not the same working conditions, social rights, wages, and employment chances in standard work.

Munck et al. (2011) made a historical background on precarious work and its economic conditions. According to them, migrant workers are the key factor in big global changes from Great Recessions to today because firms need cheap labor and flexible working relations (Munck, Schierup, & Wise, 2011, p. 249). After World War II, global migrations expanded to North Atlantic countries, 1970s' closing borders policies and 1980s' migration controls caused greater migration flows in the 1990s (Munck, Schierup, & Wise, 2011, p. 250). Why do these people want to migrate? Generally, the south part of the world is suffering from hunger, famine, thirst, poverty, and insecurity. There are no enough job opportunity therefore people have to migrate to survive.

The petrol crisis in the 1970s caused crucial changes in the labor market and employment relations. After the crisis, trade unions' power was demolished and profit-based decision-making continued to grow stronger (Munck, Schierup, & Wise, 2011, p. 254). Because of these changes, this era has started be called "new international economic order".

One of the most important changes brought by the new international economic order to the labor market is informalization. This referred to the fact that lack of social rights for workers, lack of effective labor union, and more 'flexible' working conditions and migrant workers' to be seen as cheap sources of labor by employers (Munck, Schierup, & Wise, 2011, p. 254). Despite countries' having different immigration policies, migrant workers are in similar conditions across all countries. They cannot access work in standard/formal employment because of the countries employment policies (Vosko L. , 2010, p. 11), illegal migration, and lack of work permission. All of these meant that in those years, work is getting more precarious especially for migrant workers who came from the countries of Third World.

There is a reason behind the fact that most of the employers give permanent jobs to the citizens of the country and temporary jobs to the immigrants. According to Vosko (2010, p. 11), this is because they connect the continuity of work with citizens and temporariness with the migrants. Generally, temporary, short-term, part-time jobs are given to immigrants, thereby increasing profits while reducing costs. Another reason why the employer employs them in temporary jobs is that immigrant workers have limited rights and have difficulty in exercising their legal rights. Thus, migrant workers are

employed only when they want to be employed and can easily be dismissed but this is a more difficult process for citizen workers.

These short-term and temporary working conditions and insecurity on working duration also create another problem for migrant workers: unemployment (Pareta & Gleeson, 2016, p. 279). Migrant workers often spend their time looking for a new job and they are unemployed during these times. Even part of the title of Villegas(2014)'s article that is analyzing the working conditions of Mexican migrant workers in Toronto gives us clues about precariousness: 'I can't even buy a bed because I don't know if I'll have to leave tomorrow'. She clarified those migrant workers face flexible, insecure working conditions in Toronto and this is the main barrier in front of saving money or long-term planning (Villegas, 2014, p. 284). As seen in other analyzes, the short and temporary working period, even the absence of a contract cause immigrants to be frequently forced unemployment and the uncertainty in their life plans. In addition, these conditions also bring about the livelihood problem.

Migrant workers often have to work in dirty, dangerous, or difficult jobs for low wages in the countries where they seek work. Therefore, as Polkowska argues one of the most precarious types of work is seen in the groups of migrant workers (2019, p. 3). In addition to that, the wages earned by migrant workers for the same job is less than citizen workers and their benefits are also limited (Pareta & Gleeson, 2016, p. 279; Vosko L. , 2010, p. 12; Polkowska, 2019, p. 10). The disadvantages that are caused by not being a citizen inevitably have crucial impacts on such working conditions. Migrant workers generally work in precarious and hazardous jobs because unemployment is widespread among them.

Besides these problems related to employment, according to Dominika Polkowska migrant workers suffer many problems in daily life such as accommodation, discrimination, and other social problems (2019, p. 3). She categorized migrant workers' precarious working conditions within four dimensions: organizational dimension, temporal dimension, social dimension, and economic dimension (Polkowska, 2019, pp. 8-10). This situation reveals that the problems of precarious workers go far beyond the work dimension. Precariousness, which has social, infrastructural, physical and economic aspects, is related to almost every aspect of workers' lives.

The first dimension is the organizational dimension and according to Polkowska (2019), migrant workers work longer than other workers, but they are generally paid less than them. Night shifts generally are given to migrant workers and they also work on weekends and other holidays (Polkowska, 2019, p. 8). Therefore, it can be asserted that migrant workers' working durations are very long and uncertain (Chan, Ramírez, & Stefoni, 2019). It is also effective on their work and life balance. The long and changeable working hours and the obligation to work during the holidays cause short and limited times for their families and other social activities. Besides these, migrant workers work in dangerous work and their work safety is not provided (Polkowska, 2019, p. 8). As a result, migrant workers' working conditions, work-life balances, and wages reveal that they are in precarious working conditions.

The second dimension in Polkowska's argumentation is named as temporal dimension and she stated that in most cases, migrant workers do not have an employment contract (2019, p. 10) and this is negatively effective on their employment relations. This points out the doubled precarity for migrant workers compared to other workers.

A significant number of migrant workers are not members of any union or organization and also many of them do not have social insurance and cannot benefit from health services. These are clarified as a social dimension by Polkowska (2019, p. 10). They cannot access main social protections like unemployment insurance, compensation, parental leave (Polkowska, 2019, p. 10) and they face discrimination or isolation in their everyday life (Pareta & Gleeson, 2016, p. 281). All these conditions render the workers situation precarious.

The fourth and final dimension that are compiled by Polkowska is the economic dimension. As it was already said in the previous paragraph, migrant workers are paid minimum and less than other workers. Their overtime works are not paid and there is no waging by qualification (Polkowska, 2019, p. 10). This is another part of the wage problem of migrant workers. In most cases, they may not earn enough money for their survive. Although they work hard, this situation does not change. They often are abused by employers because they do not have any legal or organizational protection.

In fact, these four dimensions are closely interrelated. The fact that the status of migrant workers is uncertain and their lack of organizational protection caused their

wages to be low, their working hours to be high and the working conditions to be bad. As a result of these dimensions of working conditions, their work and life balance has become more irregular and poorer.

Another problem for them is related to the non-recognition of migrant workers' education and professional training. As a result of this non-recognition, they must work in various works rather than their profession and skills (Smit & Rugunanan, 2014, p. 14). More crucially, language barriers are also considered as a multiplier factor in their precarious working conditions.

The employment dynamics, the relationship between the employee-employer and the employee-state, labor laws, and economies of each country are different from each other. Therefore, precarious work is experienced also differs or depends on country labor laws and regulations. Nevertheless, looking at the analysis by country, it can be seen that immigrants in these countries are employed under similar precarious conditions. Now, studies on precarious migrant workers in different countries will be examined in the proceeding parts.

As Milkman's study asserts that, nowadays approximately 15% of the U.S. workers are migrants who came mostly from Mexico and Central America (2011, p. 364). They are employed at the lowest level of the workforce, their wages are low, law, and regulations are violated easily and there is a lack of job security in workplaces (Milkman, 2011, p. 362). Although there are many well-trained, well-educated, and qualified people among them, many immigrant workers have been forced to work in sectors such as agriculture, domestic work, service, and construction (Milkman, 2011, p. 264).

Similarly, Campbell et al. asserted that there are approximately 1.2 million temporary migrant workers in Australia (2019, p. 98). These scholars identified Italian migrants' works as casual work and they clarified that they have limited social rights and privileges and decision on working conditions, low wages, and they are worked within unlawful conditions and most of them are employed in the service sector with minimum wage for an hour and they have very limited awareness about employment management (Campbell, Tranfaglia, Tham, & Boese, 2019, pp. 107-108). This situation reveals that how fundamental and vital the problems faced by migrant workers are. Low wages, deprivation of basic social and employment rights, unlawful treatment, inadequate

working conditions are the most visible aspects of the precariousness experienced by migrant workers.

Moreover, Sun and Chen said that immigrants in the big cities often face to precarious working conditions (2017, p. 2). A distinctive finding of these academics is that immigrant workers who are working in the construction sector are exposed to more precarious jobs than other workers and they have insecure and unstable employment conditions (Sun & Chen, 2017, p. 13). The structure of the construction sector, being project-based and done often in the summer and dangerous nature may have caused this sector to be more precarious in general.

Immigration policies and the precarity of migrant workers are associated with central government policies as well as the policies of local governments and non-governmental organizations (Chacko & Price, 2020; Oner, Durmaz-Drinkwater, & Grant, 2020; İçduygu & Diker, 2017). Non-governmental organizations are particularly important in the integration of migrants into society and in ensuring migrant workers both in finding jobs and establishing a work-life balance (Oner, Durmaz-Drinkwater, & Grant, 2020). Non-governmental organizations, which serve as a bridge between migrants and the society, play a decisive role in many issues from social assistance to accommodation for migrant workers.

As many academics have stated, the most important reason for migrants' precarity is the lack of legal status in the country where they are located (İçduygu & Diker, 2017; Ilcan, Rygiel, & Baban, 2018). This situation is causing them to work in the illegal and informal sectors and hence face exploitation (Ilcan, Rygiel, & Baban, 2018, p. 62). The legal status issue is important especially for Syrian workers in Turkey. As İçduygu and Diker stated that only %1 of the working Syrians have been granted with work permit since 2011 (2017, p. 22). In addition to that, in a sense of informal market according to them, Turkish employers prefer Syrian workers because they accept lower wages and work without social insurance (İçduygu & Diker, 2017, p. 23). There are reasons behind why Syrians want to work in the illegal sector: language barrier and not to think that a legal work permit is advantageous (Ilcan, Rygiel, & Baban, 2018, p. 62). All these reasons are effective in the work and employment of migrants in precarious conditions.

İçduygu and Diker (2017) find out that working conditions are unhealthy, insecure, unsafe, inhumane, and consist of long and exhausting working hours for Syrian workers. In addition to the difficulties in employment, they have a very limited range of motion in other areas. In other words, access to education, health, and other social services is difficult for Syrian workers (İçduygu & Diker, 2017, p. 24). As a result, it can be said that the situation of Syrian workers in Turkey is not different from their counterparts in the rest of the world. Syrian workers in Turkey are employed in precarious works in which lack of job security and bad working conditions, uncertain wages and continuity, and long and exhausting working hours as is the case with many migrant workers all over the world.

As a result, there are some situations where migrant and refugee workers are faced with the precariousness of the precarious citizens of that country. These situations, which can be counted as being unable to work due to discrimination, lack of work permit, language barrier, working in difficult and bad conditions, not accepting professional qualification certificates or university degrees, multiply insecurity and increase the work-life imbalance of workers.

2.3.3. Old and young people

Grouping by age alone is not a common type of categorizing in employment. Depending on age, people can be divided into groups based on experience, but this is an unusual situation for precarious work. Because in this kind of work, both young and old people share a common experience of precariousness.

Precariousness has some characteristics specific to the elderly. First of all, old people are seen as cheap labor because there are too many old people in the labor market (Standing, 2011, pp. 81-82). Older people have been pushed into precarious jobs, possibly due to aging loss and low efficiency. As can be seen from here, the reason for being pushed into precarious work is not about experience. There is no difference in terms of precarious work among inexperienced young people or interns and older people.

Fear of dismissal due to age is another aspect of precariousness for elder people. (Lain, Airey, Loretto, & Vickerstaff, 2018, p. 2229). Because these people know that

employers see them as old, weak, ineffective, and unable to keep up with new information technologies. For these reasons, they are in the first place in any layoffs.

These above-mentioned changes in labor market especially have a certain impact on young people too. According to Hardgrove et al., young people generally lack work experiences therefore their willingness to precarious work is higher (2015, p. 1062). Having to leave school, being chunked out from school or leaving the family at a very early age (Hardgrove, McDowell, & Rootham, 2015, p. 1072) causes young people not to have a profession. For this reason, especially in developing countries, many young people active in the precarious market.

It is not suitable only for one country or region. All over the world, young people are employed in precarious work using their inexperience as an excuse. No matter how qualified they are or what training they have, there is no influence of these on their work in precarious jobs. According to that, increasing employment of young people in precarious jobs is related to the internship phase. According to Standing, today young people do internships in order to gain experience, learn the profession, practice, or network and whether the reasons, interns are forced to work without pay or less paid (2011, p. 75). Clearly, this is a way of avoiding more costs for the employer. There is no chance for interns, they have to do an internship because gaining experience is possible only with the internship for them and they look for a gate for another job chances.

As a result, it can be said that precarious conditions do not discriminate in age and this situation is not only specific to young people or old people. Older people, young people, people of adult age have similar experiences in this sense.

2.3.4. People with disabilities

Many people have suffered from a lot of disabilities or diseases. People with disabilities are forced to work in precarious jobs when they get older or after a short period of work (Institute for Work & Health, 2021). Employers are unwilling to employ people with disabilities because of their supposed performance decrease (Standing, 2011, p. 87). They, employers, are acting with the motivation to reduce costs and increase the productivity of labor then production, do not want to employ disabled people. Therefore, disabled people have to work in project-based or part-time jobs with less wages.

Contrary to expectations, disabled youth are less likely to have precarious jobs than older people with disabilities (Institute for Work & Health, 2021). Finding a job becomes more difficult when the negative consequences of being inexperienced combine with disability. Although governments have tried to increase the employment of these people with legal regulations in recent years, this is not possible for all of them. Therefore, many of them have to work in precarious employment.

2.3.5. Ethnic and racial minorities

The last groups included in the precariousness that is to be examined in this study are ethnic and racial minorities. Since the 1980s, while white men have continuing to work in standard and safe jobs, especially women, ethnic minority groups and migrants have been forced to work in non-standard jobs (Fudge & Vosko, 2001, p. 272). Actually, it is not difficult to guess how this group is involved in precarity. These people, who have fought and continue to do so in the world's most developed democracies for centuries, even for fundamental rights, encounter similar situations in employment. It is not easy for them to enter employment, to stay there permanently, and to be employed in good working conditions.

These minority groups are employed in precarious work because of language barriers, discrimination, and chronic inability to find work. The situation of whites and minorities in employment can be described under 3 main headings as follows labor force participation rates, higher rates of employment in precarious conditions, and visible lower wages.

When economically developed countries such as Europe and the U.S. are examined, it is observed that there are differences against this group in terms of employment, having a permanent job, and working in precarious jobs. First, employment rates are higher for white people than ethnic or racial minorities (Trades Union Congress, 2017, p. 2). This is valid for young people also and it can be said that minority youth are at higher risk of being unemployed than white youth (Bowyer & Henderson, 2020, p. 3). Apparently, employers prefer a White one, even though education, physical characteristics, age, and other criteria are the same. Another indicator regarding employment is the periods of unemployment between two jobs. As Standing indicated that black people's unemployment term is five weeks longer than white ones (2011, p.

86). All these show that ethnic and racial minorities are at a disadvantage situation compared to whites in terms of employment, duration of unemployment between two jobs, and participation rates in employment.

Ethnic and racial minorities have trouble in finding good works (Bowyer & Henderson, 2020, p. 3) and therefore have to steer for precarious jobs. According to Bernhardt, there is a disproportion for women and colored people in the sense of overrepresentation in precarious work in the Canadian workforce (2015, p. 3). In addition to that, it could be said that there is a change over the years in the proportion of minorities in precarious jobs. From 1979 to 2015, the rate of ethnic and racial minorities in precarious employment increased (Branch & Hanley, 2018, s. 198). These minorities, who turn to precarious jobs because they cannot find a permanent job (Trades Union Congress, 2017, p. 2), work for less wages than their colleagues (Bowyer & Henderson, 2020, p. 3). This situation explains that ethnically minority people's tendency to precarious works is not related to their education status or vocational qualifications. Precariousness can sometimes be experienced only because of ethnic, religious, or sectarian identity.

It will make sense here to refer to Cranford and Vosko (2006), summarize the subject in one sentence and provide a clear perspective. As they stated: “White men are less precarious than White women, consistently across all dimensions, just as they are less precarious than both women and men of color.” (Cranford & Vosko, 2006, p. 60). In other words, no matter how adequate a worker's education, professional competence, skills and experience, identity characteristics such as gender, ethnicity and religious belief may force them to work in precarious jobs – another consequential factor in precarious work.

2.4. TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT IN PRECARIOUS WORK

Many types of employment in precarious work have been listed by those who are interested in the subject. Perceptions on the subject, theoretical definition styles, and different case studies are effective in these different groupings and lists.

For example, Rubery identified types of employment as follows: short-term, home-working, self-employment, work in the black/grey economy¹, temporary/contract work, and part-time working (1989). Vosko et al. (2003, p. 17) also identify the types of non-standard work with the help of Krahn's argumentation as part-time workers, own-account self-employment, temporary work, and multiple job holders. In addition to that, while he was arguing the non-standard work, Rodgers enumerate some work types which are mostly considered as this kind of work: temporary work, part-time work, homeworking and other forms of outwork, and self-employment (1989, pp. 6-8). As this classification, Kalleberg et al. (1997) count the type of nonstandard employment as daily work, temporary work, regular part-time work, waged and salary contract work, self-employment, and contract company work. As can be seen, the employment types mentioned here are considered according to the duration of the employment. The uncertain working period and lack of assurance, which is one of the main characteristics of precarious work, leads to the employment types listed here.

Short-term or open-ended duration is considered one of the most important features of temporary work by Rubery and temporary work is seen as a thing which is for low skilled jobs and seen a lot in where high unemployment rates (1989, p. 50). The short or uncertain duration of works is an indication that the people who are used to these works live on the ambiguous line between work and unemployment. As a result of that, there is no legal regulation in working from home and this type of employment is considered as one of the precarious employment types. Low and irregular wages, absence of holiday, and sickness wages are typical working conditions of home-workers these are the main reasons why they are considered precarious work (Rubery, 1989, p. 53). In another type of precarious work, self-employment is explained by Rubery (1989) with long working hours and second job holding. Long working hours is an inevitability because of continuity of the work (Rubery, 1989, pp. 53-54). In the black/grey economy, workers who are unemployed, mostly unskilled, and have no capital and equipment likely tend to work in the black/grey economy (Rubery, 1989, p. 55). Long working hours, uncertain or non-existing contracts are the very decisive aspects of working in the black/grey economy

¹ The black economy is explained as "business activity or work that is done without the knowledge of the government or other officials so that people avoid paying tax on the money they earn" in Oxford Learner's Dictionaries (Oxford Learner's Dictionaries, n.d.). Grey economy means that the part of economic activity that is not officially accounted in a country (Lexico.com, n.d.).

as it can be easily guessed. Part-time work is also considered as one of the precarious types of work by researchers because of variable working hours and high risk of lay off (Rubery, 1989, p. 56). Part-time work was related to gender issues in precarious working literature as it was mentioned before. Vosko et al. (2003) argue that part-time work is rooted in gender roles in working in which men were seen as breadwinners and women are seen as caregiving in a family. Standing (2011) stated that employers choose these types of employment because workers have fewer wages and fewer professional opportunities (pp. 14-15) and in the part-time and temporary working types, most of the workers are women and generally, they are paid less than their work (p. 15).

To sum up, common employment types in precarious work can be listed as short-term, home-working, self-employment, temporary, project-based, part-time, working in the black/grey economy, and seasonal work. The main reasons why these jobs are called precarious are the uncertain duration of work, long working hours, poor working conditions, and the lack of a certain wage and work assurance.

2.5. IS PRECARIOUSNESS A PREFERENCE OR NOT?

The most important feature that distinguishes Kalleberg et al.'s work (1997) from others is that it explains the reasons why people prefer working in precarious employment. Although this analysis is based on a field study in the U.S., it has important clues about people working in this type of employment. They distinguished the reasons behind the preference of the precarious work as voluntary and involuntary and made their analysis on the behalf of sex and family type. Voluntary reasons can be said as health reasons, flexible working hours preferences, family tasks, etc. Some of the involuntary reasons are as follows: some macro economical and structural features, the necessity to work in precarious work because of failure to reach standard work, wish of getting better a job (Kalleberg, et al., 1997, p. 58).

For instance, women may be more eager to work in nonstandard employment especially part-time and temporary types of precarious work due to the motherhood and 'female caregiver and male breadwinner' types of gender role sharing in most of the societies. Interestingly, Krahn argues that the desire of women to work in precarious jobs has led to an increase in precarious employment for both women and men (1995). After

all, as it was mentioned in the previous parts that with the mass entering of women into the labor market, the relationship between the worker and the employer and the normal course of the labor market has changed. In other words, the type of employment defined as standard employment, where workers have a single and specific employer, job security, social life insurance, and other benefits have become an employment type in where there is uncertain employer, duration of work, wage, difficult working conditions, and lack of social insurance and other benefits has changed with the increasing women participation.

The vast majority of people who work in precarious employment are constantly looking for another job (Kalleberg, et al., 1997, pp. 64-66). This demonstrates that involuntary reasons behind precarious employment are much more important than voluntary ones. These people always seek to more standard job whatever the reasons behind it.

Standing (2011) stated that working in short-term and indefinite jobs affects the career and future plans of precarious workers. This is a very important and correct observation. There is an inability to know how long the job will affect workers' future plans negatively. Many of them cannot make plans for the future because their work is not fixed and organized and whether it is over and what is the duration of it. As people's works change, they have to keep up with life from the very beginning every time. Standing also stated that this situation creates stress for workers, but this contradicts the author's arguments that 'the precariat is not homogeneous.' (2011, p. 13) and that 'some people prefer to work in precarious work.' (2011, p. 59). This means that it does not make much sense to generalize a heterogeneous group over a subjective situation as stress and while saying that there are people who prefer to work in these jobs and to assume that they will also be stressed.

Some scholars argue that some kind of precarious work as part-time or work from home may not be necessity for all (Rubery, 1989; Vosko, Zukewich, & Cranford, 2003; Standing, 2011). This is a valid assertion. One of the arguments put forward in this research is about whether precarious work is a preference or not. Precarious working conditions vary according to the job, the person, the location, and the person's expectations from the work. Therefore, it does not seem possible to make definitive judgments about the choice to work in precarious jobs. This is a personal situation, and

generalization on the reasons for precarious work can lead to errors, biases, and presumptions that cloud objectivity and analysis. However, it should be noted that precariousness is considered a necessity for the group of workers that make up the fieldwork of this research. This situation was determined based on the interviews of the workers.

2.6. BEYOND WORKING CONDITIONS: OTHER IMPACTS OF PRECARIOUSNESS ON PEOPLE'S LIFE

Precarious work is not a thing that is just related to employment and work. It has many crucial effects on people's daily life. Workers' psychology, socio-economic status, even voter behaviors are affected in this regard. If it is required to explain the impact of precarious work on people's life the first thing is that since these workers have not enough chance to communicate with each other, they have no willing to establish a sound union in safeguarding their rights. Unions are important for defending the rights of workers and collective bargaining with their employer. But because of daily/temporary jobs and uncertain employers, bargaining between employer and worker is limited. In addition to those workers in precarious work do their work on their own so lack of communication among workers prevents the unionization process. Besides that, the competitive nature of the employment circumstances, solidarity among workers seems impossible and this caused to individualization of the working and loneliness in the workplaces. This may affect defending the workers' rights and consensus on the contract. Competitive nature is also one of the reasons that prevent collectivity among workers, and this negatively affects the solidarity of unions and the unionization process. Lack of unionization and solidarity have an adverse effect in agreement on working conditions and work security. Un-unionization and not having a single employer also caused to reduce workers' resistance. Under these circumstances, workers find themselves in an isolation and stranger status during their work. These are caused to a decrease in work motivation and dignity (Lewchuk & Dassinger, 2016, pp. 1-4).

Secondly, seasonal/temporary employment and the short-term contract are among the most suffered issues of workers who work in precarious working conditions (Lewchuk & Dassinger, 2016, p. 3). Because of these, workers feel themselves in unstable situations and they always must live within anxious psychology. They fear losing their job and most

probably they are afraid of finding another job after finishing their current job. This leads to both a lack of focus on work and insecurity in the work place.

Thirdly, precarious work is impressive on household dynamics as uncertainty in the aspects of accommodation, health (cause of the lack of social insurance and proper work safety), and personal relationship among the family members (Motakef, 2019, pp. 159-160). Uncertainty about where to live, going to the hospital in times of illness and possible work incident, making good relations even fall in love or marriage can be considered as basic human rights? Precarious work has mandatory effects in all these areas of the lives of people/workers depend on the balance between their work and life. However, as it can be easily predicted that sound work-life balance does not seem to be possible for the workers who lack even unionization. In similar argumentation, it can be claimed that non-fixed wages and working times also affect workers' life decisions negatively. For instance, freedom of travelling, right of residence, healthcare, and so on are affected by the precarious work conditions and their impact on people's life.

Standing also reported that work-related suicides are very common even in Scandinavian countries known as welfare states (2011, p. 58). Therefore, it can be said that precarious work and its working conditions affect not only the jobs but also the living conditions of the workers. First of all, work-life balances disappear. Uncertain wages, unemployment, and limited social mobility cause many suicides.

In addition to the lack of health insurance, due to the ambiguous nature of precarious work workers' stress levels are very high. They must think about their possibilities of finding a new job after their current job. This may cause stress-related illnesses like cancer, high tension, mental problems, and heart diseases. Things related to finding and getting work, staying work, and availability to access another work after current work and employment relationships are keys of stress in precarious work (Clarke, Lewchuck, & Wolff, 2007, p. 312).

Furthermore, another interesting argumentation on the precarious work is that in this kind of work workers tend to self-exploit more (Lewchuk & Dassinger, 2016, p. 12). Because of both gaining chance to work in future jobs and the competitive environment in the labor market, workers in precarious works tend to work more hours and use more physical force than the workers who work in the standard employment.

Naturally, most of the workers do not want to work under these conditions, but since this new employment relationship was created, people must work in precarious work to survive (LeBaron, 2015, p. 13). Because they do not find a job in the formal sector because of their unskilled state and employers also have tended to the informal sector cause of the costs and benefits of the formal working conditions.

Besides things that are related to work, employment, and working conditions; Standing (2011) also mentioned the mental/psychological aspects of these issues. As it was mentioned above, precarious workers work in generally short term, temporary or seasonal works. Standing said that this situation affects workers' future plans and careers (2011, p. 18). The inability to know how long the job will affect workers' future plans negatively. Many of them cannot make plans for the future because their work is not fixed and organized and whether it is over and what is the duration of it. According to him because of the precarious working conditions, workers are stressed due to the employment relationship and working type (Standing, 2011, p. 20).

In addition to these psychological effects, there are also work-related ailments, disability, and stress-related diseases that arising from precarious. Musculoskeletal disorders, digestive system problems, chronic diseases, circulatory and respiratory system disorders are the most common disorders caused by precarious work (Kim, Khang, Muntaner, Chun, & Cho, 2008, p. 754). As stated before, one of the most prominent features of precarious jobs is that work safety is not provided or not fully provided during work. This situation can cause workers to be distracted and hence can lead workers to be poisoned fall from heights, lose limbs, and many other problems. In sum, precarious work brings sickness and disability, and sickness and disability bring along working in precariousness. As a result of these, obstacles also appear when people with disabilities and disease find work.

2.7. IS IT A NEW SOCIAL CLASS OR NOT?

2.7.1 The historical background of social class concept

Some social scientists claim that a new social class has emerged around the concept of precariousness that has just emerged and has just begun to be studied in the social sciences literature. According to them, people working in precarious jobs constitute

a different and unique class from the working class -the proletariat- and this class is actually quite crowded and is expanding with globalizations and hyper-technological transformations.

As noted in previous sections, there are some certain characteristics that make precarious work precarious and that can be as follows: uncertainty in wages and hours of work, short-term or indefinite working duration, no insurance and working security, and little or no collective movement. Then, does the precariat really constitute a 'new' social class or a social class?

To answer this question, it is necessary to examine what the class is, firstly. Perhaps the class, which comes from a process as long as human history, is an area on which many philosophers, scientists, and researchers speak. However, the concept called social class, or class for short, does not have an agreed definition in the social sciences literature. Since every philosopher or researcher looks at this concept from a different ideological point of view or perspective, the literature in this field progresses cumulatively. By reason of the main subject of this research is not what class is or discussions on class, the opinions contributing to the concept of the class will be briefly explained here and it will be examined whether these precarious workers can form a class.

In fact, it seems that many intellectuals have similar distinctions on class. These intellectuals, who greatly influenced the social science literature in the centuries that followed, their conceptualization of class is based on a similar point: where the money/income is obtained. At this point, especially intellectuals who lived in the 18th and 19th centuries divided the society into 3 main classes / orders. These 3 classes are based on income from rent/lease, income from labor, and income from profit. The most influential of these philosophers will be examined below chronologically.

Adam Smith (2007) claims that there are 3 basic classes/orders in the society based on where and how people get income. While the first of these classes earns its income from rent, the second earns its income from profit and the third from labor. To put this important point in Smith (2007)'s words;

The whole annual produce of the land and labor of every country, or what comes to the same thing, the whole price of that annual produce, naturally divides itself, it has already been observed, into three parts; the rent of land, the wages of labor, and the profits

of stock; and constitutes a revenue to three different orders of people; to those who live by rent, to those who live by wages, and to those who live by profit. These are the three great, original, and constituent orders of every civilized society, from whose revenue that of every other order is ultimately derived (pp. 345-346).

The first one is Adam Smith (2007) mentioned is property owners. According to him, if the public is in negotiations about any trade or police arrangement, the owners do not guide the people in accordance with their interests and hence, the interests of the property owners are in line with the interests of the people. Smith also says that owners are prone to laziness because they do not earn their revenues from labor or projects, which makes them not understand any public regulation (2007, p. 346).

Secondly, Adam Smith argues that the interest of the class that earns its revenues through its labor is in a tight bond with the interest of society (2007, pp. 346-347). It can be said that their situation is vitally connected with society. According to Smith, this vital link is that the increase in the demand for the laborer in the society moves the wages upward and the living standard of the workers decreases when the society declines (2007, pp. 346-374).

Smith (2007) thinks that laborer can understand as neither the society's interest nor their interests, nor the link between these two interests. According to Smith, the working and living conditions of this class are effective in preventing this bond, and the education and information of the laborer do not make him suitable for judgment and therefore, the voice of the laborers is often barely heard in public debate (2007, p. 347).

Third, Smith (2007) identified the employers of laborers whose incomes depend on profit. According to him, most of the labor is set in motion by this class for the benefit of society. In addition, Smith stated that the interest of this class was not related to the general public, and saw merchants and craftsmen as the class that attracted the greatest share of public opinion. Moreover, Smith said that this class made decisions taking into account its own interests (2007, pp. 347-348).

Thus, Smith claimed that there are three basic classes/orders in the modern and civilized world by looking at how and where their income originated, and he defined the main characteristics of these classes. What makes Adam Smith unique is that the classes were examined the interests within themselves and the interests between other classes and

the reasons for existing/non-existent ties were revealed in this context. From this point of view, the interaction and bond between classes have been acknowledged.

David Ricardo (2001) stated in the preface to his "Principles of Economy and Taxation" that world production is divided into three basic classes of society. These classes are listed by Ricardo as follows: the proprietor of the land, the owner of the stock or capital, and the laborers. According to Ricardo (2001), this division is called rent, profit, and wages and he demonstrated that they are different from each other. The first of these revenues depends on the fertility of the soil, the second on the accumulation of capital, and the last one on the characteristics such as skill and ingenuity.

Perhaps one of the most popular philosophers that comes to mind when it comes to class is Karl Marx. Marx's views had a profound influence on the social sciences literature. Of course, there are many aspects of his views to be criticized, but still today certain concepts cannot be spoken without referring to Marx. When Marx's works are examined, a specific class definition is not encountered. Marx discussed class not over a single concept, but through the class struggle.

In the third volume of his famous work *das Capital*, quite similar to Adam Smith and David Ricardo, Marx put forward three classes under the title of classes, in societies where the modern and capitalist mode of production is effective. The first of these classes is the working class, in other words, proletarians whose income is based on wages. This class makes a profit from its labor. The second class is capitalists whose source of income is profit. In the Marxist understanding, capitalists are those who hold the means of production and try to maximize their profits. The last class in Marx's conceptualization is landowners whose source of income is ground rent (Marx, 1996).

Marx (1996) offers an answer to the question of "What makes wage-laborers, capitalists and landlords constitute the three great social classes?" as "the identity of revenues and sources of revenue." in a very clear way. In connection with this, Marx and Engels (1997) argued that the history of the existing society is the history of class struggles. They said that, since the earliest times of history, societies were divided according to certain rules from Ancient Greece to the Middle Ages, Marx and Engels saw the discovery of America and emergence of modern state and industrialism as the main factors in the formation of modern classes (1997, pp. 30-35). Marx and Engels differed

somewhat from Marx's three-class society and claimed that sooner or later each society would split into two camps: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (1997, p. 31). This understanding, which accepts the workers as a commodity in the development of the bourgeoisie, asserts that the workers are under the influence of all fluctuations and competition in the market (Marx & Engels, 1997, p. 39). Also, they stated that the working class will win this struggle by being conscious and acting together (Marx & Engels, 1997, p. 47). Marx's prediction did not come true in today's world and his understanding was not applied in states that accept communism as a political system because these states were not established by the workers' struggles, he envisioned. Putting aside Marx's prophecies and returning to working-class characteristics, it is stated in the work of Marx and Engels that the proletariat does not have property, does not have the family relations that the bourgeois has and law, morality, and religion are seen by the proletariat as bourgeois prejudices with bourgeois interests hidden (1997, p. 44).

Social classes in Marx's analysis are depending on an economic basis. While classifying society, Marx examined people's sources of income, that is, ways of obtaining income. While the working class earns its income through their labor, the other two classes earn their income from what they own. If what is owned is means of production, income is based on profit and this class is called capitalists. If the property is owned, the income here becomes rent and this class is called landowners. In conclusion, in the work he wrote with Engels, both theorists argued that sooner or later classes in society would be divided into two as the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (Marx & Engels, 1997). In this work, which is built on the struggle between classes, there are again economic factors that are included at the basis of the classes.

At this point, it would be useful to mention Marx's conceptualizations of labor and production relations. Marx conceptualized his understanding of labor theory with the emergence of industrial revolution. Since division of labor and means of production developed, people tend to migrate to big cities to find a job for survival. In addition to that people's land were taken by capitalists, there is no choice for them rather than selling their labor (Singer, 1980, p. 73).

To explain the Marxist theory more profoundly, in order to understand Marx's exploitation theory of labor, it must be explained the labor theory of value and surplus

value firstly. Marx used surplus value in the sense that work more than required labor. He said that “The rate of surplus value is therefore an exact expression for the degree of exploitation of labor power by capital, or of the laborer by the capitalist.” (Marx, 1972, p. 218). According to his argumentation this profit which arising from the excessive working of the labors caused to accumulation of wealth in the hands of capitalists. This caused to inequalities and unjust distribution of resources and wealth in the capitalist system.

In Marxist theory labor must be only determinant for all value and labor time determines the absolute value of goods and services. But according to him, workers gain less money than they create value in producing the commodities and the difference between the value produced by the labor and the wage given to him, the surplus value, is owned by capitalists (Holmstrom, 1977, pp. 356-357). This is the sum of exploitation of labor in Marx’s theorization.

The basic problem for Marx in the capitalist society is that the private ownership of means of production and because of that ownership is clustered by small groups/sides (Roemer, 1982, p. 7). The general conclusion drawn from all that is explained here is that Marx's concept of labor exploitation is mostly discussed through wages. Marx was also interested in working conditions and long working hours, but he also evaluated the latter in terms of wages. According to him, the biggest problem of the capitalist system is that the workers are not paid as much as they spend their work and the resources / wealth are concentrated in the hands of a small and privileged minority.

Marx’s discussions on long working hours have similar patterns in the argumentation and definition of precarious work. Uncertain and long working hours are common characteristics in both Marxist theory and precarious work in the sense of formulation of type of work. In addition to working times, in the literature on precarious work, short-term contracting, and temporary working was discussed in the sense of lack of social security and having a continuous work for survival.

Since the second half of the 1980s, an understanding that questions and does not accept class pre-acceptance has emerged. In this understanding called Post-Marxism, it is basically claimed that Socialism is in a crisis and cannot continue its tenet and has no equivalent in life. Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau, who are the main exponent of

post-Marxists analysis, asserts that ontological centrality of the working class, homogeneous collective will, and 'R'evolution which means a transition from one to another societal order are in a crisis in today's world where new forms of social conflict emerge (2001, p. 2). In other words, Mouffe and Laclau questioned the sharp boundaries of the working class, which Marx claimed to exist, collective consciousness and the idea that society would endure a great transformation with this subject and came to the conclusion that it has no reality.

What Laclau and Mouffe call 'not all imaginary' are as follows: the existence of political identities in third world countries that have nothing to do with strict class boundaries, the emergence of fascism that has put an end to class divisions, and the economic and social structure of new forms of struggle in capitalist countries in the last few decades which reveals new political subjectivities (2001, p. 13). As it can be understood from here, according to them, class boundaries have been lost their characteristic patterns and new political subjectivities have emerged with the emergence of many different political and economic axes. Going further than that and extending their arguments beyond Marxist readings and analysis, Laclau and Mouffe actually argued that the working class has always been divided and that there is only a 'moderate' sense of identity within this class (2001, pp. 31-32). In short, Laclau and Mouffe reject a society that is constructed by a singular history of 'universal' subjects (2001, p. 2) and is divided into certain classes. According to them, there is no society in which economic factors are the only determinant factor – this is an improvement of the classical Marxist argumentations on class and the economy.

In a nutshell, the class discussion is not one of the main components of this work, it is sufficient to mention it this much here. As it was mentioned earlier, there are scholars/writers who claim that people working in precarious conditions constitute a social class and hence ignore the diversity and plurality within each presupposed class stratification. Such argumentations are biased since they aim to justify internalized Marxist concepts and its political conclusions.

2.7.2. To what extent does precariousness form a social class?

It is perhaps Guy Standing that expresses most clearly that people who work in precarious works and therefore have a precarious lifestyle constitute a new and unique

social class. He named this group even on his famous work's title as 'new dangerous class'.

According to him flexibility in the labor market bring along insecurity and risk on workers' life then cause to create a 'global' precariat (Standing, 2011, p. 1). According to this understanding, precarity against the workers in the market, flexibility in employment, and the more precarious life of workers than in the past constitute a new class. To many researchers, this new class has a considerable crowd.

Standing (2011) distinguished the precariat from the working class/the proletariat. According to him, in general, proletariat have stable, long-term, fixed working hours and wages and collective movement capacity, and the precariat, on the other hand, consists of people who cannot predict how many employers they will have in the future, who do not know their employer, and who do not have a regular salary and status as middle-class people (Standing, 2011, p. 6). Furthermore, he explained the 'precariat' as a word that constitutes from precarious and proletariat and he called this new formation "class-in-the-making" (Standing, 2011, pp. 6-7).

Guy Standing (2011) says that the precariat has class characteristics and he listed three main features of this new class. The first characteristic is the minimum relation of the people who make up the precariat with the state and capital, and the absence of a social contract in exchange for subordination and contingent loyalty (Standing, 2011, p. 8). It is understood that the proletariat is making a bargain subordination but the precariat cannot make this bargain and this is why it constitute a different/new social class.

According to Standing (2011, p. 12), the second characteristic of those people in the precariat is that they are more vulnerable than those who earn less but maintain the traditional form of community support and earn less but who receive business, and state aid. He does not treat the amount of income of the precariat as a defining feature of them, but according to him, the lack of support from society, state, and firms/business are among the features that make the precariat a new class.

And the third one is on 'denizen' as a way of identifying the people who are in the precariat, according to Standing. He entitled people included in the precariat as

'denizens' based on the claim that they have more limited rights than those who are not in that group (Standing, 2011, p. 14).

For Guy Standing, the uncertainty of almost everything about work, the flexibility of employment, the lack of occupational identity and professionalization, the lack of citizenship rights, and having fewer opportunities in workplaces, politics, and social life are the other features of the precariat (2011, pp. 14-15, 23-24).

Standing's work has been widely criticized in the literature for its Eurocentric point of view and for treating the precariat as a class. The criticisms about his treatment of the precariat as a class are basically divided into two. Criticisms of the first category are directed at Standing's treatment of the precariat as a class separate from the proletariat. In the second category, the treatment of the precariat as a class in itself is criticized.

Wright (2016) criticized Standing on two main issues. The first is to treat the precariat as a class separate from the proletariat and the second is that the precariat does not have enough common suitable strategies to be considered as a whole (Wright, 2016, p. 123). Wright (2016, pp. 128-129) claims that the material interests of the proletariat and the precariat are not different enough to form two separate classes. Defining material interests as actions and social changes that could improve or harm material living conditions for any person, Wright (2016) stated that material interest has narrow and broad meanings. While he treating narrow material interest as income, material interest in a broader sense is considered as economic situation, working conditions, opportunities, leisure time, economic stability, control over time, and more. Wright, therefore, argued that the precariat is not a different class, since it has no different material interests from the proletariat.

As Standing's new dangerous class conception, Bora and Erdoğan claim that today's proletariat is precariat (2017, p. 30). They stated that the development of automation and technology reduced the labor share in production and structured unprecedented new mass unemployment. Although Guy Standing does not talk about this kind of transition between these two classes, it is clear that he claims that a new class has been formed due to structural changes in the labor market. The transition here is between work with fixed salary and employer, collective organization, more irregular and unstable work in every sense than long-term and regular work and then Standing (2011) argues

that the change in the characteristics of jobs creates a new class different from the proletariat.

For instance, Telek sees income, identity, religious belief, profession, political opinion, gender, and educational status are seen as factors that constitute a social class (2020, pp. 22-23). In this conceptualization, everything that affects people's life is a factor in social classes. Telek (2020, p. 22), who defines precariat as a social class, also stated, similar to Standing, that the precariat is different from the proletariat. Telek (2020) argued that the common characteristic of many groups such as white-collar, banker, industrial worker, waitress, taxi driver, student, sales consultant is to be included in the precariat. According to him, the common characteristic of people who do not have any common features can be precariat. Telek (2020, p. 22) also claimed that the daily lives of social class are similar and that they are likely to create a collective consciousness in the future because of these similarities. According to him, the common trait of people who think they have nothing in common may be precarity. As stated above, according to Telek, factors such as common experiences, professions, identity, monthly income, political opinion, educational status, etc. constitute a social class. On the one hand, Telek (2020) sees the precariat as a new social class, on the other hand, he states that the people he includes in the precariat have different identities (p. 22), professions (pp. 22, 49), and income (p. 41). Claiming that such a heterogeneous community is a social class leads to the impression that class is one of the socially constructed elements. Beyond that, the effort to 'include everyone in the precariat' causes some problems for the people working in precarious conditions such as blurring some certain problems that rising from working in precarious conditions.

Telek (2020, p. 41) argued that there was no income among the elements that form the class, and stated that the worker earning 2000 TL per month and the white-collar banker who earned 7000 TL per month were in the same social class. This was explained by him with the place of the precariat in the production process, social relations, common thoughts, lifestyle, and feelings. At the same time, Telek (2020, p. 49) states that what makes the precariat is not their contractual work, but their weak connection with life and always living in fear, and claims that the precariat does not have the job/work, the accumulation and human relations that will make him secure. These claims contradict each other because the amount of income makes it possible to save and determines the

amount of savings. In addition to that, the amount of income affects people's lives, expectations, mentality, wealth, and human relationships.

In its simplest form, it is the evaluation of a person who earns a high income from his job and has the opportunity to save with it, and a person who earns daily with his living conditions and has to consume his earnings. The probable period of unemployment is an indication that precariat, as a social class concept, is determined on paper and do not reflect on real-life situations and manifestations.

Perhaps it would be useful to return to Bora and Erdoğan's definition of precariat at this point. According to them, the precariat consists of people who are employed in precarious and arbitrary conditions, who are condemned to chronic temporary jobs, and who continue to live between work and unemployment (Bora & Erdoğan, 2017, p. 30). The concept of arbitrariness here is crucial since every second of employees' daily life is affected by them. Because arbitrary and unlawful decisions that are made by the individual or corporate employer makes the working conditions of the employees precarious. Today, although there are many work safety rules in the world and Turkey, employment conditions and many legislative rules that do not apply to them by employers. This is a result that can be obtained from many news reports on people who died or were injured as a result of an occupational accident since the measures were not taken. It is common in Turkey that occupational safety rules are not obeyed and workers are employed without social insurance. According to the report of Health and Safety Labour Watch (HESA), at least 2427 workers lost their lives in Turkey in 2020 and 15% of these workers work in construction and road construction works (İSİG Meclisi, 2021).

As a result, it can be said that many researchers who study precariousness stated that people in this group form a new social class. Precariousness and precarious conditions differ in each job in terms of preference, wage, working conditions, social opportunities and for this reason, it does not seem possible for such a heterogeneous community to form a social class. Creating a class from the precarious can cause squeeze this highly heterogeneous community into a social class boundary. For this reason, in this research daily life experiences, work-life balances, political behaviors and the views on current politics of precarious people will be evaluated.

2.8. PRECARIOUSNESS AND POLITICS

Political participation, political orientation, and voting are influenced by many factors. Many factors, from the government types to the electoral system, affect people's political preferences and political behaviors. In recent years, studies investigating the effects of labor market dynamics on political orientation, political participation, and voting behavior have been conducted more frequently in the literature. These studies focus on the political behavior of people with different occupations, working conditions, and work-life balance.

The political participation of precarious people has been studied in different areas in the literature. Political participation, political party preferences, political expression methods, the ability to exist and be heard in the public sphere, and social movements are the most prominent of these areas. In these studies, while examining the impact of precarity on the socio-political field, the political strategies of the precarious people are revealed, policy proposals are examined and the actions, demonstrations, and marches carried out by the precarious are analyzed. It should be stated from the outset that due to national or smaller-scale samples of researchers; it does not seem very possible to reveal the connection between precariousness and political activities due to country dynamics and different political formations. For this reason, instead of reaching generalizations between precariousness and politics, the current literature will be analyzed in this section.

Monticelli and Bassoli state that professional status has a triggering effect on political participation (2019, p. 3). Market insecurity harms political participation as it brings many uncertainties about social and political life (Kiersztyn, 2017, pp. 202-203). Precarious peoples' being in a place between permanent job and unemployment, the possibility of being unemployed at any moment, and the termination of contracted and similar jobs always push them to seek new jobs or take vocational training. This situation reduces the commitment of precarious people to society (Kiersztyn, 2017, p. 203). As Piergiorgio Corbetta and Pasquale Colloca stated that there is a link between social marginality and low political participation (2013, p. 4). There are also studies claiming the opposite of this situation. Monticelli and Bassoli, after a study on Italian youth precarious, state that precarious youth show high political participation in voting (2019, p. 1).

Standing (2012) attributes the low political participation of the precarious mainly to two reasons: precarious people have a lack of time for political participation and a low level of income. In this analysis, the intense and uncertain working hours of the workers, the time allocated to job search in the indefinite period between unemployment and work, and the low work-life balance negatively affect political participation. Similarly, the lack of basic income and the dependence of basic needs on uncertain earnings push precarious people to political alienation.

There are many institutional and non-institutional actors in this political conflict: trade union confederations, radical left-wing political parties, rank-and-file trade unions and other non-institutional political actors such as political university collectives (Mattoni, 2012, pp. 30-32). This mobilization brought together the insecure, who were on the margins of society and excluded from the possibilities of the welfare state, and became a means of reflecting their common demands and problems (Mattoni, 2012, p. 63). Since the political interests and wishes of the precarious are not voiced by any mainstream political party, the precarious people take collective actions such as the EuroMayDay parades or the Indians movement to make their voices heard (Kiersztyn, 2017, p. 203; Braga, 2018, pp. 85-86). People all over the world – especially the impoverished and marginalized – are rising against the status quo (Chun, 2016, pp. 136-137). The spread of precarity has facilitated the expression of economic, political and social problems, complaints and demands through protest (Mattoni, 2012, p. 25).

The political orientation and political preferences of the precarious people differ according to countries' dynamics, mobilization and political opportunities. It is observed that atypical workers in Germany vote for Green and New left parties instead of traditional social-democratic parties (Marx & Picot, 2013). A study conducted in the Netherlands revealed that as the disadvantage experienced in the labor market increases, the rate of voting for leftist parties also increases (Emmenegger, Marx, & Schraff, 2015, p. 202). The main reason for this situation is explained by the fact that precarious people turn to parties in favor of redistribution for economic benefit. A study conducted in Italy (Corbetta & Colloca, 2013, p. 1) reveals that job insecurity is an important variable on political orientations and even different insecurity affects political orientation differently. There are different studies showing that workers working in precarious, atypical, and unfavorable conditions vote for left or right parties. Class and territorial divisions in

Italian politics are reflected in political parties (Corbetta & Colloca, 2013, p. 1) and people working in unfavorable jobs vote for left-leaning parties (Chappell & Keech, 1988). The main idea here is that left parties propose policies that fit the workers' political agenda and express their demands in the public arena. A national study in Italy revealed that precarious workers prefer to vote for left-leaning parties (Corbetta & Colloca, 2013). On the other hand, Mughan, Bean, and McAllister (2003) found a positive relationship between insecurity and voting for right-wing parties. In addition, Patrick Emmenegger, Paul Marx, and Dominik Schraff (2015, p. 202) have shown that there is a direct correlation between increasing labor market disadvantages and voting for radical parties or staying out of elections. While Standing called the precariat as the dangerous new class, he stated that they were economically, sociologically, and politically insecure, and therefore they turned to populist and neo-fascist politics, as in many European countries (2012, p. 607). For this reason, when the studies are examined, a clear and definite relationship between precariousness and political tendency could not be established. This relationship differs in each case due to the differences in working conditions, state and government dynamics, political participation, and ways of political participation.

Precariousness also has an important aspect that concerns policy-making processes and social security policies. Social security policies affect the agenda of both workers and states in these times when job relations become informal, precarious, and flexible in the labor market. However, it is not included in this academic study because it will be a subject of study in itself. The issue of studying insecurity in the context of social security policies may be the subject of future studies.

The precarity and policy literature includes many country-based analyses, policy and policy-making processes, and political participation. Precariousness and political orientation have been addressed in very few studies. These studies generally examine democratic countries such as European countries and the framework is limited to narrow concepts. In addition, these studies include many comparisons: comparing precarious workers with the unemployed or workers with regular employment. These comparisons blur the framework for the political participation and political orientation of the precarious people.

In a study dealing with the framework of precariousness and political orientation, it has been revealed that labor market conditions are factors that greatly affect political orientation. However, in the field research of this thesis, as it will be revealed in the later chapters, precarious conditions are not effective in political orientation and that ideological and identity reasons are effective in political party preference, political participation, and political orientation. Therefore, a meaningful connection was not found between precarity and political orientation in the case of precarious workers in the Ulus Labor Market.

2.9. SOME LIMITATIONS IN THE PRECARIOUS WORK LITERATURE

The concept of precarious work has emerged since the 1990s mainly and it is a relatively new concept in the social sciences. The old standard factory job concept has changed as a result of the shifts in the political economy and it causes also changes in employment relations, working conditions, and the notion of the worker. The dissolution of the old secured, fixed, and salaried work, classical worker-employer relationship and blurring of all the concepts related to the work caused the emergence of precarious work.

As it was said before that precarious work is a newly emerged concept in precarious work. Therefore, the studies on precarious work are not sufficient, there are so many untouched parts of this working type. In this section, the criticisms of the limitations and inaccuracies of the precarious work literature will be discussed.

First of all, precarious work studies and researches are focused on only limited parts of the world. This can be because it is a newly emerged concept but this limitation is a very serious problem in front of the accurate understanding and conceptualization of the notion. Precarious work studies concentrated in such countries as Canada, the United States, France, and some limited numbers of Asian countries. Because of these, understanding the working and living conditions in other countries is not possible, so that the concept of precariousness can only be created on the basis of certain countries. Therefore, this led to the inaccurate and deficient theorization of the concept.

Secondly, precariousness has been theorized mainly around women and migrant discussion. Working conditions, employment norms, and relationships have been argued and conceptualized around the women and migrant considerations. But this caused

limitations of the concept because men, children, and other important groups and their problems are ignored. Therefore, precariousness is a concept that its approached is only limited parts with limited groupings: emphasis on women (gender) and migrants at the beginning.

The third limitation is related to the discussions within precarious work. In precarious work literature, narrow discussions were held by academics. Generally, researches are about working conditions, employment types, and norms and employment relations. This is another critical limitation in the pioneering literature. Researches on the work-life balance, private life, or psycho-social status of workers who work in precarious works are rather insufficient.

Precarious workers are considered as a class like a proletariat by many scholars and researchers who have contributed the concept's theorization and this is the fourth limitation of precarious work. Guy Standing (2011) is the most famous among them and he describes precarious workers as "precariat". As Standing, most researchers working in precarious jobs aim to define people working in precarious works as a separate social class or within the Marxist understanding of the working class. However, the precarious people are a quite heterogeneous group. As will be seen in the later parts of this research, some of the employees in the group called white-collar workers also work in precarious conditions. Therefore, the fact that researchers include and stuck precarious people in a social class framework causes some biases and leads to misinterpretation of the concept. Moreover, this conceptualization raises a lot of questions because preferences, necessities, working conditions, employment relations, working types are very different from each other. Therefore, it is generalizing and inadequate analytically to gather people working in precarious works under one roof. Furthermore, the situations of workers working under precarious and difficult conditions are grouped under the same conditions as the others who do not suffer from the same problems. More concretely, it means that an architecture, a dentist, or a graphic design artist who prefers freelance work and a worker who can only find seasonal or seasonal jobs are placed in the same situation, in the same social class.

The last limitation of the literature on precariousness is that there are so many generalizations about the working conditions, social status of workers, working norms,

etc. Due to these generalizations, reaching the exact situation of precarious workers is getting more impossible day by day. The first generalization is that scholars made their argumentation as all precarious workers are forced or have to do work in precarious work. Class argumentation has also emerged from this presupposition. But this is one of the important misconceptions because some people want to work in so-called precarious work for many different reasons. For instance, flexibility in working hours, working from home, project-based employment, etc. can be a preference of people. So, all precarity does not consist of people who are forced to work in it or have not another job opportunity. Secondly, many scholars assert that there is no definite occupation and professionalism in precarious work. This is also a misunderstanding of the concepts because many scholars also reveal that many professionals -as teachers, media employees, lawyers- work in precarious jobs. In addition to that, a master-apprentice relationship can be seen some of the precarious works so occupational difference and professionalism can be seen definitely. This is also confirmed by the field data of this research. There is professional differentiation and mastery among workers. Workers stated that this situation is directly related to finding easier and more jobs. Finally, precarious workers are reflected with hopelessness, no future, self-exploitation, and negative psychological states - although this is the case in the majority of the cases. Despite all the negativities, job satisfaction, expectation from the future, belonging to work, and eagerness to work are the situations that are ignored in researches.

Precarity/Precarious work is a newly emergent concept in social sciences literature as mentioned before. Therefore, there are many untouched parts within it. Studies can be developed on different sociological contexts and occupational basis. In addition to that, areas such as workers' work-life balance, political representation and tendencies, and psycho-social characteristics are also worth investigating. As the researches increase, the theorization of this new concept will start to take its place in social sciences literature given population explosions and worsening economic situations all over the world.

With this study and research, my objective is to contribute to the literature gaps and challenge critically some limitations of the existing literature. To reveal the precarious experiences and political orientations of workers in the labor market, which constitutes the research questions of this study, and to determine the possible connection

between these two, or to identify that there is no such connection, is a subject that has been studied rarely in the social sciences literature. This research will focus on a small group and try to measure their precarious experiences and political orientations in an in-depth manner. My aim to address and analyze the current situation, leaving aside the general presumptions and ideological fixations in the literature and expose grounded research. Thus, the literature on precariousness will be questioned by evaluating the data of a case study and field research. Qualitative work and in-depth interview methods on workers aim to overcome the limitations mentioned above in a sense. Thus, the above-mentioned limitation will be tried to be overcome and it is hoped that this study contributes to the literature and leads to new research on precarious work and precarity.

CHAPTER 3 THE METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

The subject of this research came out as a result of my encounter with the workers waiting in Ulus while I was on my way to my classes at the Social Sciences University of Ankara. I decided to write this thesis to deepen my research on this subject and where I had the opportunity to observe the workers while I was going to my graduate classes. I started to plan and create this research, which includes field research, in the 2018-2019 academic year.

Finding very few studies on the worker bazaar as a result of the literature review motivated me towards the subject and encouraged me to study on this topic. The fact that the labor literature in social sciences is generally based on factory labor has developed qualitative and quantitative research in this field and deepened the conceptual and field-oriented analyzes of the concept (Birelma, 2014; Ortiz, 2002; Rao, 1936). However, the concentration of labor literature on factory labor has negatively affected the visibility of non-factory kinds of labor. The shift of labor from the industrial sector to the service sector due to insecurity, the increase in unregistered labor, the development and spread of information technologies in the labor force in factories has resulted in the fact that non-factory labor is included in the social sciences literature only in recent years (Vosko, Zukewich, & Cranford, 2003; Bora, 2017; Kalleberg, et al., 1997; Buğra, 2013; Fudge & Owens, 2006; Villegas, 2014). For this reason, I found the case of precariousness in the capital of a country interesting and thought that this research would make a unique contribution to the literature.

There are many areas where the precarization of labor and the visibility of non-factory labor intersect. One of them is the labor bazaar. Bazaars are public places where goods and services are exchanged among the people in Turkey. Goods and services are offered for sale in many places such as vegetable-fruit, clothing, and second-hand goods markets. Although this situation is generally related to goods, there are also labor markets

where labor is on display in a shop window. Workers come to the labor markets early in the morning and put their labor for sale. Employers also demand and buy labor by coming to the market according to the occupational and physical qualities of the worker.

There are many labor markets in Ankara, Turkey: Ulus, Dışkapı, Keçiören, Sıteler, Gölbaşı etc. I selected the Ulus Labor Market intentionally. This workers' market, which is very close to the Temple of Augustus and Rome, Ankara Castle, and the First Grand National Assembly of Turkey, is located right at the entrance of the Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque. This precariousness, which reproduces itself every day in the middle of the city, is the inspiration for this academic study.

The research question of the study is intended to reveal workers' experiences of precarity, their political orientation, and the (possible) connection between these two. The sub-questions that guide me, on the other hand, aim to analyze workers' precarious experiences, political orientations, and views on current political issues, and to reveal the factors that affect workers' voting preferences. The increase in the public and political visibility of the precarious people in Turkey and in the world has led social scientist to this field. Especially in Europe, green and left-leaning parties put the working and living conditions of precarious workers on their political agenda. Precariousness in Turkey is increasing day by day and political manifestations of precarious people are being investigated. Knowing the political views of these people, who are located both in the center and periphery of the capital of the Republic of Turkey at the same time, and determining their political participation and orientation contributes to the literature of precarity, while revealing the political orientation of the Turkish precariat. While starting the fieldwork, I thought that there may or may not be a connection between precariousness and political tendency, and formed the research question. In other words, the absence of a relationship between the precariousness and political tendencies of the workers in the Ulus Labor Market is as important and meaningful as the existence of it.

The research is formed as qualitative research and it is about the working conditions, precarious experiences, views, and political orientations of workers in the national labor market in 2020 and 2021. All these are situations that may change at another time and in another labor market. The subjects of this research vary according to the country and city of residence, economic conditions, political situation and structure,

and conditions of the day. Therefore, this study represents a small group of workers rather than all labor markets and like other qualitative researches, avoids generalizations (Payne & Payne, 2004, p. 34).

Non-participant observation and in-depth interview techniques were used in this research, which involved a field study in which interview questions are trying to measure workers' political tendencies, precarious situations, work-life balances, and ideological orientations. In the following parts of this chapter, the details of the data collection and analysis techniques of the research are explained.

3.2. DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Since there is a field study, the research was started by obtaining the necessary permissions from the Social and Human Sciences Research and Scientific Publication Ethics Committee of the Social Sciences University of Ankara. In the ethics approval document given by the Social and Human Sciences Research and Scientific Publication Ethics Committee of Social Sciences University of Ankara on 18.02.2020 the researcher is allowed to take interviews and audio and video recordings. Due to the noise of the city and the fragile trust of the workers, it was not necessary to take a voice recording therefore the data were recorded with the note-taking method during the interviews. In addition, fieldnotes were taken during the interviews and non-participant observations and photographs of the field where the workers were waiting were taken by the researcher.

The field research part of this thesis was constructed using three main qualitative techniques: ethnography, participant and non-participant observation and semi-structured in-depth interviewing. While the daily lives of workers in finding a job, bargaining for wages and waiting for a job were analyzed through ethnographic researches and non-participant and participant observations, in-depth interviews are conducted to reach data about the precariousness and political tendencies of workers.

Ethnography can be identified as the descriptive study of a particular human society and it is based on fieldwork and trying to understand people's culture and daily life (Britannica, 2020). When the workers were waiting for work, they went to the field and gathered information about the workers by the ethnographic method. Ethnographic

data were collected on the area where the workers waited, their daily wages, the bargaining for the job, the conversations between the workers while waiting for the job, what time they came to the field and when they left, and the demographic and physical characteristics of the workers. Analyzing people's daily lives and explaining their relationships (Coulon, 2015, p. 10) enables the use of ethnography in social sciences.

The fact that the Ulus Labor Market is on my daily route and its proximity to the university provided a long-term observation opportunity to me. I had the opportunity to observe 4-5 days a week for about 8 months, collected some qualitative field-notes information prior to the interviews about the life of the workers, their working arrangements, process on finding a job and wage bargaining. In the light of the observations, it has been determined that the average age of the workers is higher than a job that requires physical strength. Almost all workers appear to be over the age of 40. As will be explained in more detail in the following chapters of the research, this observation about the age of the workers was confirmed through the interviews. It has been determined during the observations that the area where the workers are waiting for work is not sheltered from various weather conditions, that the workers do not have a place to sit while waiting and they sit on the pavement. In addition, the materials of the workers about the work they do are observed right next to them. Some have materials such as wall paint brushes, while others have materials such as trowel, meter and shovel. The difference in materials in the workers is a basic observation indicating that there may be occupational specialization among the workers, and this has also been confirmed through interviews. In the ordinary course of life, unnoticed qualitative details about a phenomenon may emerge through observations. Therefore, in this research, the daily life experiences of workers and their precariousness were seen, noticed, heard, and recorded through observation (Payne & Payne, 2004, p. 158).

The interview part of this field research was carried out from November 2020 to May 2021. The number of workers interviewed by in-depth interview method is twenty-one. In this study, in-depth interviews were conducted to determine the marketing of labor in the labor market, precarious working conditions and the political orientation of the workers. In the in-depth interviews with the workers, questions were asked to measure the workers' demographic characteristics, education and income status, working and

living conditions, union status, political tendencies and their evaluations of current Turkish politics.

Predetermined interview questions that were asked to each participant of this research are as follows:

1. Could you tell us about your age, education, city of origin, previous job, living area, average income?
2. How long have you been living in Ankara? Where do you live before Ankara? (If migrated) Why did you prefer to migrate here?
3. How long have you been in construction work? Do you have any other job or income source other than this?
4. Is there any other labor market where you work except for the Ulus Labor Market? How many days a week do you come here? How many hours do you work?
5. Could you describe the problems you encountered while working?
6. Who do you think can find a job easier in this market? Can you describe the characteristics of the workers who can easily find jobs or are selected for a lot of work?
7. To what extent coming from same town (*hemşehrilik*) or personal ties facilitating finding a job? How? What do you think about it?
8. Do you have social insurance? Is your social insurance covered by your employers?
9. To what extent your work safety is ensured during work?
10. Are you a member of any labour union? Why is that? Why do you think you need/not be a member of these unions?
11. Do you know your rights in the constitution and labor laws? What do you know?
12. Have you ever had a work accident? If yes, what is that? Do you know about the institutions that you can apply in such a case?
13. Are there cases where you were not paid or you get lower pay than agreed? How often? What do you do when you encounter this situation?
14. Who is the most successful politician in the history of Turkey? Why?

15. Which party and presidency candidate did you vote for in the 2018 general elections? Why is that?
16. Will you vote for the same party and candidate in the upcoming elections? Why is that?
17. What are the current government's policies that you find the most accurate? Can you comment on these?
18. What do you think about Syrians and other asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in Turkey? What are the impacts of Syrian, Iraqi, Somali and Afghan workers on the labor market? How did they affect you?
19. What do you think about the Syrian policy of the Turkish government? Do you support Turkish government's policies?
20. What do you think about the most important problem of Turkey? Can you explain it with reasons?
21. Which person, institution or organization seem(s) you the most important one for your achievement of a better future? Can you explain?
22. Finally, to what extent you are hopeful about your future? Can you tell something on this point?

The fact that construction work requires a certain force has created a male-dominated worker community in this field. For this reason, it has been observed that all workers in the Ulus labor market are male. It has been observed that the fact that the researcher is a woman causes some basic problems such as building trust with the informant. Some of the workers do not want to be in contact with a woman and this problem was resolved when the researcher went to the field with a male friend. As a result, the field research was carried out with two people.

Because the survey included sensitive topics such as income, political orientation and views on government policies, workers were not asked to give their names. The names in the continuation of the research are nicknames given to the people in the writing-up part after the interviews. Interviews with the workers were conducted face to face. Since the workers did not want to move to another place such as a patisserie or cafe while waiting for a job, the interviews were carried out in the area where the labor market is located, with one-on-one interviews with the workers.

Before starting the interviews, each worker was informed that the research is academic. Since it was determined that the workers approached their private questions sensitively, the workers were not asked to sign the consent form, instead, the workers were asked to mark the relevant place after reading the information on the form.

Sampling is to select a small subset from the universe of all the people to be studied, and this subset may or may not be representative (Payne & Payne, 2004, p. 209). The sampling method in field research is especially important for this research. Among many sampling techniques, random sampling was applied on a deliberate basis. Snowball sampling, was not preferred because it might have resulted in reaching people who have similar political views, and therefore, caused a non-representative sample selection. Therefore, randomly selected sampling method was used in the research in order to prevent the answers to these questions from returning within the same circles and networks. By way of explanation, while the workers were waiting for a job in the market, they were randomly selected and interviews were started by giving information about the research. Workers wait in the market in groups of 5-6 people. Due to the reason explained above, one or at most two workers were interviewed among the workers waiting in groups.

All workers were asked readily-prepared questions and their answers were noted. In some cases, some follow-up questions were asked to understand workers' individual situations, life experiences and political affiliations. For example, in the work safety question, the worker who answered that the state provides work safety was asked what kind of measures the state took to ensure work safety. Or, while conveying the daily experiences of the workers, open-ended questions were asked in order to provide a more in-depth explanation of these experiences. For this reason, the interview method used in data collection is partially semi-structured interview in this research.

Preliminary non-participant observation was carried out before starting the interviews. In this preliminary study, interviews were conducted with 3 workers, the owner of the nearby patisserie, and the owner of the coffeehouse where the workers were waiting for a job. This preliminary study; guided the researcher about the season in which the workers are busy waiting for work, what hours the workers are here, and how many years the market has been here.

During the preliminary study, in the interview with the owner of the patisserie located in the area where the labor market is located, it was learned that the workers mostly started to leave the area around 11, but there were also fewer workers waiting until the afternoon every day. This is also confirmed by the observations made. When asked about the total number of workers waiting in this market, the patisserie owner replied as 100-150 per day.

In the interview with the owner of the coffeehouse, it was determined that some workers prefer this place to wait for work. It is observed that employers sometimes find workers through the coffeehouse owner. The coffeehouse, which is heavily used by workers in the early hours of the morning, is used by retired people in the following hours of the day. The owner of the coffeehouse said that the workers come here to stay away from the cold, especially during the winter months, and wait for a job while drinking tea. In the front of the coffeehouse, there is the inscription "All kinds of workers are available" and a contact number.

Before starting the interview, it was stated to all workers that the research is conducted for a master's thesis and other necessary information was given about the research. The workers were told that in addition to the job conditions, political questions would be asked and that they could end the interview at any time. Some workers refused to be interviewed at the beginning of the conversation. Some workers stated that they gave incomplete answers to the questions or did not want to answer too many questions. Therefore, these workers were not included in the assessment.

As it will be mentioned when the limitations of the research are explained in the next section of this chapter, some workers approached to the researcher and the research with skepticism. For example, a worker was answered the demographic characteristics related questions on hometown, age, etc. as "I hope you don't want my Turkish I.D. number either". It has been observed that even the interview questions, where the names of the workers were not asked, were skeptical. Another worker, especially when asked political questions, said, "How should I know that you are not an agent now? Maybe you are Israeli agents trying to determine the current situation of Turkey". Such doubts were overcome by giving more detailed information about student identity and the research, and it was tried to establish trust between the researcher and the participants.

Content analysis technique was used in the analysis of the interview results. The content analysis enabled units of analysis to be measured or determined to be systematically created and analyzed impartially (Bryman, 2012, pp. 289, 295) was applied to the research manually by the researcher after the transcription of the interview. A posteriori codes created before starting the analysis of the interviews. These codes, which are planned to be used in the interpretation of the interview answers and the analysis of the data, consist of demographic characteristics, the ease of finding a job, work safety, social security, unionism, party and presidential candidate preference, rationale for voting, Turkey's important problems and opinions about successful Turkish politicians. These codes guided the researcher in the more organized and easier interpretation and analysis of the answers of the participants (Payne & Payne, 2004, p. 36). As a result of coding, analyzing the data, classifications, tables and graphs related to the field data were created. For instance, some results were obtained by grouping the political party preferences of the workers, their views on certain policies, and their political orientations were revealed with codings. Through these, it is aimed to understand the subject and field data more comprehensively.

Since the content analysis has recently evolved to make inferences from all kinds of visual, auditory, verbal, and symbolic data (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 17), not only the verbal answers of the workers in the in-depth interviews were analyzed in this research. Many data such as the interaction and communication of the workers with each other, the area they are waiting for a job, the location of this area in the city, and the materials they have with them were also analyzed.

3.3. LIMITS AND SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

As this research includes a field study, there are some methodological limitations and these are listed under the headings below.

- the limited number of participants due to the COVID-19 pandemic
- other intervening worker/s
- trust issues
- environmental distractive factors (waiting for work, chatting with other people, etc.)

The first limitation of the research is related to the coronavirus pandemic. The coronavirus pandemic, which is effective all over the world, has also been effective in Turkey. This pandemic, which affected almost all sectors, especially the service sector, turned the growth rates of countries into negative and caused many people to become unemployed. The proposal of this field research was prepared before the pandemic and it is planned to research with more participants. Considering that the high number of people will increase the reliability and validity of the research, this research, which was planned for around 60 people, had to be carried out with 21 people due to the health of both the participants, the researcher, and the assistant interviewer. In addition, the interview part of the research was interrupted due to the quarantine and isolation practices taken by the Turkish governments in this period. The Turkish government has implemented a very long quarantine for elderly citizens during the coronavirus period. Since the average age of the workers in this market is relatively high, some workers could not continue their work during this period. This is a factor that prevents interviews with more workers. Another effect of the pandemic is related to the working conditions, political opinions, and work-life balance of the workers. The construction industry is one of the sectors affected by the pandemic and this has reduced the likelihood of workers finding a job. For this reason, the negative effects of the pandemic are observed in the workers' work and socioeconomic status, the standard of living, their views on Turkey's problems and politics, and their answers to the question of hope.

The second limitation of the research is that other workers may intervene and comment during the interview because the interviews are conducted in the area where the workers are waiting for work altogether. Seeing male and female researchers asking the workers something, other workers are curious and sometimes even get involved in the interview. As will be explained later, in order to prevent such interventions, the interviewee was tried to be removed from the crowd. It is understood from the statements of the workers during the interviews that members of the press or YouTubers came to the labor market earlier and made interviews as well ². Therefore, it is observable that these workers are familiar with such research or interview contexts.

² See in https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HPbI7zvCgUQ&ab_channel=Medyascope and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjLG16_koGU&ab_channel=YolTV

As explained above, workers asked detailed questions about the identity of the researcher and the nature of the research, and some workers stated that they did not want to participate in the research because of political questions. The third limitation is that although workers were invited to the nearby cafe, patisserie, or the Social Sciences University of Ankara they did not accept this because they were waiting for a job there. For this reason, the research was carried out on the street where the workers were waiting for work. This can be considered as an advantage in terms of understanding the field, but this situation led to the presence of too many distractive factors during the interview.

In addition to the noise of the city and the crowded streets, the fourth limitation that affects the authority of the research is that the workers answer the questions with the worry that work may come at any time. This situation has also occurred in concrete terms. A worker had to leave the interview midway and go to work because a job came during the interview. Since the job situations of the workers can change from day to day, it may not be possible to meet the interviewed worker in the field later on.

Another limitation of the research is related to methodology and it concerns the interview questions. The 17th question of this research, "What are the current government's policies that you find the most accurate? Can you comment on these?" is a leading question. The guidance in this question was noticed after the interviews were over. For this reason, it is included in the analysis part, but it should be noted that there is a methodological limitation here. Despite this limitation, some of the participants' answers also addressed the government policies that they find problematic or unsuccessful.

The last limitation of the research is related to social desirability. The researcher has developed several strategies to reduce possible biases related to this limitation. The first of these is that workers are not asked their names during the interviews. Thus, it is aimed that workers can answer questions more easily and freely. The second is to carry out the interview by taking the interviewed worker to a place away from other workers. Thus, it is possible to conduct an interview away from the possible interventions/reactions of other workers. The third strategy is to state that the research is a scientific research and the interview answers will only be used for an academic research. Before starting the research, some information were given about the nature of the research and the researcher.

Another strategy is to conduct research in an environment where workers feel close and familiar. It is aimed for the workers to answer the questions more comfortably and without being under any influence in the place where they wait a job, rather than in an environment that is unfamiliar to them. No video or audio recordings were made during the research to reduce possible social desirability bias. Finally, after some of the interviewed workers said that they did not have enough information to answer the questions that researcher asks an explanation was made on the nature of the interview question. In this explanation, it was stated that any of these questions are not knowledge questions, there were no right or wrong answers and the important thing is that their answers and comments to these questions.

In conclusion, some factors affect the methodology of the research and cause some limitations. These factors came before the researcher as environmental, specific to the research field, or factors related to the daily lives of workers.

CHAPTER 4 THE PRECARIOUS WORK: THE TURKISH CASE

The economic liberalization of Turkey started with President Turgut Özal's presidency and his radical policies that transformed the economy and labour sector. In the 1980s and 90s, many new policy formulations have begun to make in the Turkish economy. Developments in the labor market are one of the most important ones among them. Markets were getting privatize and limited state intervention on market was getting a new norm. Informalization, flexibility, and precariousness in the market are the main rules of labor and economic liberalization. Therefore, workers' situations are starting more dependent on employers and generally new market rules are worsening their situation in terms of working conditions.

People who study on this issue are generally trying to link up precarious work and neo-liberalization or some small aspects and manifestations of precarious work. But these approaches address limited parts of the notion or are stuck in certain ideological views. Because this point of view is focused on including people working in precarious jobs into a social class or producing a new social class from them. This leads to the fact that the essence of the issue is not addressed and people's working and living conditions are thrown into the secondary or background plan.

4.1. CHANGES IN TURKISH ECONOMY AND LABOR MARKET

The reasons behind precarious working conditions and lifestyle are more or less the same in the world and Turkey. These reasons have already been explained in detail in the above sections of this thesis. Before moving to the Turkish case, these reasons can be explained in short as follows.

First of all, the globally private sector is motivated by profit maximization. Employers earn their profits by deducting wages and other costs of labor in today's world of high labor supply. This situation has a direct effect on the working conditions and

work-life balances of the workers. Because, if the cost reduction is done through labor, it occurs in various ways, again affecting the workers. For example, cost reduction is possible by reducing workers' wages, cutting social security spending, or making works by sub-contractor firms that offer less secure working conditions for workers.

The replacement of the human/labor force in production with machines revealed the deterioration and change in the Fordist production style before the 1980s. This reduced the regular and continuous labor demand in the industrial sector and the labor force working in these sectors started to shift to the service sector. The shift of employment to the service sector has produced changes in terms and rules of employment due to the dynamics of the service sector itself. Many jobs in this sector have a structure that varies based on demand and whose short or uncertain duration is determined up to the amount of demand and supply. This causes the fluctuation of labor demand in this sector and the necessity of flexibility in labor demand. This does not correspond to the precariousness of labor versus capital, as many intellectuals suggest, but to the crisis of capitalism in which capital is floating in precariousness as well.

The increase in the service sector is the second reason why precarious working is expanding and growing in Turkey. Since Turkey is a developing state, changings among different sector continues. While the share of the service sector in employment increases, employment in agriculture and industry decreases due to the technological and social developments in Turkey. Since the service sector is service and project-based, precarious, short/indefinite-term, non-contractual jobs are more common in this sector.

It is possible to assert a process here. As can be seen in the graphics below in the 1990s, the share of agriculture in total employment is close to 50%. While the industry is around 15%, the share of the service sector in total employment is 35%. The sectoral distribution of employment in Turkey in 2020 is as follows, 55% of total employment belongs to the service sector. If the construction sector is included in the service sector with 6% (some calculations are made in this way), the service sector constitutes 62% of the total employment. The industry with 20% and agriculture with 17% follow this.

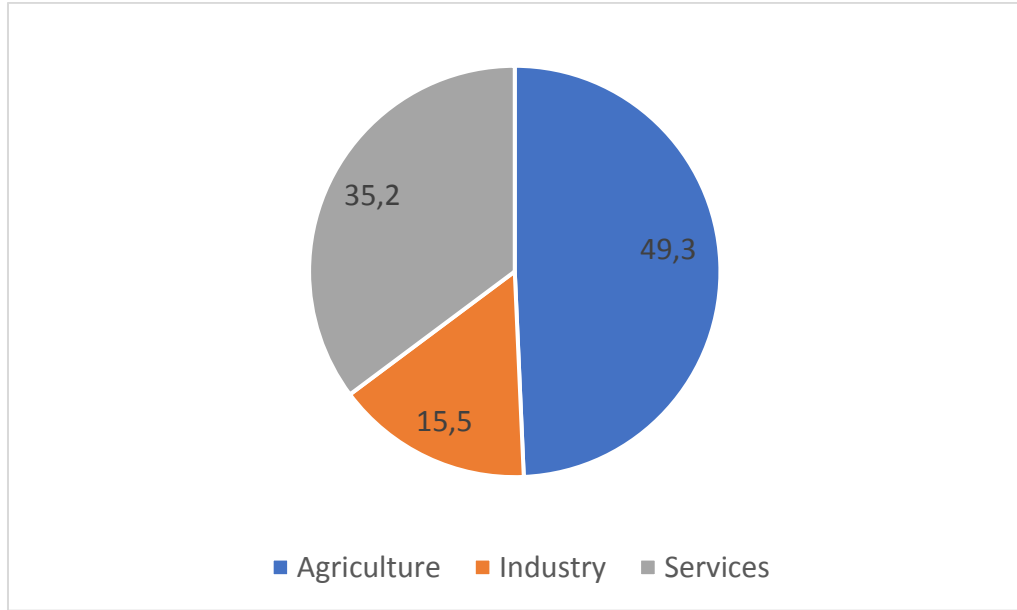


Figure 1: The sectoral distribution of employment in Turkey, 1990

Source: TURKSTAT Labor Force Database - Household Labor Force Survey,
T.C. Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of Treasury Economic Indicators

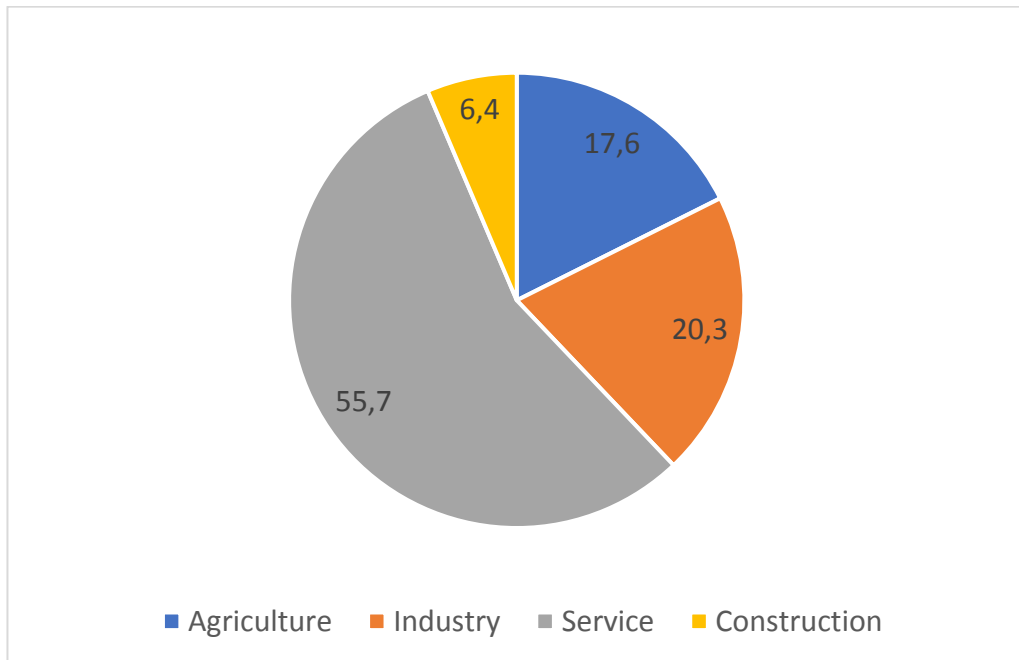


Figure 2: The sectoral distribution of employment in Turkey, October 2020

Source: (TURKSTAT Labor Statistics, 2021)

Thirdly, there is an increase in population in Turkey. Therefore, the working-age population is growing. Besides, reduction of the rural population and urbanization trend

bring along with unemployment in big cities in Turkey. In this context, people who are disconnected from agricultural employment join a large army of unemployed when they come to cities. Always having a substitute reduces the value and reward of labor. This brings about worsening of work and living conditions and a decrease in wages, that is, precarity.

Precarious working conditions started to change all working norms in Turkey too. The decrease in employment in the industrial and agricultural sectors along with mechanization accelerated the transition to the service sector. This, on the other hand, has eliminated industrial labor in a certain classical sense, with longstanding certain working and living conditions. The shift of employment to the service sector has increased the number of people working in project-based, short-term works, and this has brought flexibility in employment. A large number of workers provided flexibility to employers regarding working and living conditions.

There are many dynamics in the rise of precarious work and these dynamics are not independent of each other. The obsolescence of Fordist production, the dominance of neoliberal policies worldwide with the deadlock of the Keynesian economic model, the existence of the private sector with its own norms, acceptance of the public sector the New Public Management trends, and adopting a management approach based on performance and efficiency. and the transition to the contracted employment model are just some of these dynamics.

All of these dynamics make clear the precarity in the world and Turkey as well. So many working groups are affected by these changes in the market rules so that this range stretches from seasonal agriculture workers to teachers and from media workers to academics. In this section, the precarious experiences of different sectors' workers in Turkey will be examined.

4.2 CASES ON PRECARIOUS WORK IN TURKEY

4.2.1. Seasonal Agriculture Workers

According to the Turkish Statistical Institute's data, more than 5 million people are employed in the agriculture sector in 2019 and this means that 18,2% of total employment is addressed to agriculture in Turkey (TURKSTAT, 2020).

One of the main precarious working conditions of the seasonal agriculture workers is working without social insurance. While permanent agriculture workers are protected with social insurance in both the public and private sector in line with Agricultural Workers Social Insurance Law No. 2925, seasonal agriculture workers have not any insurance which is provided by employers (Gürsoy, 2010, p. 41).

Seasonal agriculture workers have to live nomadic life. They have to migrate in accordance with when and where the agricultural harvest is. This brings some certain problems in their life. Uncertainty in accommodation, access to education, and health services etc. Their living areas generally are located near the agricultural areas and lack of electricity, insulation, and water supply network (Kaya & Özgülnar, 2015, pp. 118-120).

Sometimes they do not get their wage in time and completely because of the informal relationship between workers and employers or jobber (Karaman & Yılmaz, 2011). These kinds of informal relationships are mostly based on kinship and acquaintanceship. In this situation, it seems that regular, just-in-time and fair wages and sound working conditions are not possible.

Most of the seasonal agriculture workers come from the Eastern and Southeastern parts of Turkey where Kurds comprise the majority of the population (Kaya & Özgülnar, 2015; Karaman & Yılmaz, 2011). Gürsoy asserts that the fact that the workers are Kurds leads to discrimination, racism, and seeing them as terrorists or separatists elements (2010, p. 46).

Environmental factors are important in seasonal agricultural work. The amount of crops to be harvested and therefore the probability of workers finding jobs depends on environmental factors. The working seasons and hours of the workers working in the agricultural sector also change depending on environmental factors. This situation brings about insecurity.

Seasonal agricultural workers' work is time-based. Their works are temporary, they may work in one field in this season and in another season. In addition to that, only a limited number of workers work in one field at the same time. All of these have the effect of making it difficult for workers to know each other and act together. Therefore, the possibility of union movement/organization is low among them.

Seasonal agricultural workers are employed for short-term or temporary contracts. But there is a valid reason for this: almost completely, agriculture is a seasonal profession by nature. Some products are growing and harvested in a certain time period of the year. Therefore, short-term or temporary contracting seems as only solution for both workers and employers in the agriculture sector.

4.2.2. Contracted Teachers

According to Turkish government reports, in the 2019-2020 educational year there is 101730 contracted teachers and this corresponds to more than 9% of the total number of teachers (Ministry of National Education, 2019-2020, p. 54). It can be said that when compared to the teachers who are constantly employed, whose positions are determined, and whose duties are long term, contracted teachers have a limited percentage in total teacher employment but the number of contracted teachers is high.

Contracted teachers are employed with short-term or fixed-term contracts. Therefore, one of the main problems is the lack of job security (Ertürk, 2011, p. 126). Lack of job security and short-term contracts bring along unemployment and constant work changes for this profession. In other words, teachers have to renew their contracts constantly and if this opportunity is not available, they either change their works or become unemployed.

The author of this thesis, Köse, has experienced this situation in his own life. The author, who was educated in a state-owned primary school between 2002 and 2007, changed a total of seven teachers during his five-year primary school time. 5 of these teachers were changed in 2007 and those teachers were also temporary or contracted teachers and this led the school administration to decide the duration of the contract or terminate it.

The reason for the employment of teachers with a contract or temporary status is the following: to prevent disruptions in education by filling the places of teachers who cannot be appointed as permanent staff due to unforeseen reasons.

With the progress of time, Turkish governments have made many regulations regarding contracted teaching. The status of contracted teachers has been changed and improved with laws and regulations. According to the Principles on Hiring Contracted

Personnel, contract terms are subject to renewal once a year like other contracted public officials. There is no period of the year during which they are not paid, and additional tuition fees are paid in proportion to their work.

Like other contracted public officials, contracted teachers are also provided with social security. Their contracts are renewed every year. One of the terms of contract renewal is performance efficiency. The aim of this implementation is to increase the quality of education. However, as mentioned above, annual and performance-based contracts are an obstacle in front of teachers' job security and job continuity. In order to maintain their contracts, teachers sometimes have to do extra work or work without a duty (Ertürk, 2011, p. 126).

The fact that the contracts are short-term and temporary harms teachers' institutional belonging (Çalışoğlu & Tanışır, 2018, p. 127). When the field studies and news on this subject are examined, the same result is reached: teachers cannot feel like a teacher due to contracts and therefore they cannot have a sense of belonging to their institutions. There are also those who think that they will be fired due to a performance-based and temporary contracts (Çalışoğlu & Tanışır, 2018; Ölmez, 2009).

Contracted teachers are in a better position than those who had teacher education at university but could not find a job as teachers. There are also teachers who work in various jobs such as construction, waitress, and cashier because they cannot find a job as a teacher (Üstün, 2017, p. 283). Most of these teachers are living without any social security.

In addition to that, some teachers state that they are discriminated against, they face to face with mobbing, there is wage difference between teachers, and their right to paid/unpaid leaves are more limited (BirGün, 2019).

As discussed in the precarious work part, one sign of precarity is the weakening of union rights or the inability to become organized. But it is not valid for contracted or unassigned teachers. Teachers can actually be the most organized group in today's conditions. There are many unions, associations or platforms that aim to protect teachers' rights. But there is another form of organization that goes beyond these, which is very important and effective today: organizing on social media - especially on Twitter. Teachers have comprehended very well the importance of social media and developed

sound strategies for accessing their claims from the government. From time to time, requests regarding their appointments are at the top of the Twitter trending topics list. From this point of view, it can be said that teachers who are contracted or not appointed do not experience the non-organizational dimension of precarity and can take effective actions against their employer and the government – hence precarious workers can seek their agency and interests and are not dormant.

4.3.3. Nonunionized Blue-collars

When the works called standard/secure are examined, it is observed that the workers have certain wages, leave rights, working hours, job and life security, and union rights etc. However, these standard jobs have begun to almost disappear from the labor market. Rules in the labor market have started to change in recent times. The reasons and consequences of this change have been detailed above. Here it will be referred to changes in blue-collar working conditions in Turkey.

Industrial works have begun to become precarious in Turkey since the 1980s. Because the 1980s were the years when it started to be privatized in order to use public resources more effectively and efficiently. While privatizations provide convenience, efficiency, and productivity in the providing of public services, they bring about a decline in workers' rights and working conditions. Because when things are left to the private sector, the mind of the market prevails and one of the most important goals of this mind is to maximize profit.

The way to maximize profit is to lower the production cost. It is not the monopoly of the producer to reduce costs from raw materials, production stages, or distribution. Therefore, employers tend to reduce labor costs (Arslan, 2015, p. 288). Employers find many ways to reduce the cost of labor. Flexible working system, working with subcontractors, lowering the wages of workers, avoiding social security costs, minimizing work safety costs, getting ahead of the organization and thus preventing the wage increase demands of the workers, cutting breaks, annual leave and other leave, and finally extending working periods and hours.

The literature on precarious work is shaped after the TEKEL worker protest in Turkish literature. Therefore, examining the TEKEL worker protest will offer crucial tips on precarious work in Turkey.

TEKEL worker protest is the first highly visible worker movement in case precarious working conditions have been imposed on workers. TEKEL workers started a protest in Ankara against the closure/privatization of the factories they work in and demanded to continue their works in public enterprises with a secure status (Kızılkoyun, 2009). Before the privatization, TEKEL workers actually have classical proletarian characteristics. To explain these characteristics relatively small but specific salary, constant workplace and employer, job security, certain working hours, etc.

TEKEL workers began to experience precariousness with the privatization of their factories. As they are constantly moving, their family unions have deteriorated, they have been employed in jobs that are unskilled and do not have fit their skills, and their future concerns have increased (Oğuz, 2014, p. 21). 657 Civil Servants Law in Turkey is scheduled to be carried out public services through 3 types of staff: civil servants, contract employees, and workers. During the TEKEL worker protest, workers now feared losing their worker status in Law No. 657 and being transferred to an uncertain future status in the private sector.

Thus, for the first time, precarity became known to the Turkish public with TEKEL worker protest. Many academics, writers, and researchers have seen precariousness as a common phenomenon that eliminates the differences such as employment types, education level, and qualification among workers and it has been claimed that future workers' movements will be shaped around this phenomenon (Özügür, 2011, p. 51; Bürkev, 2010, p. 46).

Şebnem Oğuz claimed that TEKEL workers put aside their ethnic, political, or local identities and struggled with the consciousness brought by the collective experience, not with the consciousness from outside when their work security was taken away (2014, p. 21). Isn't it usual for workers to set aside all other differences in a work-related situation in such critical moments? In other words, the desired security, status, and working conditions apply to all workers working in the factory. Whether all these remain constant

or change, of course, concerns all the workers there. Attributing consciousness to workers through this situation may lead to an anomaly.

As a continuation of this understanding, it was specially stated that Kurdish workers also took part in the TEKEL workers' protest (Bürkev, 2010, p. 25). Differences that do not actually exist among workers and differences that are not expressed in identity are constructed by social scientists. Again, in the rest of the article, it is claimed that individuals who express themselves with identities such as Kurdish, Islamist, leftist, and even footballer become aware of the fact that they are an oppressed and exploited class (Bürkev, 2010, p. 43). Here it is faced with a mistake it can be found quite often in Marxist literature: attributing consciousness that does not actually exist these Marxist-derived readings of these protests are over-emphasizing class consciousness and hence ideologically biased. In other words, in the gathering of a community that has only work-related problems and comes together to say these problems and solution offers in unison; seeking a relationship of exploitation, tracing social opposition, and drawing transcendental meanings from individual events deflects the center of the phenomenon that needs to be focused.

Precariousness among blue-collar workers is of course not limited to the TEKEL example. It is possible to detect precarity in many industrial production areas from furniture to textiles, from mining to glass factories. So, what are the concrete aspects of this precariousness? Precarity, in the most general sense, is to live without security. This is not just about social security or safety at work. A fixed and sufficient wage, having a certain employer, long-term and fixed employment contracts are the first to come to mind.

The first one is that blue-collar workers are not satisfied with their wages (Coşkun, 2019, p. 95). Insufficient wages cause poverty, inability to make a saving, live in inadequate conditions. Low wages may not leave much room for workers other than essential expenses such as food and housing. For this reason, the expenditures such as vacation or entertainment that workers need both mentally and physically have a straining effect on the family budget. An indirect effect of low wages emerges in the long run. Issues such as owning property, self-improvement, and children's education affect life in the long term. Low and uncertain wages are also a major obstacle to these.

The second one is related to lack of social insurance. Working in the informal sector brings along precarity and the lack of social insurance for workers. Gündoğdu, who studies the industrialization of Kayseri, claims that this situation is made possible by covering up the class conflicts by employers using narratives with community and religious rhetoric and discourses (2015, p. 212). The class relations mentioned here, the class conflicts alleged to exist, seem as socially constructed. Workers are only concerned about improving their working conditions, wages, living standards, working hours, and social security. When looking at the studies examining the basic demands of the workers, it is seen that they say that the current situation should be improved, not the current order.

The third one is working in unhealthy, dirty or where there is no work safety (Coşkun, 2019; Gündoğdu, 2015). This situation negatively affects the health of the workers. Workers can easily get sick, and working under heavy and stress can cause some problems. In work that requires physical work, the risk of injury or death is high. Therefore, ensuring work safety is inevitable for workers.

Traces of working life at the factory in the 2000s can be found in the study of Alpan Birelma that examined the three labor movements in Turkey. He described the working environment in his first case-factory as follows (Birelma, 2014, pp. 82-93): Wages are minimum wages, but workers have overtime rights, there is no right to salary according to seniority, some social benefits are available, slightly more than half of the factory workers are women, the number of contracted employees has been increased, and thus a precarious group has been formed, flexible working hours are not a problem for workers as long as work goes, social relations between workers are quite good. These conditions are similar to the precarious working conditions discussed so far. Against uncertain working hours, uncertain and often low wages are among the main problems of workers. Leaving aside the positive aspects of working in this factory, the most obvious moment of precarity is the firing of workers who try to unionize (Birelma, 2014). It is noteworthy that employers are so afraid of unionization or collective action, despite the currently reduced influence and even ineffectiveness of unions. One reason may be that workers are concerned about going on strike en masse or demanding increases in wages. In such a case, employers may have reacted in this way to the slightest unionization, as they cannot fire all workers who run the work with a certain level of experience that everyone has not. In the second factory example, there is not much information about

working and living conditions: workers can increase their wages with overtime, they borrow because their wages are not sufficient and workers act in solidarity (Birelma, 2014, pp. 158-171). In this factory example, the most important dimensions of precarity can be collected under two headings: insufficient wages and losing your job as a result of unionization and collective struggle (Birelma, 2014). As seen in the first factory example, here too, the employer's harsh and negative attitude towards unionization is observed. Low wages and uncertain and long working hours seem to remain a problem here as well. When the working conditions in the last factory in Birelma's research is examined, it can be seen that there are minimum/low wages for overworking, serious decrease and uncertainty in wages, low union organization, compulsory weekend work, harsh and negative attitude of supervisors, not being able to devote enough time to social life, wage and opportunity inequality among workers (2014, pp. 210-215). This exhausting and stressful work environment also negatively affects relations among workers: workers behave more individually and competitive therefore collective movement is limited (Birelma, 2014, p. 224). The main conclusion from these three factory examples is that blue-collar workers work in workplaces where unionization is not welcomed and where low wages are paid despite long and uncertain working hours. The most important conclusion to be drawn from these three factory examples is that precarity is experienced to different degrees in the same sector, even in the same workplace. Workers face different precarious conditions. Nevertheless, there are important characteristics that distinguish factory workers from precarious workers of other sectors. Such as relatively better job security, fixed wages and employers, good social relations between workers, and a union movement possible, albeit limited.

As a result, it can be said that while factory works are seen as work with certain social security, a fixed salary, indefinite job security, and various social rights, this situation has changed in the last few decades. Permanent job security decreased, salaries remained low and unionization was weakened by employers due to the surplus of labor supply.

4.2.4. Contracted or subcontracted health workers and professionals

Provision of health services in Turkey is carried out by the public and private sector partnership. Citizens receive health services within the scope of their social security through public or private hospitals and other health institutions.

In the field of health, precarious and informal work is increasing (Yavuz, 2016, p. 2). The reasons for this are the establishment of more private hospitals, the expansion of the service sector, and the increase in the labor supply in health.

The precarity of the healthcare workers/professionals generally takes place in two ways: becoming permanent health workers contracted and providing allied health services by subcontractors. As a result of these, precariousness can be summarized under 3 main headings in the health sector: Stretching the employment rules, extending working hours and increasing work intensity (Yavuz, 2016, p. 2).

Contracting employees destroyed work continuity and security. In addition, outsourcing the works to subcontractors brings the danger of these companies employing personnel with short-term contracts in general. The qualities expected from these kinds of personnel, whose work status is fluid, are the characteristics that show signs of flexibility such as short-term ability to work, and a tendency to teamwork (Acar, 2013, p. 161).

Considering the other problems of healthcare workers/professionals, it is encountered with the lack of annual leaves, long working hours, no additional payment, marginalization/isolation, the tension of belonging, and no severance pay (Acar, 2013, pp. 167-170). Again, the main problems are related to wages, leaves, and difficult working conditions. Just like contracted teachers, healthcare workers cannot create a sense of belonging to their institutions due to short-term contracts. All of these are similar to the precarious work experiences described earlier.

Another form of precariousness that distinguishes healthcare workers from others is due to coming across with diseases in hospitals. Neither medical files are kept nor health screenings and vaccinations are made for these workers (Acar, 2013, p. 174). This situation leaves healthcare workers insecure, especially against infectious diseases.

Another problem faced by healthcare workers/professionals is the wage inequality between the public and private sectors (Yavuz, 2016, p. 4). The salary of public sector employees is fixed and higher than that of the private sector. This situation creates a status difference between people who are members of the same profession.

Other problems of healthcare professionals are decreasing break times, increasing work intensity, and gradually worsening working conditions (Yavuz, 2016, p. 5). The decrease in the break time causes physical and mental fatigue in healthcare workers as well as in all employees. Increased work intensity is another major cause of these fatigues. The decrease and gradual deterioration of social facilities cause the effects of fatigue on human life not to be overcome and even to accumulate. All these show that the working conditions of healthcare workers/professionals have become precarious day by day.

4.2.5. Some groups of white-collars

Before moving on to the precariousness of white-collars, it should be explained that teachers and some of the healthcare professionals are also in the group called white-collar. But these two groups -teachers and healthcare professionals- struggle for public visibility of precariousness and making common strategies for overcoming the precarity. For these reasons, these two groups were examined separately from white-collar workers. The evaluations and findings regarding the precariousness of white-collar workers outside these two groups will be explained below.

The group called white-collar workers is actually a large community that includes a wide and variety range of professions and in numbers. The works that are expected from this group, who generally do office and paperwork, are higher-level tasks such as reporting, analysis, and supervision. People belonging to the white-collar groups are generally university graduates and professionalized people with a specific profession.

People from many professions, from academics to architects, from engineers to journalists, are called white-collar and they are expected to work in which intellectual power is used rather than works where physical power is used in general. White-collar unemployment or precarious working conditions are linked to 3 phenomena: computerization of office work, explosion in skilled human supply, and expansion in temporary, project-based, or contractual work.

Mechanization and computerization become the white-collar people unnecessary (Bora & Erdoğan, 2017, p. 18). Many works done by machines or computers have reduced the need for personnel in these areas. Computer programs do the work that many personnel will do by working together. It can be said that over time single personnel who could use a computer started to do the whole job and the remaining personnel became unnecessary and hence unemployed.

The above situation brings along the problem of unemployment and even the structuralization of unemployment, and this leads to the white-collars turn into blue-collars (Bora & Erdoğan, 2017, p. 26). Having a profession and qualification no longer brings job security with it. Another reason for this is the rationalization of the public sector and the transfer of services to the private sector (Bora, 2017, pp. 54-55). As discussed deeply before, the transfer of services to the private sector brings along many negativities regarding labor, along with the arbitrary behavior of employers. White-collar employees experience precarity mostly in project-based, short-term and contractual employment.

The employment of white-collar workers in precarious jobs is somewhat related to the increasing number of universities in Turkey (Erdoğan, 2017, p. 77). People who graduate from provincial universities have limited to access secure, with sufficient salary and in the area of their own professions. Contract teachers are one of the most important examples of precarious white-collars in Turkey. This issue will not be mentioned here as it is covered as a separate section above.

Plaza employees are an important group in number among the precarious white-collar workers. The workload, stress and the fear of losing position are the main reasons for precariousness in this group (Işıklı, 2013, p. 185). Inequality between men and women, financial difficulties, long working hours, mobbing, competitive environment, performance pressure and not being able to use legal permissions is the list of the main problems of plaza white-collar employees (Tok, 2018).

Short-time or project-based work in the service sector eliminates the work security of white-collar employees. Contracts are also made according to this basic fact, and job changes and unemployment between two jobs (Bora, 2017, p. 59) become a normal

situation. This process is more evident in white-collar workers as engineers and architects generally who work in project basis style.

Apart from these, there are many white-collar professions are working in precarious conditions: journalists, call center employees, and academics can be counted among them. The precarity experienced by call center employees, many of whom are university graduates, brings with it the pressure in the workplace and they work without a union and collective agreement (Doğanay, 2016, p. 50). The development of the service sector has brought about an increase in employment in call centers. Telecommunication, finance / insurance, public sector and wholesale / retail companies reveal the sectoral distribution of employment in call centers (T.C Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı İş Teftiş Kurulu Başkanlığı, 2013, p. 15).

Call center employees change their jobs in an average of 2.5 years, are unable to take leave on weekends and annual leave, work overtime, work in unhealthy conditions, and they are exposed to noise during the work (T.C Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı İş Teftiş Kurulu Başkanlığı, 2013, pp. 29-30). All of these show that there are basic signs of precariousness among call center workers: short-term/indefinite-term jobs, long working hours, poor working conditions, etc.

De-qualification is an important problem in the journalism. Today, journalists who state that the desired jobs in the media do not require much qualification and therefore they cannot gain professional skills and stated that they work without job security, social rights, and unionization (Kaya E. , 2015, pp. 183-184). Union organization in the journalism profession seems to be high with a rate of 30%, but this does not mean a functional union organization and collective agreement in the full sense (Bulut & Kaderoğlu Bulut, 2015, p. 325).

According to the Higher Education Law No. 2547, graduate students can benefit from the scholarships that may be allocated to them, or they can be appointed as research assistants for ‘one year’ at a time in Turkey. The fact that the contract is renewed every year as introduced by this law and that it is based on performance is one of the most obvious examples of precariousness in white-collar and high-status jobs.

4.3. MIGRANT PRECARIOUSNESS IN TURKEY

At the beginning of the Syrian war, Turkey formulated an open-door policy for Syrians. Syrians with documents access to enter Turkey and Syrians who have not document/passport can stay in camps. Syrians' status is guest at that time, and this reveals the Turkish government's approaches to Syrians as they live temporarily in Turkey (Gümüş & Eroğlu, 2015, pp. 470-473). On 22 October 2014, the Turkish Cabinet accepted a law draft in order to solve this unclear status of Syrians in Turkey. According to this draft, Syrians' status is switched from guest to under temporary protection. Then they can access to free healthcare, school, work permit (Gümüş & Eroğlu, 2015, pp. 475-476).

The integration process of Syrians was/is tired to be solved by the Turkish government, UN, national and international organizations, NGOs, and especially Red Crescent. Management of this huge migration flux to Turkey from Syria is important for Turkey and their integration process is vital for both the securitization of migration and peaceful settlement of the dispute. All over the world, migrants and refugees face some problems as racial discrimination, labor exploitation, lack of political participation, language barriers, problems arising from cultural, religious differences or gender inequalities, failure to benefit from basic services such as education and health, and so on. These kinds of problems impede the integration of migrants/refugees into the country of migration.

Syrian immigrants adapt to life in a way they had to in Turkey. The integration process is an essential issue for both immigrants and the Turkish government and citizens. There are of course different areas for this integration: social and daily life, education, health, labor market, etc. In this research, the integration of Syrians into the labor market in Turkey is focused area.

As Stephen Castel et al. discussed in a research report on the integration of migration into English society asserts that there is no consensus on what integration and it changes country to country, over time, different perspectives and interests on this issue. They argue that possibilities and conditions behind the integration of migrants (Castles, Korac, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2002, p. 112) Another topic about integration which was discussed by writers of this research are actors who must be part of the process. In their

research they claimed a wide range of actor as public officials, political decision-makers, employers, trade union officials, fellow-workers, service providers, neighbors, and so on and the immigrant is also playing a vital role in the integration process because integration is a two-way process: newcomers and host country (Castles, Korac, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2002, p. 113).

Regarding the integration process of Syrian refugees into Turkish society, there are so many actors and projects that tries to manage Syrian migration to Turkey and their harmonizing within it. Gümüş and Eroğlu (2015), who are scholars have a study on the Syrian integration process, are examined the integration process under different topics such as education, health, labor market, economy, and social prestige and they discussed the JDP (Justice and Development Party – *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*)’s attitudes towards to Assad regime and sectarian-based problems that have arisen from a kind of oppositional position and assert that Turkey has no appropriate policy for Syrians’ integration.

Moreover, İçduygu stressed Syrian refugees’ impact on economic issues as barriers in front of the integration. Employment rates, wages levels, rent and housing costs, economic competition, are some of the affected matters in the integration process (İçduygu, 2015, pp. 10-11).

Syrian workers even died because there is no work safety in workplaces (haberler.com, 2017). 5 Syrian workers died in a furniture factory in Siteler because of the lack of work safety and precarious working conditions (Bulut B. , 2019). A research which was carried out by researchers from Istanbul University reveals the problems of Syrian with a survey made with 603 workers. According to that research, there is a wage gap between Turkish and Syrian workers and Syrian men worker earn less than Turkish women workers and 99.6 % of them work without life insurance (Mutlu, et al., 2018). In addition, Turkish workers think that they cannot find a job because of Syrians and it increase in conflict between two groups and the research reveals that wages are decreased because there is supply surplus because of Syrian workers who tried to enter into the Turkish labor market (Mutlu, et al., 2018).

İçduygu and Diker also stated that only %1 of the working Syrians have been granted with work permit since 2011 (2017, p. 22). In addition to that, in a sense of

informal market according to writers, Turkish employers prefer Syrian workers because they accept lower wages and work without social insurance (İçduygu & Diker, 2017, p. 23).

It can be said that Syrian workers faced so many problems in the labor market. The most important of them can be listed as low and unequal wages, employment in the informal market, and without work permits, and life insurance. All these problems do not prevent them from being dismissed because their lives depend on them.

It is clear from these symptoms, Syrians like all immigrants in the world have to work in precarious working conditions. Unlike Turkish workers, the precarious conditions of Syrian migrants are also more severe, as they are less likely to apply to court and face more difficulty in the legal process from language barrier to lack of written contract.

The inclusion of Syrian workers in the Turkish labor market brings with it some disadvantages for Turkish workers. The already high labor supply has increased with the inclusion of Syrian workers. According to the simplest economic rule, as the supply of something increases, its price decreases. In other words, with the arrival of Syrian workers, the wages of Turkish workers have moved downwards. A similar situation is valid in working conditions. Perhaps the acceptance of dangerous and unsafe working conditions by Syrians than Turkish workers will not accept has a negative impact on the Turkish labor market in a sense of working safety.

As can be seen, there are many groups and professions that experience precariousness in Turkey. Works that often seem to be secure have also become precarious over time. For example, white-collar jobs are mostly considered to be secure, but today, factors such as low wages, uncertainty in working hours and long working hours have made people working in jobs described as white-collar precarious. Contract teachers and health workers are included in this group, but are considered separately due to the visibility of their subjects and the large number of these people. On the other hand, blue-collar jobs with a classical union, fixed salary and working order have become precarious day by day. Immigrants are forced to work without security in Turkey as well as in the rest of the world. Therefore, many groups have to experience precariousness and work in precarious jobs.

CHAPTER 5 NARRATIVES FROM THE FIELD WORK: AN EXPERIENCE OF PRECARIOUSNESS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CITY, ULUS WORKER BAZAAR

This chapter will begin by explaining the change and transformation that Ankara has undergone during its urbanization process. Architecture, which has vital importance in this transformation, has revived the construction sector in Ankara. The fact that Ankara is a socio-economically developed city, has more education and job opportunities compared to other nearby cities and is a destination for migration because it is the capital has brought about the formation of labor markets in Ankara. After explaining this process, the results of the field research conducted in the Ulus Labor Market will be analyzed. This analysis includes the demographic characteristics of the workers, their employment status, working conditions, the difficulties they encounter in working life, and life satisfaction. The unique precarious situation of the Ulus Labor Market will be revealed as a result of these analyzes. In the last part of this chapter, precarious migrant-refugee workers working in the Turkish Labor Market and their impact on labor markets will be discussed.

5.1 HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF ULUS WORKER BAZAAR

Before the establishment of today's modern Turkey, Ankara was a small rural and agricultural settlement in the middle of the Anatolian highlands. The development and modernization steps brought about by being capital in 1923 made Ankara a center of attraction for citizens who are living in neighboring rural provinces. Having received immigration for decades, Ankara still continues to receive immigrants from all over Turkey today (Ankara Kalkınma Ajansı, 2014).

The development of educational and cultural opportunities, the presence of industrial zones, diversity of economic activities, human capital and high employment

opportunities can be listed as the main factors in Ankara being an attractive center (Ankara Kalkınma Ajansı, 2014, pp. 15-16). The spatial distribution differences of socio-economic opportunities are the main reason for migration in Turkey (Başel, 2007, p. 520). In Turkey, this distinction is most clearly seen in the difference between rural and urban settlements. The most important reasons for cities to receive immigration are that their employment and education opportunities are more developed quantitatively and qualitatively (Başel, 2007, p. 521).

Rural-to-urban migration also has factors related to the transformation village life and economic productions. Mechanization in agriculture and the distribution and shrinkage of lands by inheritance caused many people involved in agricultural employment to become unemployed (Başel, 2007, p. 522). For this reason, many people who make their living from agriculture migrated to cities to make a living. In addition, due to this migration from rural to urban areas, a relatively unqualified labor force accumulates in the cities and this leads to problems such as integration and lack of urban consciousness and sense of belonging to the city (Yalçın, 2017, p. 90). All these integration problems and the lack of a sufficient sense of belonging cause the workers to stay in an grey area between the village and the city, and their life in the city begins with precariousness.

The establishment of a modern country brought along the necessity of establishing a modern capital. Ankara has been imagined as a tabula rasa and has become one of the most important indicators of nation-stateization (Batuman, 2012, p. 578). Another important aspect of Ankara is that being the capital city of the republic of Turkey, it is one of the most important indicators of the top-down urbanization vision during the newly founded republic (İçduygu, 2012, p. 334). With being the capital city, the economy of the city has also developed and many sectors, especially the construction sector, have revived in parallel with this economic development (Özgür, 1995, p. 64). Moreover, especially in the 1950s, when the center of the city moved from Ulus to Kızılay, and Ankara has undergone an important transformation (Batuman, 2012, p. 580).

The fact that Ankara is the capital and the need for its development and reconstruction, which came with the above developments in the 1950s and 60s, attracted the construction sector workers who built the city. Those who make up the workforce in

this sector mainly are workers who have become unemployed as a result of mechanization in agriculture and have started to migrate to the city. Urbanization causes problems such as poverty, unemployment, homelessness and informal economy in the city if the infrastructure problems are not resolved (İçduygu, 2012, p. 334).

The migration of these workers to Ankara and starting to work in the construction sector has emerged many labor markets. These workers' markets, which are the main sign of the informal work, have been established in many districts of the city: Altındağ, Keçiören, Gölbaşı, Mamak, etc. Some of them are still functional today, but some have disappeared over time.

There are also labor markets in and around Ulus, which has become the old center of Ankara today. The most known and active ones are Ulus and Dışkapı Workers' Bazaars nowadays. The social structure of the Ulus, where the Labor Market, which is the subject of this thesis, is located, includes many different cultures and lifestyles. While there are night entertainment centers in one street, there are also Mevlevi lodges and offices of the various congregations/communities, sects, and associations in the upper street. The findings that Ulus Workers' Bazaar existed in 1960 were found in the childhood memories of Hasan Akyar. He stated in 1960 that the most crowded labor markets in Ankara were in Ulus and described that the workers were waiting for work here (Akyar, n.d.). This is in line with the migration to Ankara described above and the development of the city.

Another finding regarding the history of the Ulus Workers Bazaar is a small section taken by TRT, Turkey's public broadcaster, in 1977 (TRT, 1977). In this video, which is accessible on the TRT Archive website, the position of the labor market was described and interviews were made with workers. It is understood from the interviews that the workers came from the country to find a job. Many of them mentioned on unemployment and precarious conditions of jobs and complain about it (TRT, 1977).



Figure 3: When workers wait for work in the Ulus Labor Bazaar - 1977 TRT documentary

(TRT, 1977, Ankara'da İşçi Pazarı, Retrieved January 18, 2020, from TRT Arşiv)



Figure 4: Workers of Ulus Labor Bazaar - 1977 TRT documentary

(TRT, 1977, Ankara'da İşçi Pazarı, Retrieved January 18, 2020, from TRT Arşiv)

One of the main problems of workers is the uncertainty of jobs and employment and the resulting precariousness. Workers who do not know when to find a job and come

to the bazaar every day hoping that they will find a job. But they are also aware that they cannot find jobs regularly every day.

For example, a worker stated with

Is there work every day? We go to work for a day, we cannot go for two days. We go to work for two days and cannot go for three days.

Evidently a regular full-time job is unusual for them.

Another worker, on the other hand, stated with the following statement that he was suffering from financial difficulties due to precarious work and that his future is uncertain.

As you know, we are working here as hodman. If we find a job for one day, we cannot find 3-4 days. We can only support ourselves with it. This is the situation, let's see what happens.

They state that they have difficulties in finding a job and that they are mostly unemployed as follows:

We come here every day and 1% of us barely find work.

Is there a job in the country?

Yesterday I came from my hometown. I am unemployed yesterday and today.



Figure 5: One of the Ulus Labor Bazaar workers – 1977 TRT documentary (TRT, 1977, Ankara'da İşçi Pazarı, Retrieved January 18, 2020, from TRT Arşiv)

It is understood from the following speech of a worker that the labor market is literally a "market" in which the workers' bodies in a shop window:

They do not employ old men who are a bit older. They don't want a very slight either. They recruit people who have a strong body.

Unemployment and precarious working hours affect workers' lives as a whole. It is inferred a worker's answers to the question of TRT reporter as "How many years have you been working in labor markets?"

It was 3-4 years ago. I went out at a young age and came here, foreign land. I was 13 years old and leave home. I started to work. We cannot find a job, we cannot work. There is also a marriage. All the family wants bread. I also have a father. What are you going to do? What will our situation be like?

It is stated in the following parts of this thesis that this state of precariousness, which is evident to be effective in from finding a job and working to maintaining daily life and marriage, continues similarly today.



Figure 6: One of the Ulus Labor Bazaar workers – 1977 TRT documentary (TRT, 1977, Ankara'da İşçi Pazarı, Retrieved January 18, 2020, from TRT Arşiv)

Ulus Worker Bazaar is located on the same street as in 1977, next to the Social Sciences University of Ankara and on the narrow street where the entrance door of Hacı Bayram Veli Mosque. The researcher took her graduate courses at this university and since the labor market is located on the route the researcher goes to school every day, the researcher has benefited from the opportunity to make long-term observations and occasional interactions.

The street was built on a bi-directional road through which only two cars will pass at the same time. In order to separate the lanes from each other, stones were placed in the middle that cut the road along the way. Workers usually sit on these stones or stand on

the sidewalk while they are waiting for a job. There is no structure such as waiting under which workers can wait in case of any snow or rainfall.

There is a coffeehouse near the area where the workers are waiting. The announcement takes place as “There is plasterer and painter” at the entrance of the coffeehouse. Workers are sometimes waiting for work here as well. Coffeehouses are also important in terms of socializing and connecting way for workers. Workers are able to meet other workers here and left a means of contact for possible jobs, such as a phone number to the owner of the coffeehouse. Employers or intermediaries can also use the coffeehouse to find workers. Workers who are suitable for the job can be found easily in the coffeehouse.

The workers start to gather from 6 a.m. to wait for a job in the Ulus worker bazaar. This observation was confirmed by the workers' own statements during interviews. The street is crowded early hours in the morning. Although it is difficult to give an exact number, it can be said that 100-150 people are waiting for work in summer. However, at noon, this crowd starts to decrease when those who find a job go to work and those who cannot find work return to their homes or leave the area. Around 11:00 a.m., 20-30 workers stay in the market. Until about 3:00 p.m., the workers continue to wait with a decrease.

The observation for this study was made in 2020 and 2021 and based on the observation results it can be said that there is no queue for workers to come to the market and go to work. In other words, workers do not line up according to the time they come to the market. In connection with this, there is no such thing as the first person to go to work first. During the non-participant observations, a fight among the workers is not observed.

5.2. WORK AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN ULUS WORKER BAZAAR

5.2.1. Worker Profiles

Like Ulus itself, the social structure of the Ulus Worker Bazaar is quite cosmopolitan too. Some people define themselves with many titles such as young or old, Turkish, Kurdish, Sunni, Alevi, nationalist, Muslim, patriot etc. among the workers who come early every morning and wait for work in the bazaar.

As stated before, it was estimated that the average age of the workers was high during the observation. The average age of the workers interviewed is determined as 55. Classification of the age range of labor force participation as 15-64 worldwide is an indicator of how close the average age of the workers in Ulus Bazaar is to the upper limit. The youngest one of the workers who participated in the interview is 40 years old, and the oldest one is 70 years old. This situation shows that many workers who would retire if they worked in a job with social security are actively looking for a job in the Ulus Labor Market. In addition, as can be deduced from the interview results, currently retired workers are also looking for jobs in the bazaar. These workers stated that they continued to work because their pensions were not sufficient for their survival.

The education level of the workers also varies. The education level of the workers varied from not going to school to high school. At the beginning of the interview, when they were told that this study is a master dissertation and that some questions would be asked to them, some of the workers said that "I am only a primary school graduate, what can I know. I cannot answer your questions, I do not have much information." Indicating the educational status in this way before starting the interview shows that workers give importance to education. As will be explained in detail later, some workers explained the reason for their migration to Ankara as the education for their children. These are indications that education is considered very important by workers. Some workers want their children to get better jobs by getting university education. This situation has an impact on their self-confidence and life motivation as well. Some of the workers gave answers to political questions such as "I don't know much about these topics, my capacity is limited" and "You know better" because they were not educated. These reveal that workers feel incapable because they do not have a higher level of education and that they see themselves as inadequate for this reason. As the level of education increased, an

increase was observed in the capacity of workers to express themselves and to comment on political issues generally. Among the workers, most of whom are primary school graduates, there are 3 high school graduates. These workers can convey their views to the researcher more easily and better, and make their political analyzes with a more critical perspective, no matter which party they vote for.

Being educated is not among the criteria sought in finding a job. For an employer, there is no distinction between the employee's primary and high school graduation. It can be seen in the interviews, answers given to the question of who gets a job more easily in this market. Workers' experience, ages, professional skills and abilities are distinctive, while training is not.

Most of the workers interviewed have completed primary school education. The workers stated that after they graduated from primary school, they started to look for and/or work in their hometown or in Ankara. There is a tendency for less skilled workers to easily switch to poor working conditions and informal employment in Turkey (Taymaz, 2012, p. 371). This situation explains one factor of the precarious work of workers in Ulus Worker Bazaar as well. The table below is showing the education status of the workers:

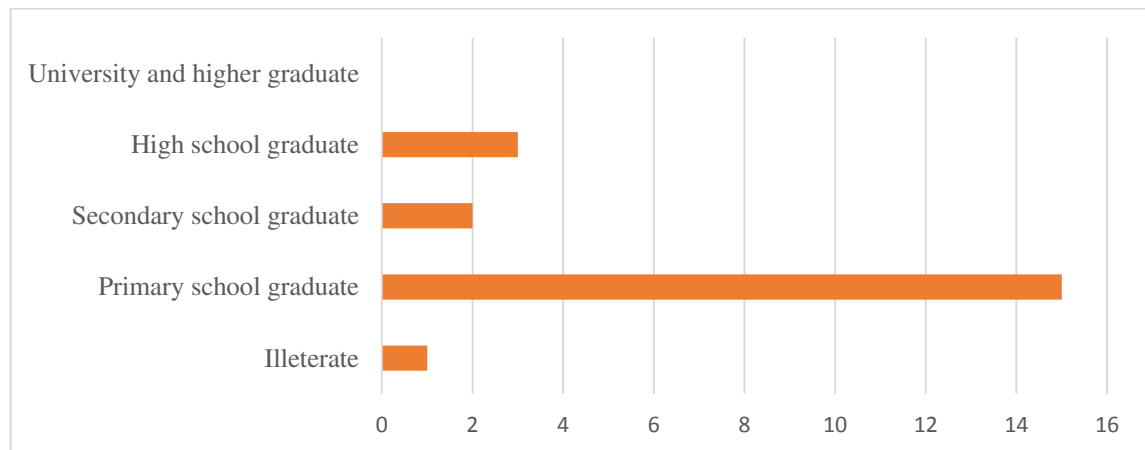


Figure 7: Participant workers' education levels

Most of the workers interviewed have immigrated to Ankara for different times. Workers who migrated to Ankara from provinces such as Çorum, Sivas, Amasya, Yozgat confirm the migration structure of Ankara and the demographic characteristics of Turkey

in the formation process of the Ulus Worker Bazaar. The hometown of the workers is shown in the scheme below.

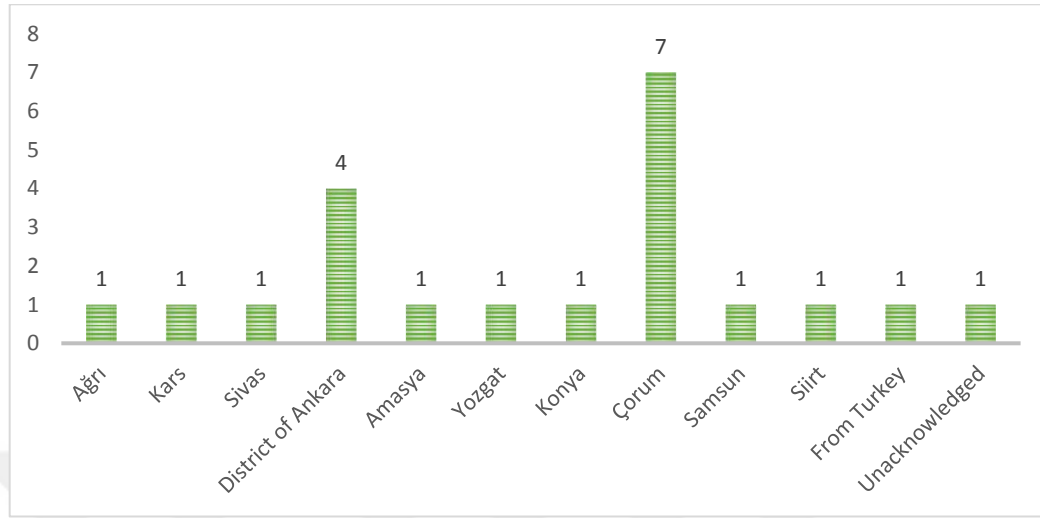


Figure 8: The city where the workers (if any) migrate

As explained in the previous sections, the 1960s and 1970s, when the Worker Bazaar began to emerge, were the years when Ankara received intense immigration from the Central Anatolia Provinces (Özgür, 1995, pp. 69-75). This migration from the rural to urban was due to the migration of people who were unemployed after mechanization in agriculture to big cities for employment, as was mentioned in previous sections. This situation contrasts with the current literature on the emergence of precariousness in the West and Turkey. As it can be seen, in many studies that constitute the literature review of this research, the reason for the emergence of precariousness and precarious working conditions was explained with the transition from the Fordist production model to the post-Fordist production model, the increase in the use of information technologies in the industrial sector and the shift of the workforce to the service sector mostly.

Unemployment and precariousness that emerged after the developments in the agricultural sector is an issue that is not covered much in the relevant social sciences literature. This situation, which reveals another specific aspect of this research, shows that the literature on precariousness is incomplete and needs to be questioned at all and the researcher's objective is to contribute a unique study with a new perspective.

A few of the workers said that they are now or previously staying in places they called single houses in Ankara. These workers, whose families are from other provinces,

live in Ankara with a few housemates by renting a house. Workers thus continue their lives in the city by sharing expenses such as rent, bills and meals. With the money they earn from the jobs they find in the market, workers in this situation either save or send their earnings to their families in their hometown. For workers who state that they cannot move to Ankara with their families due to the high cost of living in the city, for instance, housing is a problem in itself for them. This is another added aspect of the precariousness faced by workers.

Another question asked to workers is related to reasons for immigration to Ankara. Some of the workers were able easily talked about why they immigrated to Ankara and the process of immigration, some of them have had a hesitation when it comes to the question of the reason for the migration. The likely reason for this hesitation may be a lack of sense of belonging to the city. In other words, workers may have thought that because of this question the researcher was questioning why the workers live in the city. But it must be remembered that this is just a prediction. As a result, almost half of the interviewed workers (9 workers) did not answer the migration question. Some workers explained the immigration to Ankara with more than one reason. Workers explained their reasons for migration with the characteristics and situations of the village or the city.

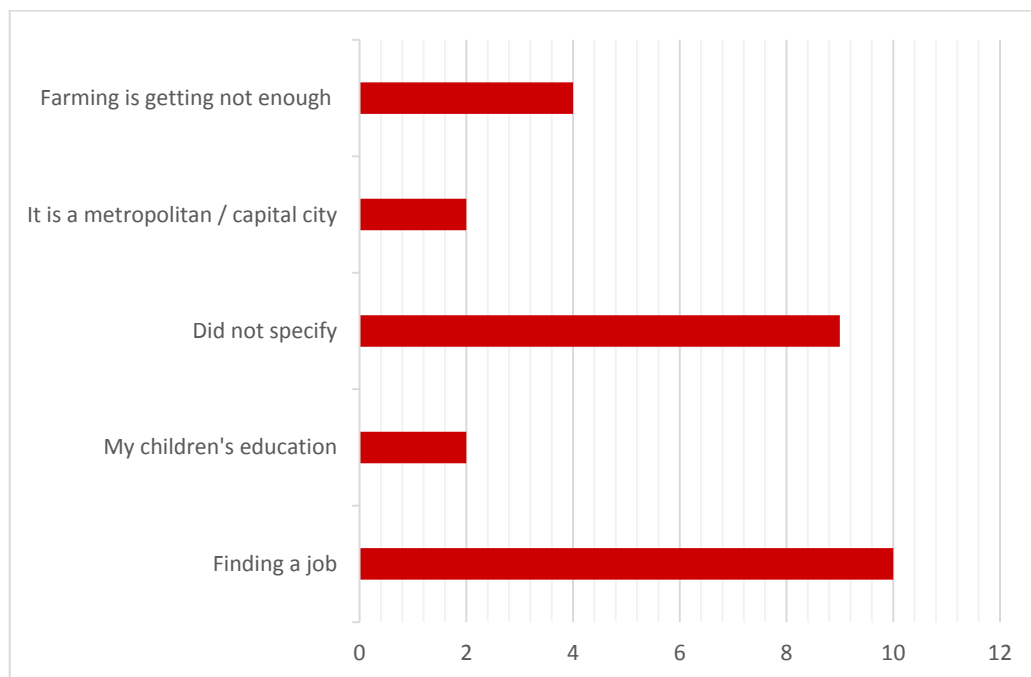


Figure 9: Reason(s) behind migration to Ankara

Explanations made about the village focus on the problem of living difficulties. Ahmet (43, Haymana – Ankara’s district) and İbrahim (65, Ankara) made the following evaluations regarding the reason for migration, respectively:

I have been living in Ankara for 8 years. I used to live in the village. I worked as a farmer and stock farmer for a while. When I realized that I could not carry out these works, I came to the city center of Ankara. I started to wait for work here.

I have been living in Ankara for a long time. When the income in the village was not sufficient, I came here to make money.

This situation points to the income-oriented part of the problem for the city and the countryside. While the workers were talking about the order in the village and their insufficient income, they explained the reason for their migration to the city by earning money. In other words, the workers state that they migrated not because they are not satisfied with the farming and livestock they do in their villages, but because these jobs are not enough to earn their living.

In addition to this situation, there are also workers who migrated to Ankara for city-related reasons. Some workers explained their reasons for migration to the city as follows:

I have been living in Ankara for 16 years. I used to be a farmer before. I came to Ankara for children so that they can access sound education and find a job (Murat, 59, Çorum).

I have been living in Ankara for 35 years. I used to live in Çorum before. I came here to overcome the living difficulties. In some, I came here to find a job (Ayhan, 57, Çorum).

Some workers answered the question by mentioning the characteristics of both the village and the city. Fatih (50, Amasya) immigrated to Ankara due to the fact that job and education opportunities are higher in cities compared to the village and explained this situation as follows.

I have been living in Ankara for 23 years. I came here because there are more job opportunities in Ankara. I also moved here for my children to

get educated. There was no school in the village. Education is bad in there. In contrast, the educational possibilities are much and better here.

Kemal (52, Yozgat) similarly explained the reason for migration with his assessment of the city and the village:

I have been living in Ankara for 20-25 years. We couldn't feed ourselves in the village anymore. There is no job, the income from farming is insufficient. We came by saying let's come to a metropolitan city.

When the data on migration is evaluated, it is revealed that all of the workers have a migration background from rural to urban. The reasons for this migration were determined as insufficient income in rural areas, more and better jobs can be found in Ankara, children getting a better education and finding a job, and Ankara being a metropolitan city.

Workers stated that there are labor markets in Ankara, except Ulus. Other markets are known as Dışkapı, Siteler, Gölbaşı and Keçiören are places where workers are waiting for jobs with a similar structure. A great majority of the workers said that they are only looking for a job in Ulus labor market. Although rare, there are workers waiting for work in other markets.

Workers were asked what job they did or what they earned for their livelihood before the construction work. Farming, stock farming, bagel seller, shepherding, street vendor, shop assistant, trade, and shipping are the professions that workers count on when stating their previous jobs. Since these jobs do not require any specific education, status or qualification most of the workers tend to work in these occupations.

5.2.2 Uncertainty in employment and seasonal effects

When asked about the average income of the interviewed workers, all of them, without exception, stated that they did not have a constant or stable income. Monthly or annual income varies accordingly finding a job, negotiating wages between the employer and the employee, being able to get the wages (in full), and seasonal conditions.

The fact that workers do not have a certain income is an important problem that disrupts the balance between work and life. Murat (59, Çorum) expressed this situation as follows:

... I come here and I am always waiting in this bazaar. I come every day. I am waiting until 11:00-12:00 a.m. When I am concerned that there is no work, I go home. I have to. It is difficult not to have a certain income. Besides that, earning is not enough for living.

In most cases, workers' wages are determined on daily basis. The workers generally stated that this wage varies between 200-250 Turkish Liras in 2021. In this year the minimum wage in Turkey is around 2.800 Turkish Liras. Erol (62, Çorum) explained the process of determining the wage and finding a job as follows:

The employer is coming now for example. He is approaching with his car. He is sitting in his car or getting out of his car. He says I need a worker and tells what the job is and his expectations. Then he asks, "How much do you want?" For example, I say I want 250 TL for this work. I usually do not go for a lower price. But if I am unemployed for a long time and if there are no other options, I also go for 200 TL. Then he agrees on a wage with the worker. He is taking the worker with his car.

Not being paid or receiving less is a situation that almost all workers encounter at least once in this bazaar. 19 out of the 21 workers interviewed stated that there were situations where they could not get their wages after finishing their work or they received it less than the contracted amount.

Rıza (47, Kars) noted the following regarding this problem:

I come here every day of the week. For example, the man comes and takes us to work. We agree on the wage before going to work, but it does not pay in the evening. You are looking, the man has disappeared. We cannot get the money in advance, nor do we get half. There was no fraud before. They were giving advance and we were taking our money. Subcontractors are not giving money now. The owner gives money, but the subcontractors run away and do not give our fees.

Another example is Yakup (58, Çorum), who said that many employers or intermediaries owe him a debt:

... I come here every day and wait for work. Some of them employ us and don't pay after the work. I have 11 thousand TL to get from the people around me, but some of them do not give me money. This is one of the main challenges I encounter frequently. ...

All of the workers interviewed stated that it is not clear how long the works in the market will take. Workers have noted that jobs can last for a few days, weeks or months, and even annually. Some workers stated that the jobs available in this market are mostly short-term jobs.

Some of the workers described one of the factors determining the length of works as employers. Ömer (61, Siirt) described this situation as follows:

Work duration is completely uncertain for us. If there is a long-running job if your employer has other constructions and loves you, if he likes your job I mean, he will employ you again. Otherwise, it does not exist.

Ebubekir (70, Çorum) explained it similarly:

The duration of work is not clear. Sometimes a day, sometimes 3-4 days, sometimes a week. So, it is not clear. It depends on the job, depending on whether the employer likes your way of doing the job.

Another factor of the duration of employment in construction is the duration of the work itself. Workers have stated that some works do not take a long time, for example, minor repairs or renovation. In contrast, some jobs take longer like jobs that require the building/rebuilding of a construction. Kemal (52, Yozgat) explained this situation as follows:

The duration of work is not clear. It could be a day, a week, a month. It depends on the length of the job.

Based on this, the duration of the jobs in the labor market can be explained by two factors: the length of the jobs related to the nature or type of the work and the satisfaction of the employer. However, the second factor sometimes affects the length of work. In

other words, the satisfaction of the employer and the continued employment of the worker affect the length of the job for that worker.

Moreover, the number of workers waiting in the Ulus Worker Bazaar increases or decreases according to the season. The sectoral conformation and some structural features of the construction sector are effective in this. Due to seasonal conditions, the construction sector is interrupted in rainy and snowy weather. For this reason, an increase occurs in the sector in the spring and summer seasons and workers can find jobs more easily in the market. This situation brings along seasonal changes in the labor supply as well. People are called expatriate / seasonal workers who come from their hometown in the spring and summer and spend these seasons working in construction in Ankara and return to their hometown at the end of the summer. This situation was also detected in the observations made for this research. While the labor market is more crowded in spring and summer, fewer workers are waiting in the market especially in winter.

In the interviews with the workers, it is understood that these workers who come to the market in summer usually come from the eastern and southeastern parts of Turkey. These workers, who live with their families in the eastern provinces, deal with farming and stock farming in the winter season and come to Ankara temporarily in the summer. These workers also live in the single houses, which are rented by a few workers for accommodation in Ankara. This situation increases the labor supply in the market in summer season as was mentioned before. However, due to the high demand for construction labor during the summer months, supply and demand are in the equilibrium at roughly the same wage.

5.2.3. Working conditions, social security/insecurity, and collectiveness in the bazaar

Informality, flexibility and low female labor force participation are the characteristics of the Turkish labor market at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Taymaz, 2012, p. 368). Precarious working conditions, flexibility, and informality have become the structural features and problems of the Turkish labor market in twenty-first century. These features of the Turkish labor market also affect those working in the construction sector.

In this context, it has been determined that workers in the Ulus Labor Market are also suffering from these problems. They have mentioned common problems during the interviews: the uncertainty of working hours and working conditions, Syrians' involvement in the labor market, being unemployed due to the Syrians' cheap employment, financial difficulties due to uncertain and insufficient working situation, not being able to receive wages or missing wages, lack of social security and work safety, and stagnation in the construction sector due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

These workers have to work with another employer every day in general. These employers are usually individuals, not a firm or something like institutional formation, and hence workers deal with a lot of informality. Workers stated that they rarely work in subcontracting companies. The change of employer with each new job brings many difficulties.

The first of these difficulties is related to the wage or fee. When going to a new job every day, workers have to make a new agreement on the amount of the wages on their labor. This agreement is often a verbal agreement in the marketplace. Usually, workers do not know the employer. As it was stated in the previous sections that they could not receive their wages or received less than the agreed amount due to the verbal agreement.

We are trying to claim our rights. For example, we were taken to court last year. However, the employer was looking like a decent person 22 workers did not get their wages. We could not get our money. Employers are fraudulent nowadays. He said that I was bankrupted and has not given our fees. We could not get our 220.000 TL. The legal process continues. He also slanders the workers. Let's see we are waiting for the result (Mustafa, 40, Konya).

As I said, it happened that I could not get my pay. I also applied to the court, but there was no result. After all, the man is taking you from here. There is neither contract nor anything. Then he pretends like he doesn't know you at all. Something like no one is giving money from the beginning of the work anyway. You are going with a trowel and a shovel. The man doesn't trust you either. He does not give the money

until the job is done too. Some of them do not give it at the end of the job. It depends on employers (Fatih, 50, Amasya).

The employer, who comes to the field to find a worker for a job, first communicates verbally with the worker he/she selected. The employer, who gives information about the work to be done, also tells the price he/she thinks for it. Wages varies according to time rather than the nature of the work to be performed or done. In other words, employers who come here hire workers on a daily basis. The fact that the contract between the employee and the employer is mostly verbal also constitutes an obstacle to the claims of the workers in case the workers cannot get their wages or receive it with missing. Therefore, precariousness emerges through the verbal contract as well. Workers may sometimes encounter problems as there is no written/material contract. Although this situation is also an indicator of trust or intimate relations in these labor sectors, it does not change the fact that workers have problems in this regard. Some of the workers stated that they applied to the court after this situation, but they did not get any results.

I went to court once. When I could not get any results in that, I stopped seeking my rights. Because how are you going to defend your rights against whom? The man employs you for few days. You don't know who he is. Where will you find him again and you will seek your rights (Ömer, 61, Siirt).

For example, I applied to a court to seek my right, once someone did not pay my fee. But the court and prosecution are taking a long time, you cannot seek your rights. For example, the man (the employer) says that I paid, what are you going to say in that situation (Fatih, 50, Amasya).

According to Taymaz (2012), the informal sector has four main aspects in Turkey: it is widespread, it is more common among less educated people and young people and in small firms, and it is observed in the construction, manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and hotel and restaurant sector. Hence, this indicates that having social security safety is an issue for precarious workers. The constant change of the employer and the short working durations cause the workers to lead a life without social security. Close to

half of the workers interviewed stated that they do not have regular social insurance. Workers are employed without social security for reasons such as the employers are most likely individual or subcontractors, the work is done in short and irregular periods, and the employer wants to reduce the costs. 28% of the workers said that they pay their own social insurance themselves. When asked how this can possible, they stated that it is the farming type of social security or individual social security payments. The main motivation behind social security is to have a basic income with a pension and to be able to benefit from health services.

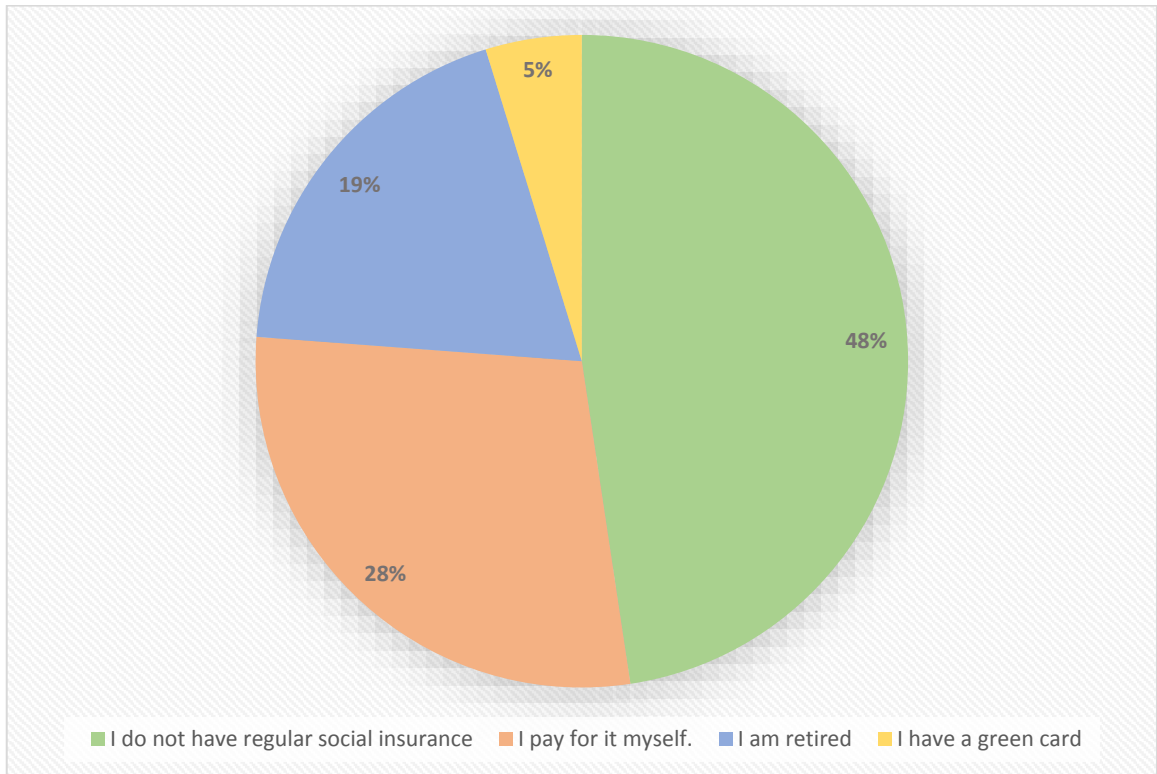


Figure 10: The social insurance of the participants

Yeşil Kart (Green card) is a type of social security that benefits people who are not affiliated with any social security institution in Turkey and who are determined to have a low or no income as a result of some certain determined criteria. Among the workers interviewed, there is a worker with social insurance linked to the *Yeşil Kart*.

19% of the interviewed workers are retired and stated that they continue to work because their pension is not enough to earn their living. The fact that retired citizens continue to look for work in the market has been criticized by some other workers. Kadir (43, Çorum) also mentioned this issue while talking about the policies of the JDP:

I am angry with two policies of the JDP. Retired citizens should withdraw from employment. They have a lot of money but still work, it creates inequality in the society.

A significant part of the workers does not have any social security or they pay their social security. This is an indication that workers are working without any social security in their jobs. This situation, on the other hand, is one of the indicators of the insecurity of workers, as explained in detail in the previous parts of this research.

The third problem of workers is related to work safety. Workers mostly stated that work safety is not provided or there is no legal protection in this regard. There is a distinction between the public and private sectors regarding work safety. Referring to this distinction, workers stated that while work safety is provided in the public sector, it is generally not provided in the private sector. Indicating that the work safety changes in the private sector according to the institutional structure of the company, the workers stated that the work safety is not paid attention to during the work in the subcontractor companies. While subcontracting increases production in the construction sector, it makes work safety insignificant and this leads to more work accidents (Çınar, 2015, p. 80).

The answers of the workers regarding work safety are given in detail in the graphic below.

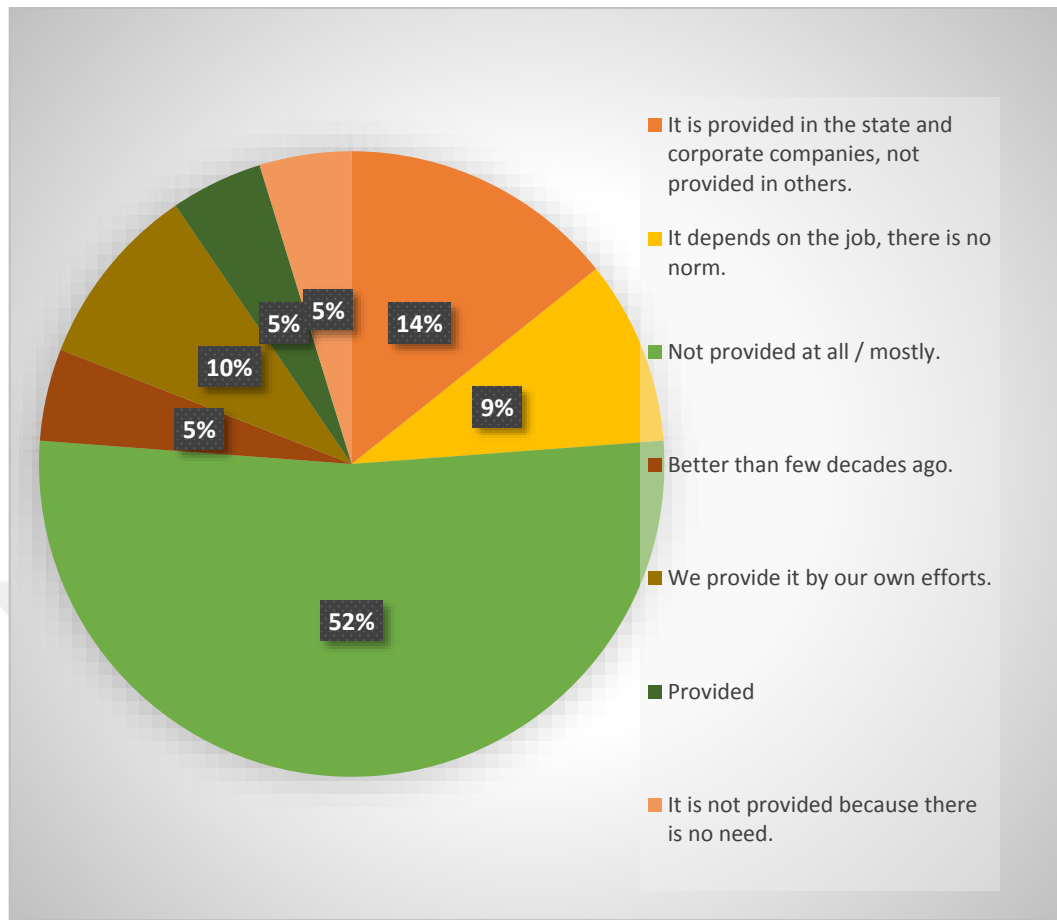


Figure 11: Interviewees' comments on work safety

Some of the comments of workers who participated in the interviews about work safety are as follows:

Work safety is not provided, our lives are entrusted to Allah. Employers only think about their own pockets. Nobody cares about the conditions of the worker (Mustafa, 40, Konya).

Work safety is not provided. There is no such thing. If you die in the corner, nobody cares, nobody cares indeed (Hasan, 52, Sivas).

From these interviewee testimonies, inferences can be made about the relationship between the employer and the employee and the views of the workers on this situation. Workers do not thank employers for hiring or see work as a blessing. In classical factory labor, the emergence and blessing of the factory owner/employer as a father figure does not exist in the Ulus Worker Bazaar. In addition, it can be said that employers only think of their interests and risk the lives of workers for the sake of this interest. Workers react

to this situation. During the interviews, the voices of the workers were raised during the answers given to this question and it was observed that they complained about this situation.

Workers express their criticism of this situation, which is the negligence of employers. There have been workers who stated that employers use rotten wood to avoid costs, let alone work safety. The customary fatherly worker-employer relationship between the factory worker and the factory owner and the image of the benevolent factory owner does not find a response in the Ulus Labor Market case. Employees criticize this work order and the situation that employers who do not consider their own work safety.

Workers state that they are seen as unimportant and therefore their work safety is not provided. This is again related to the second-class citizen issue that is frequently mentioned in the interviews. Workers are aware of this situation and claim that they are seen as worthless and therefore work at the cost of their lives but still have to work under these conditions.

Some workers say that they have a friend/acquaintance who died and/or was injured due to the lack of work safety. One of the workers who participated in the interviews stated that he had an occupational accident and there are no occupational safety measures were taken with the following words:

We have no work safety; it is not provided at all. For example, I had a work accident. I fell from the 5th floor, there was no seat belt or anything. There was no steel helmet. (Yakup, 58, Çorum)

Failure to ensure work safety or only provided by public sector and corporate employers is a situation that increases the risk of workers having an occupational accident. Although more than half of the workers interviewed did not have an occupational accident, 43% of them answer the question like I had a work accident or I know someone who had it; they work under precarious and dangerous conditions.

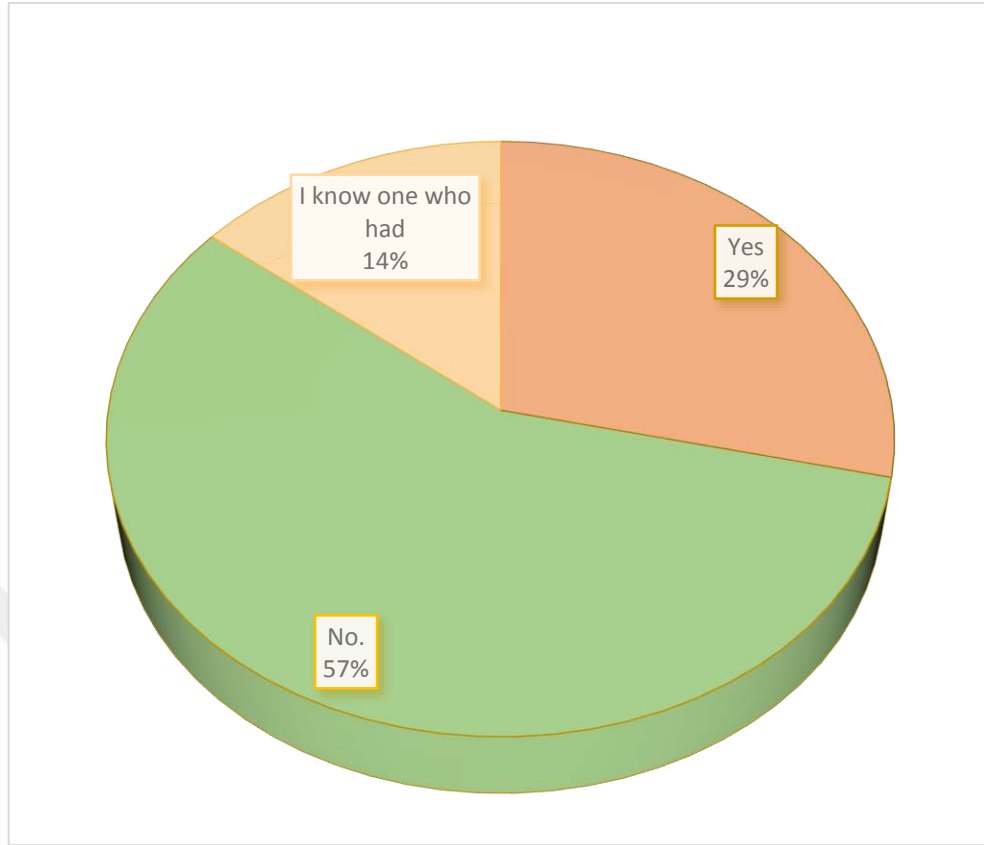


Figure 12: Participants' responses to the question of “Have you ever had a work-related accident?”

Workers gave short and clear answers to the question “Are you a member of any labor union? All of the workers stated that they are not members of a labor union. Rıza (47, Kars) stated that there is no labor union because they do not have regular social insurance, although there are not many workers who commented on this issue.

Celal (49, Çorum) stated that there is no labor union organization and collective movement among the workers here because they do not know each other. İshak (52, Ağrı) stated that he is not a member of any union because he is a Muslim. The reference to religion as the counterpart of the union may be due to the fact that the union organization was under the monopoly of the Turkish left during the 1960s and 1970s; workers associated unionization with leftist and radical groups which for them is incompatible with Islam in their view.

Murat (59, Çorum) stated that if there were a union, some things could be easier for workers as follows:

You cannot seek your rights in this environment. You can't deal with the courts. Employers say I will give this money but then he gave the less than it, how will you seek your rights. There is no collective action either.

The main obstacles to unionization are the absence of a single and institutional employer to defend the rights, the fact that the union is not seen as suitable for Islam, the lack of social security of workers, and the lack of common interests among workers. It is very important at this point that the workers do not have common interests. Because some workers can easily find a job, they see no harm in continuing this situation and some workers mentioned that a union is not necessary. All these are indicators of the lack of union consciousness among workers.

As stated before, the absence of a specific employer, uncertain and generally short job durations are the main factors in ensuring wage, social security and job security. The lack of control over the subcontractor companies or the individual nature of the employers show a characteristic that lowers the working conditions and living standards of the workers in the bazaar. The constant change of employer causes uncertainty and discontinuity in wages. Although the wages of the workers are not fixed, the wage is determined on a daily basis and with a verbal contract between the employee and the employer. Most employers in the Ulus Labor Market are not institutional. This situation brings along the fact that the duration and conditions of the work are not uncertain and that occupational safety is not provided. All of these reveal the peculiar characteristics of this group's precariousness.

5.2.4. Importance of workers' physical and social characteristics and work experiences

Workers' physical and social characteristics are important for getting jobs in the Ulus Worker Bazaar. As the workers stated in 1977, in a TRT short video (1977), being young and having a strong body in this market are the factors that make it easier to find a job.

This situation is still valid today. 14% of the workers interviewed in this research stated that young people can find more jobs and more easily in this market. There are also

workers who state that Syrian, Uzbek, and Afghan workers are preferred more in this market because they are young and cheap labor force. Ömer (61, Siirt) thinks that he can find fewer job because of his age. He stated this as follows:

Young people find jobs more easily. Employers don't employ old people like us very much. Because we are old now, we cannot do work like we did when we were young. We cannot lift any load anymore.

29% of the interviewed workers stated that the workers who know a lot of people, those who have a large circle of friends, find more jobs and easier than other workers; hence social connections determine finding a work. Employers' desire to work again with workers whom they had previously worked with and were satisfied with, coming from same town/kinship and being able to communicate easily with people are effective in the employment of the workers in the bazaar. These social dynamics shape and regulate these kinds of labor market.

Workers have different opinions about whether makes it easier to get work or not. Some say that it definitely makes it easy, while others say that coming from same town is not effective in finding a job. Some workers, on the other hand, are evaluated in terms of ethnic and religious identity. However, diverse views and answers were received on this issue as well. Ömer (61, Siirt) and Ahmet (43, Haymana) made the following comments, respectively, on the subject of coming from same town, although they were both workers who stated that they are Kurdish.

There is fellow-townmanship here, of course. Turks do not want to employ Kurdish and Kurds are likely to prefer Kurds as well. Once the employer caused a problem because I spoke Kurdish. I had to quit.

People who come here to hire workers to ask where are you from first. He wants to employ people from his hometown. Sometimes he is looking for it deeply. Therefore, there is a little bit of fellow-townmanship. But there is no such thing as if you are a Kurd, I do not want to employ or if you are a Turk, I do not prefer you. They do not discriminate like that.

There are also workers who say that townmanship was more in the first years of migration from the village to Ankara. Mustafa (40, Konya) explained this situation as follows:

There used to be more of a fellow-townmanship. People would know each other as they migrated to Ankara from the same place, and when a job occurred, they would employ each other. But now there is no fellow-townmanship as before. The important thing now is to do the job properly and well. But of course, now Syrians have taken our jobs. They find jobs easier. Without them, there would be no workers staying here at this time (around 11:00 a.m.). Everyone would have gone to work.

Rıza (47, Kars) similarly stated as follows:

There is no such thing that receiving jobs in relation to your hometown. When I first migrated to Ankara, there was a situation like this in this market. Everyone was employing the workers who are from their own hometown. But there are no such things now. For instance, I did not experience discrimination because I am Kurdish.

Some workers stated that being experienced/skilled or having a proper profession is effective in finding a job. İbrahim (65, Ankara) states that skilled workers are sought-after workers and they can find jobs more easily.

Those who have a profession can find easily a better job here. But unskilled workers cannot find a job because they are not needed. For example, a man comes with his car. He says that he needs a painter, plasterer, tile maker, and takes them away to work.

Erol (62, Çorum) states that those who practice a new profession and/or do their job well can find jobs more easily.

While the new art is just developing, for example, there is no master of that art. Since it does not exist, those masters find jobs easier because of this labor shortage. But there is no new art anymore. Things have

stalled due to the pandemic. Our job is difficult because we are over a certain age, we learned these through apprenticeships before. We cannot learn easily as our young ages. There is no new art now, we have to know the work. They all have mastery, there are no unskilled jobs. Even lifting the load has a logic, shape, and habit.

As it is understood from these passages, there are mastery, journeyman, and apprenticeship in construction work, as in many professions that require manual strength. Young workers gradually become masters by learning how to do the work from older masters. As mentioned before, there are also jobs that do not require any qualifications or professional qualifications and are considered laborers. Like mixing mortar and transporting materials. Therefore, being a master of a job or knowing its professional necessity is a situation that increases the chances of finding a job. Although this situation increases the earnings of the workers, it does not affect the precariousness.

The answers to who find jobs more easily in the Ulus Worker Bazaar are shown in the chart below.

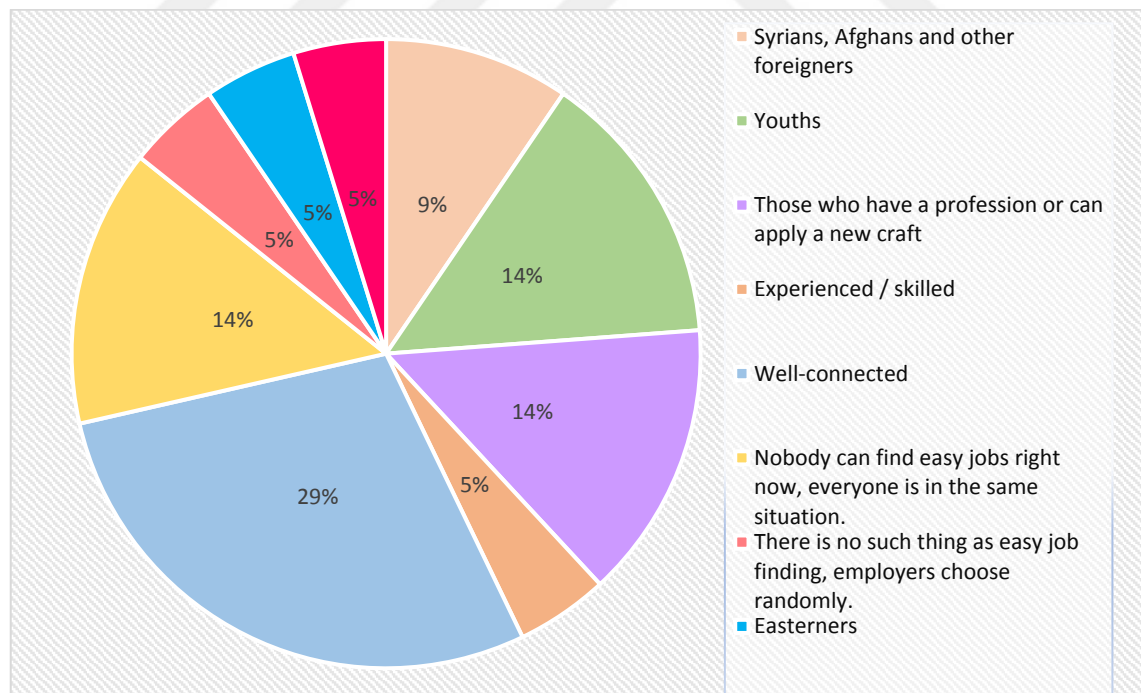


Figure 13: Who do you think gets a job easier in this market?

When this table is examined in general, it is seen that there is a higher percentage of workers who think that people who are well-connected find a job easier. This reflects

the situation in the market itself. When workers find a job, they notify other workers they know if another person or persons is required for the job. Thus, the number of acquaintances is directly proportional to the ease of finding a job. The most popular answers after that are having a profession and being young. Because the employer prefers workers who have a profession or mastery. When an employer comes to the labor market, he/she is looking for a worker by saying the job he/she will do. This situation shows that people who are professionally skilled can find a job more easily. These thoughts of the workers, who stated that young people find jobs more easily, are related to the fact that construction works are jobs that require speed and physical power. While professional mastery is related to age, the ability to do things is related to being young.

5.2.5. Life satisfaction of precarious workers

Precariousness is a situation that also affects workers mentally and psychologically. Workers' psychology is affected by uncertainty and precariousness that repeats itself every day. In this study, although there is no interview question that measures the workers' mental health or related problems, this issue is examined with the help of the answers given by the workers to other questions.

One of the uncertainties faced by workers is to come to the market every day and not be sure that they can find a job. While a significant portion of the workers stated that they earn their living from daily jobs, again a significant part of them stated that they had no other income than they earned jobs which they found in this market.

In other words, the survival of the workers here and finding a job in the market are directly related to each other. In this case, the workers do not have a choice to choose a job. Ayhan (57, Çorum) expressed this situation as follows:

We come to this bazaar every morning at 6 a.m. If we don't come, there is no bread for us. Things were good before, now there is no job. I have been working since the age of 18. I am a master, I worked in places with architects, I worked as an expert. But now I do all the construction work without any exception without any choice. I even go to work as an unskilled worker.

The uncertainty of wages brings along the uncertainty of the economic situation at home. Workers stated that their children and spouses were affected by this situation. Perhaps the most visible form of precariousness can be found in Mehmet (51, Ankara)'s sentences:

I cannot rent a house. Rents increased 3-4 times because of Syrians' arrival. The job situation is uncertain. Sometimes I can go to work and sometimes I cannot. Our economic situation is bad, it is irregular. Maybe even my wife will leave me. It's as if everything hangs on by a hair.

Job insecurity, not knowing whether to go to work the next day and income imbalance also affect the family situation of workers. Precarity, which spreads and covers every area of life, binds the work-life balance of the workers and makes the private life of the workers precarious as well. As a worker in the TRT video said, he wants to be married but precarity prevents this situation. Another aspect of this is the continuation of the marriage as above-mentioned example. The worker thinks that his wife will leave him because of his precarious situation.

Lack of job security and the presence of Syrians cause workers to see themselves as second-class citizens and feel worthless. This is most evident in the interviews with Kemal (52, Yozgat), Murat (59, Çorum) and Ali (50). The answers of these workers are given below in respectively.

There is no job security. I hardly ever saw it. Nobody feels uncomfortable for you. They don't care whatever you are, what happened to you.

... Our works are not certain. We can't find much work these days anyway. They do not employ Turks, they employ foreigners. We cannot find service from our own nation/country. ...

... We have become second-class citizens in our country because of them (Syrians). The government must first think of its own people and first, help its own people. Develop your own people first, then think of foreigners. I am right?

Here, a social conflict broke out between Turkish and Syrian workers. Turkish workers think that they cannot find a job because of the Syrians and that they were put on the back burner because of them. They specified that the state and the government is also helping Syrians, but they are deprived of such opportunities. When the question of “Why there are no Syrian workers here?” is asked to workers they stated that they did not accept them here. This is because they think that Syrian workers are getting their jobs from them and they already have a large share of social assistance. The decrease in purchasing power, which they think that it is because of Syrians’ arrival, also causes workers to complain about Syrian workers.

Rıza (47, Kars) stated that uncertainty and the difficulty of city life affect him psychologically.

... I see my hope in my village. I want to go back after some savings and I do not want to return here forever. You are hungry the day you are not working here, in the city. It is very stressful; the stress is killing the man. There is no neighborhood here. If you die, there is no one who helps you. That's why I don't want to be here. I want to go back to my village. ...

From this point of view, it can be said that the workers continue their peripheral habits. Although the workers are satisfied with their rural life, they are not satisfied with some of the government's agricultural policies. Some workers stated that they could not return to agricultural production due to the increase in seed and fertilizer prices, insufficient incentives and government support in agriculture, and the gradual decrease in the profit share in the agriculture sector. Workers complained that they were not used to city life and talked about the uncertainty of the city. It has been determined that some socio-cultural factors have also impact on this issue. The city pressed them, as the workers move from the rural life type, where there are collectiveness and people have a duty to help each other, to the city life, where no one knows each other, and where cooperation is minimal. Even workers who have lived in Ankara for many years still state that they miss their villages and talk about the stressful nature of city life.

Although many workers stated that they were not exposed to discrimination due to their ethnic and religious identity, some workers stated that they were discriminated

against by reason of their ethnic identity. This is considered as another dimension of precariousness. Stating that they are Kurdish during the interview, Ömer (61, Siirt) and İshak (52, Ağrı) stated that they were subjected to discrimination because they are Kurdish:

Turks do not employ Kurdish people and Kurds behave Turks similarly. For example, this distinction also happens with employers. Once they had a problem related to my speaking in Kurdish and I had to quit because of it.

Everyone here goes to every job indiscriminately. There should be no distinction between Turkish and Kurdish people, but there is a lot of discrimination here. Before they are employing you, they ask about your hometown, but if he says anything negative about my Kurdishness, I response I cannot stay calm. ...

Celal (49, Çorum) stated that there is a distinction between sects as well as follows:

Fellow-townmanship affects finding a job. The fellow countryman is taking his fellow countryman, from the same peasant even. Alevis employ or help recruit Alevis, Sunnis help Sunnis, and Easterners help Easterners in job-related.

Mustafa (40, Konya), who answered the question of what is the important problem of Turkey as discrimination, thinks that ethnic and religious identities are effective in this bazaar:

Turkey's biggest problem is discrimination. Everyone is segregationist. Even civil servants discriminate against people. For example, Alevis recruit Alevis, Kurds recruit Kurds, Turkmens recruit Turkmens. I also went abroad. For example, the Gavurs (he means that people who are not Muslim) give our money immediately, but the Turks do not.

Erol (62, Çorum) mentioned the adaptation problem of Kurdish workers in the market:

... Kurds cannot overcome these difficulties; they cannot adapt to society. You have to know that too, the man does not know the job. They are different as a requirement of nature and the culture of life does not fit Turkish society. ...

It is observed that workers are discriminated against based on their ethnic and religious identity and hometown. Some Kurdish or Alevi workers state that mostly Turkish Sunni workers do not prefer them when hiring, but they hire themselves when there are no other workers. These workers have to accept these jobs because they have to earn money. This situation experienced by Kurdish and Alevi workers can be described as a doubling of precarity. These workers, who are excluded from the society because of their ethnic or religious identities, are despised in their already precarious jobs, their mother tongue is not allowed to be spoken, and they work in dangerous, difficult and harsh working conditions that other workers do not accept.

As the last question of the interview, to learn more about the psychological state of the workers, “Finally, to what extent you are hopeful about your future? Can you tell something on this point?” questions were asked. Based on the answers to these questions, it was envisioned to make evaluations regarding the current situation and future thoughts and comments. However, before this last question of the interview, the workers were asked questions about the political orientation and the problems of Turkey. For this reason, workers gave more political answers to the question of hope. Therefore, rather than data on precarity or the psychological state of workers, comments on their lives and political views were encountered. Nevertheless, the researcher classified the responses of the workers to this question in the table below.

Table 1: Participants' responses to the question of “To what extent you are hopeful about your future? Can you tell something on this point?”

	Comments	Number of workers
I am hopeful because	• Our future is good, we have investments. • These problems are temporary. • Our country is beautiful, our land is fertile.	11
I am hopeful but	• If the JDP goes, everything will be alright. • Problems need to be fixed	2
I am not hopeful because	• My economic situation is bad, I have debts. • Things are getting worse day by day. • Problems won't get better unless the JDP leaves	3
My hope is contingent	If • a good politician comes • the JDP goes • I go back to my village • Syrians and Afghans leave	4
I'm worried about the future		1

The workers, who stated that they were hopeful about the future, indicated that Turkey's problems were temporary, its future will be good, or that it was a powerful and productive country. This group is consisting of 11 people, who stated that they were hopeful, and 7 people of them voted for the JDP, 3 for the RPP (Republican People's Party- *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*), and 1 for the Felicity Party. It is noteworthy that among the workers, 3 workers who voted for the RPP stated that they were hopeful. These workers, including the worker who voted for the Felicity Party, are the workers who most concretely criticize the government's policies in their answer to other questions. However, they stated that they were hopeful because they thought that these problems were temporary.

There are two workers who stated that they were hopeful but they put forward conditions for this. One of these two workers voted for PDP (Peoples' Democratic Party – *Halkların Demokratik Partisi*) and said that he will be hopeful, but that the JDP has to go. The other worker stated that he voted for the JDP and that Turkey's current problems should be resolved.

There are 3 workers who stated that they are not hopeful. The workers explained the reasons for their despair because of debts, the situation in Turkey that was getting worse day by day, or the JDP is in power. These three workers consist of workers who do not vote or vote for the JDP or Good Party.

The number of workers who stated that the state of being hopeful or hopeless varies according to the conditions is four. These workers stated that they would be hopeful if a good politician comes, the JDP leaves power, it is possible to return to the village, or if Syrians and Afghans leave Turkey. There are 4 workers are in this group and one of them is non-voter and the other ones are voters of the JDP, NMP (National Movement Party - *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*) and Good Party is in this group. In addition, a worker who was voter for the JDP stated that he was worried about Turkey to the question of "Are you hopeful? Why?".

In a nutshell, when this table is examined, it is determined that the majority of the workers who voted for the JDP (11 people) are hopeful, and all the workers who vote for the RPP are hopeful as well. The other result is that the Good Party, NMP, and non-voter workers make it a condition to be either hopeless or hopeful. The worker who voted for

the Felicity Party stated that he was hopeful, while the worker who voted for the PDP stated that he was hopeful, but that everything would be fine if the JDP left the power.

5.3. MIGRANT PRECARIOUSNESS IN TURKISH WORKER BAZAARS

The current unstable situation in Afghanistan and the ongoing civil war in Syria have increased the people and labor migration from these countries to Turkey. One of the many sectors in which Syrian and Afghan workers work is the construction sector. Syrian and Afghan workers, who often work in unskilled jobs in the construction sector, have affected the labor market in this sector. Despite this, the workers waiting in Ulus Worker Bazaar consist of Turks and Kurds only. All of them are Turkish citizens, no Syrian, Afghan, Iraqi and other foreign worker has been encountered.

When asked about Syrians, several workers said that Syrian and Afghan workers wanted to come to the Ulus worker market and wait for work, but Turkish workers did not accept them in this regard. Realizing that they cannot wait in the Ulus worker bazaar, Syrian and Afghan workers started to wait for a job in the market in the Dışkapı district, which is about 2-3 kilometers away from the labor market in Ulus. When this situation was learned, the researcher went to the market in the Dışkapı for observation twice. As Turkish workers have mentioned, while the Ulus market currently consists only of Turkish citizens, there are Syrian and Afghan workers in the Dışkapı labor market besides Turks.

As can be seen from the interviews, the distinction between these two markets is important for employers and intermediaries who provide the connection between employers and employees. Because there are sharp differences between these two worker markets. The first distinction, as mentioned above, is that the workers in the Ulus Worker Bazaar are Turkish and the workers in the Dışkapı are mostly foreign - frequently Syrian, Afghan and Iraqi - workers. This distinction also creates a difference between the wages of labor between the two labor markets. Syrian and Afghan workers are paid less than Turkish workers.

Syrians find more jobs than us (Turkish citizens). Because they are employed for fewer wages. The wages are higher here, in Ulus. The

daily wage is 250 TL here. That's why they (Syrians and others) find jobs easier. (Mehmet, 51, Ankara)

... But Syrians find more jobs. Syrians are an obstacle for us to find a job. They cut down on our jobs. They do not need money, as they receive social assistance from the state. They employ for cheaper wages. (İbrahim, 65, Ankara)

In addition, Syrian and Afghan workers also work in dangerous jobs that Turkish workers do not agree to do – like Kurds and Alevis but Syrians is located further down in comparison with Kurds and Alevis. During the interviews, Turkish workers stated that they sometimes went to look for the job and gave up doing the job when they saw that the work is dangerous and work safety is not provided. Again, according to the interviewees, when Turkish workers do not accept, dangerous jobs are accepted and done by Syrian or Afghan workers and this creates tensions between the two groups of workers.

The second distinction is in terms of qualifications. Again, in the interviews with Turkish workers, it was stated that Syrian and Afghan workers work in jobs that are called "workmanship" and do not require mastery. These jobs are seen as unskilled by workers in the Ulus market. The workers in the Ulus worker bazaar consist of mostly professionally and artistically mastered groups and there are differences among the workers according to these occasional specializations. In connection with this, workers in the Ulus labor market are preferred by employers or intermediaries for jobs that require skilled people.

The third distinction between workers in the Ulus and Dışkapı worker markets is the age difference which is clearly visible. The overwhelming majority of Syrian and Afghan workers are young people. During the observations researcher made, it was estimated that the workers in Ulus were over 40 years old and this situation was confirmed in the interviews. As mentioned before, the average age of the workers interviewed in the Ulus Labor Market was determined as 55. This situation naturally increases the differences between these two markets. Workers in the Dışkapı Labor Market are preferred for jobs that require power, speed, or dexterity, while workers in the Ulus labor market are more preferred for jobs requiring mastery. Erol (62, Çorum) expresses this situation as follows:

Our job is difficult because we are over a certain age, we learned them through apprenticeships. There is no new art now, we have to know the work. They all have mastery, there are no unskilled jobs. ... Afghans, Uzbeks, young people are doing the work of desperation, they are younger and better.

In the observations made before the interviews in the Ulus Labor market, it was determined that there were occupational differences between the workers, by means of the machines, tools, equipment and materials that were next to the workers such as size brushes, drill, and trowel. In the interviews, also the workers mentioned this professional distinction and mastery. These occasional distinctions are often not interchangeable.

Most Turkish workers stated that they started construction work at a young age and they started to work in construction as an apprentice with a master when they were young, began to be masters over time. This mastery usually occurs as a result of workers always working in similar fields. For example, a paint worker gains mastery over time by working in the paint job. Mastery is decisive for employers and intermediaries. Since the task is to be done in the best way possible, there is a need for workers who do this job skillfully. This brings along the necessity and desire of the workers to master.

Professional mastery sometimes brings with itself the chance of easily job finding and being a desired worker. Some of the workers interviewed mentioned this situation. Certain trends are occurring in the construction industry from time to time, and these trends also affect the value of labor in the market. Workers describe it as art or craftsmanship, but it would be better to call it craft rather than art. When new crafts emerge or become popular in construction work, workers who learn and practice this craft find jobs more easily. The low number of workers / masters who knew and could formulate the work in the early days when the craft emerged increases the demand for this labor and also moves the wages upwards. This situation is expressed in the interview of the worker below.

While the new art is just developing, for example, there is no master of that art. Since it does not exist, those masters find jobs easier because of this labor shortage (Erol, 62, Çorum).

Mehmet (51, Ankara) stated that jobs are becoming unskilled due to the fact that foreign workers' arrival and less qualified personnel are needed. He stated that waiting for hours and not being able to find a job here was a new situation for them.

Our working status was not going well because of them. We can no longer find a job. They're taking the jobs cheaper. I come here at 6 a.m every day morning and I am waiting for work until the afternoon prayer, but there is no job. Everyone has a mastery here, some of them are plasterers, some painters, and some mold makers. These jobs do not exist anymore, only unskilled jobs can be found.

Some of the workers stated that Syrians benefit from social assistance and that they can no longer receive social assistance as Turkish citizens. According to the workers, this situation has a direct effect on the wages of labor. They think that Syrians take jobs cheaper because they receive social assistance.

Syrians are awfully troubled for us. We are citizens of the Republic of Turkey, but the government is helping them, not us. They cut care and social assistance from us (Yakup, 58, Corum).

Syrians receive monthly salaries and rent assistance. No one gives us anything. We are second class now (Fatih, 50, Amasya).

... Syrians find jobs more easily. They can take jobs cheaper because they also get help from the state. We do not work as cheaply as them (Ebubekir, 70, Corum).

Apparently, Syrians have become scapegoats that Turkish workers can easily blame. Turkish workers accuse Syrian workers of reasons such as low wages, not being able to find a job, inflation, and not getting a sufficient share of social benefits. Due to these accusations, some Turkish workers tend to exclude Syrians from society. This situation has created a new segregation between workers: the distinction between Turkish workers and foreign workers. In this situation, it is almost impossible for workers to act with a common consciousness towards employers, to unionize, and to expect improvement in working and living conditions.

Some of the workers stated that they do not want Syrians to live in Turkey, citing their social life and political duress Syrian migrants occasioned in Turkey.

Syrians are given high priority. I almost died in the coup attempt on July 15, but received no social assistance. Syrians are getting it though. I'm a nationalist, I don't want them to be here. Syrians are everywhere. Iraqis are better. Turkmens are honest, talented. Some Afghans are good and some are bad. It is changing from person to person (Mustafa 40, Konya).

Syrians ruin our social order. When they came, our work status and deteriorate (Ayhan, 57, Corum).

Esat (60, Samsun), on the other hand, stated that Syrians should not be excluded because of their religious identity and that they find it positive to take part in the labor market as follows hence underlining solidarity with them:

... Syrians are Muslim, they come here as a guest. They have sustenance here. Discrimination is haram in Islam. People escaped from the war and refuged to our country. ...

The workers interviewed are waiting for a job in the Ulus Labor Market and they are all Turkish citizens. The workers were asked about their thoughts and perceptions about Syrians, Afghans and other nationalities who are asylum seekers or migrants³ in Turkey working in the construction sector and how these people affect the labor market. The majority of workers stated that with the arrival of these workers, some visible changes occurred in the market, wages moved downwards due to the increase in the supply of labor, and they became unemployed because of them. Ahmet (43, Haymana) and Bilal (66, Haymana) are among the workers who most clearly express this situation.

There was a lot of work here before the Syrians came. We were not unemployed. Every day, there are available works here, but when the Syrians came, the situation changed. Our working situation has gotten

³ These terms are used as daily use in Turkey, not used in a legal or sociological context.

very bad. Before the Syrians came, I paid the 10-year loan in 4 years. But no job now. Where will you pay? Afghans, Syrians get more jobs.

Employment of Syrians is forbidden, but they work. We cannot find a job because of them, but these men go to work from Dışkapı every day. That's why we are not satisfied with Syrians.

In conclusion, it should be noted that migrant workers are causing some structural changes in the Ulus Labor Market. This situation also affects the political affiliations of Turkish workers. Workers criticize the government's Syria policy and say that they cannot find jobs because of Syrians. It is also an indication of this situation that some of the workers who voted for the JDP stated that they did not vote anymore or would not vote in the next election because of the Syrians migrant policies. This situation, which has a direct impact on the daily lives and work situations of both the Turkish and foreign workers, exists as a problem to be solved.

CHAPTER 6 POLITICAL TENDENCIES OF ULUS WORKERS

6.1. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF TURKEY IN THE 2020s

People's political identities and political preferences emerge depending on many factors or these preferences are built over time depending on the socio-political situations. These factors differ according to the historical development, ideological affiliations, ethnic and demographic structure of the countries, and time. People decide their political preferences as a result of the combination of all these situations – which underlies complexity.

There are many factors that affect political preferences in Turkey: socio-economic status, educational background, age, religion, ideology, ethnic identity, technology, space, etc. In the light of all these factors, Turkish politics has been studied by various scholars under different social fractures and perspectives. Before moving on to the political orientation of the workers in the Ulus Worker Bazaar, identity politics and three of these conceptual discussions in the Turkish politics literature will be discussed in the research in order to better understand Ulus bazaar's workers' political tendencies: Turkish-Kurdish cleavage, the left-right dimension, and Alevi-Sunni fraction. Then the data will be analyzed in the framework of each explanatory variable which are: rationale for voting, perception of the most successful politician in the history of Turkey, the justification about Turkey's current problems, thoughts on Turkish policies on asylum seekers, refugees and migrants.

6.2. IDENTITY POLITICS

Identity is a set of socially constructed characteristics to which members of a group feel belonging (Kobayashi, 2009, p. 282). Identity needs the existence of “an other” and creates itself with the other. Identity politics, on the other hand, is the political mobilization of a group in order to gain recognition and escape from historical oppression (Kobayashi, 2009, p. 282). In the 1990s, there was a great deal of identity-based political

mobilization: feminism, black, ethnic minorities, LGBT, Muslim. As can be seen, identity politics can be based on various factors such as sex and gender, ethnic and racial differences and religious characteristics.

The concept of identity politics was first used by Anspach in 1979 to transform both the self and social perceptions of people with disabilities, but the concept was later identified with cultural identity, violent ethnic conflict and nationalism, especially in the 1990s (Bernstein, 2005, pp. 47-48). The importance of identity politics in Turkey coincides with the 1990s. This was the period when polarization was intense in Turkey and identity politics was also accelerated by political parties. Identity emerges as a purely ideological sense of belonging in Turkish society (Karakaş, 2013, p. 24). Karakaş (2013) examines identity politics in Turkey with Kemalist modernization. According to him, the acceptance of criticisms of Kemalism by the public made both Muslims and Kurds political actors (Karakaş, 2013, p. 24).

The policies and ideological stance of the JDP, which has been in the government for a long time since the first years of the 21st century, has re-formed the identity politics in Turkey. The JDP administration, which is called the continuation of the Welfare Party, which references Islamic values, is divided into two different periods until 2011 and after 2011. (Çınar M. , 2017, p. 1). In the first period when developments such as Alevi and Kurdish initiatives, the EU accession process, and human rights were experienced, identity policies in Turkey are based on ethnicity, sect, and gender. The alliance with the NMP since 2018 in the contemporary political party order indicates that JDP policies are oriented towards Turkish nationalist and Muslim identities. While PDP is involved in Turkish politics as the party of Kurds and other minority identities, RPP maintains its secularist Turkish nationalist line. The Good Party, on the other hand, refers to Turkish nationalism and Islam.

As can be seen, identity politics has been an issue in Turkish politics for many years. Political parties are positioning themselves through certain identities even at the stage of establishment and organization. Both international politics and the concern for votes force politicians to act on the axis of identity politics and ideologies. Expressing political interests through identities has brought with it Turkish-Kurdish, Alevi-Sunni, Kemalist-Islamist, Right-Leftist, Secular-Religious distinctions. In this study, the

political orientation of precarious workers will be analyzed through Alevi-Sunni, Turkish-Kurdish, and Left-Right cleavages since workers declared directly their party preferences with different identities and ideologies such as Muslim (5/21), Alevi (4/21), leftist (1/21), Turkish nationalist (4/21) and Kurdish (4/21) regardless of any party.

6.2.1. Turkish-Kurdish Ethnic Division

During the establishment of modern Turkey, Turkish nationalism marginalized all other identities except the Turkish identity with its incorporation strategy (Tezcür, 2009, p. 5). With the expanding political and cultural boundaries of the 1960 Constitution, Kurdish identity and Kurdish politics gained momentum (Kılıç, 2020, s. 2) and Kurdish leftist intellectuals published articles in magazines and newspapers to create Kurdish identity (Kılıç, 2020, s. 5). In addition, the mass demonstrations in the 1960s and 70s were supported by leftist organizations that aroused Kurdish consciousness among intellectuals, students, and cultural organizations (Dönmez, 2007, p. 52). The 1971 intervention and general amnesty, which came as a result of the clashes of right and left organizations, opened the way for Kurdish organizations and brought with it the re-politicization of Kurdish identity in the ethnonationalism line (Dönmez, 2007, p. 52). The division, violence, and leftist tendencies of Kurdish politics have led the state to evaluate it as a dangerous formation.

The Kurdish movement started to play an active role in Turkish politics in the 1990s through the political parties established with the Kurdish identity. The re-emergence of the demand for Kurdish identity in the 1990s is called the visibility of the suppressed (Karakaş, 2013, p. 36). According to Celep these Kurdish party tradition was founded on Kurdish identity and radical left (Celep, 2018, p. 6). These parties, were formed on a Kurdish nationalism and supported in regions where Kurds constitute the majority. The first political party of this tradition was the People's Labor Party in 1990. Kurdish parties have been closed many times due to the relations with the terrorist organization - PKK. The PDP, the party that represents the Kurdish identity today and includes its policies towards the Kurds in the party program, was founded in 2012. These Kurdish parties, which were founded on social democratic and socialist lines, managed to get the votes of Kurdish voters with class-based policies (Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2009, p. 14). Moreover, there are also Kurdish political parties which embody traditional

values, political Islam and Kurdish nationalism and oppose leftist politics – a good example is Free Cause Party and others.

Four of the workers interviewed within the scope of this field, research identified themselves with the Kurdish identity. Among them, only one worker has established a relationship between Kurdish identity and political orientation. Stating that he voted for the PDP because he is Kurdish, this worker stated Kurdish identity as the only determining factor in the election of a political party. Two of them identified that they are Kurds, but stated that they did not vote for PDP because of its affiliation with the PKK. A worker, on the other hand, stated that he would not vote for the PDP because of its relationship with the PKK, after expressing that he is Kurdish, but he also voted for the JDP but regretted it. In addition to these, he stated that he will vote for the GP in the upcoming elections.

6.2.2. The Left-Right Division

In the Western tradition, left-right cleavage is correlated with parties' economic policies: the left parties defend public ownership, state control on economy, and redistribution policies the right parties advocate free-market economy (Lijphart, 1984, p. 129). The right-left party division in Turkey is not based on economic policies as in the West, but rather on religio-culture (Hale & Özbudun, 2010, p. 35; Özbudun, 2013, pp. 53-54). In this context, while the right has religious, conservative, and nationalist features, the left has associated itself with secularism (Özbudun, 2006, p. 135; Özbudun, 2013, pp. 53-54; Hale & Özbudun, 2010, p. 35). It is understood that this situation is valid for Turkey except for certain time periods. The emergence of the left-right division through ideology, religion, and culture is unique to Turkey. (Çarkoğlu, 2017, p. 167).

Another reason why the right-left division in Turkey is not the same as in the West is the importance given to the welfare and redistribution policies of the Turkish right (Özbudun, 2013, pp. 53-54) as opposed to the Turkish left. Therefore, the classical left-right distinction is not compatible with the Turkish case.

There are periods when the right-left distinction gains importance in practical politics in Turkey. The liberal structure of the 1960 Constitution allowed the establishment of class-based politics in Turkey, and the established workers' parties in

these years took an active role in Turkish politics throughout the 1970s (Toros, 2015, p. 6). The fact that the RPP received the highest number of votes in its history in 1977 and the highest voting rate in the parliament can be interpreted as the transition of Turkey's party system from center-periphery to functional left-right (Özbudun, 2013, p. 45). In the early 1990s; it lost its left dominant position to the Welfare Party and the parties are divided both as center-left and center-right and within these two divisions (Özbudun, 2013, p. 50).

Kurdish parties were organized by adopting leftist values even though the ideologies of their voters were close to Islam and conservatism (Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2009, pp. 98-99). In other words, the Kurdish parties can be placed on the left wing in the L-R dimension in Turkey.

As a result, the L-R dimension has been effective for a short time in Turkish politics from time to time. In recent years, this distinction has been replaced by identity-related cleavages such as political Islamist, ethnic Kurdish, secularist, etc. (Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2009, p. 4). This situation is valid for the field research of this thesis as well. Among the workers interviewed, the number of workers mentioning about the right-left distinction is quite low. It is observed that the political preferences of some workers who use leftist jargon in terms of discourse are towards parties that implement more conservative and liberal policies. One of the interviewed workers specifically stated that he had a left-wing view and he did not vote for the JDP because he was left-wing. After all, the JDP did not represent him. This worker, who had voted for the RPP, spoke of corruption and the worsening of the economy. A worker, on the other hand, stated that he is not a leftist while explaining his political orientation. This worker, who said that he had voted for the JDP three times in the previous elections, stated that he was neither a Kurd nor a leftist, therefore he would not vote for the PDP or RPP, but would prefer the GP.

6.2.3. Alevi-Sunni Sectarian Cleavage

One of Turkey's important social divisions is the religious/sectarian one. There are two main sects in Turkey: Alevism and Sunnism. Basically, Sunnis advocate Islam should be the regulator in every aspect of life, while Alevis advocate a secular lifestyle to counter the hegemony of Sunni Islam (Çarkoğlu & Hinich, 2006, p. 370). Another reason for Alevis to defend the secular lifestyle is that they were exposed to exclusion and

discrimination for a long time during the Ottoman period (Hale & Özbudun, 2010, p. 78). Throughout history, Alevis have remained in the minority against the Sunni majority and therefore supported secular republican policies/parties (Çarkoğlu & Hinich, 2006, p. 370). The rise of political parties that refer to Islam, especially after the 1970s, shows the secret competition not only between Islamists and secularists but also between Alevis and Sunnis (Çarkoğlu, 2005, p. 274).

Alevi-Sunni division is effective on Turkey's voters' party preferences as well. The increasing identity politics and the importance attributed to Sunni Islamic values by the government in recent years have brought Alevis to be more politically conscious and active (Hale & Özbudun, 2010, p. 78). This situation explains why Alevis do not vote for center-right and right parties and prefer to vote for left parties (Çarkoğlu, 2005, p. 274).

While Ali Çarkoğlu (2005) explained the connection between the Alevism signals of the voters and their party preferences, he revealed that the voters who do not show Alevism signals prefer the JDP, and those who show Alevism signals prefer the RPP. According to his analysis, as Alevism signals increase, the tendency to vote for the RPP increases, while the tendency to vote for JDP decreases (Çarkoğlu, 2005, p. 286).

While 91% of the voters in Turkey define themselves as Sunni, only 6% describe themselves as Alevi (Uncu, 2018, p. 23). 20% of the RPP voters have an Alevi identity and this rate is quite high compared to other parties in Turkey (Doğan, 2018, p. 12). From this point of view, it can be said that a significant proportion of the voter base constituting the RPP is composed of Alevis. In addition to advocating the secular lifestyle of the RPP, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's characterization of himself having an Alevi identity could be effective in this tendency (Habertürk, 2011).

Çarkoğlu and Hinich stated that religion is more effective in voter preferences in Turkey than other variables (2006, p. 374). Today, Sunni citizens accept Sunni Islamic values and vote for the JDP and NMP alliance, while Alevi voters vote for the secular RPP or PDP (in Alevi Kurd cases) in that regard. This situation shows parallelism with the political affiliation of Ulus workers. All of the workers stated that they were Muslims, and some stated that religion was important in voting preferences. A worker who stated that he did not vote for the RPP suggested that the RPP does not act according to Islam as the reason for not voting to this party. Some workers say they voted for Recep Tayyip

Erdogan for his reference to Islam, and some workers say they find the JDP's headscarf policy successful. Alevi workers, on the other hand, stated that the JDP did not make policies for them and therefore they preferred the RPP.

6.3. VIEWPOINTS OF WORKERS' CONSIDERATION ON POLITICS

6.3.1. Political Orientations of Workers

Workers were asked questions about their political party preferences and the presidential candidate they voted for. Slightly more than half of the interviewed workers (11 people) stated that they voted for the JDP in the 2018 parliamentary elections. After the JDP, the party with the most preferred by the workers was the RPP. 3 workers stated that they voted for the RPP. While two workers stated that they voted for the GP, there is one worker each for PDP, NMP, and FP (Felicity Party – *Saadet Partisi*). The number of workers who consciously stated that they did not go to vote is 2.

During this research, which was conducted with 21 people in the labor market in Ulus, is compared with Turkey in general, some differences stand out. For example; In Turkey, the voting rate of the JDP with 42.6% is lower than the JDP preference rate of the workers, and the vote rating of the RPP is higher than the vote rating of the participants with 22.6%. This is, of course, primarily related to the limited number of people surveyed and the socio-economically homogeneous group compared to Turkey in general, but voting behavior in Turkey is affected by many factors such as age, gender, socio-economic group, ethnic, religious, and ideological identities (Çarkoğlu, 2017, p. 162), a more meaningful perspective can be put forward to the interview results.

The first reason why the JDP is higher than the country and the RPP is represented at a lower rate in the labor market is related to the socio-economic status of the workers. In the reports in which KONDA analyzed the economic situation of the voters in the 2018 elections and examined the voter groups, it was revealed that 65% of the voters who stated that they were workers, traders, farmers, other professionals, and housewives voted for the JDP (Yılmaz, 2018, pp. 19-20). Again, in relation to this situation, it has been analyzed as a result of the researches conducted throughout the country that a quarter of the JDP electorate consists of workers, farmers, and artisans (Uncu, 2018, p. 13).

As it can be understood from here, the workers in the Ulus Labor Market are a heterogeneous community in terms of their political orientation. Workers expressed their preferences for many political parties and presidential candidates. The party preferences of the workers are shown in the graphic below.

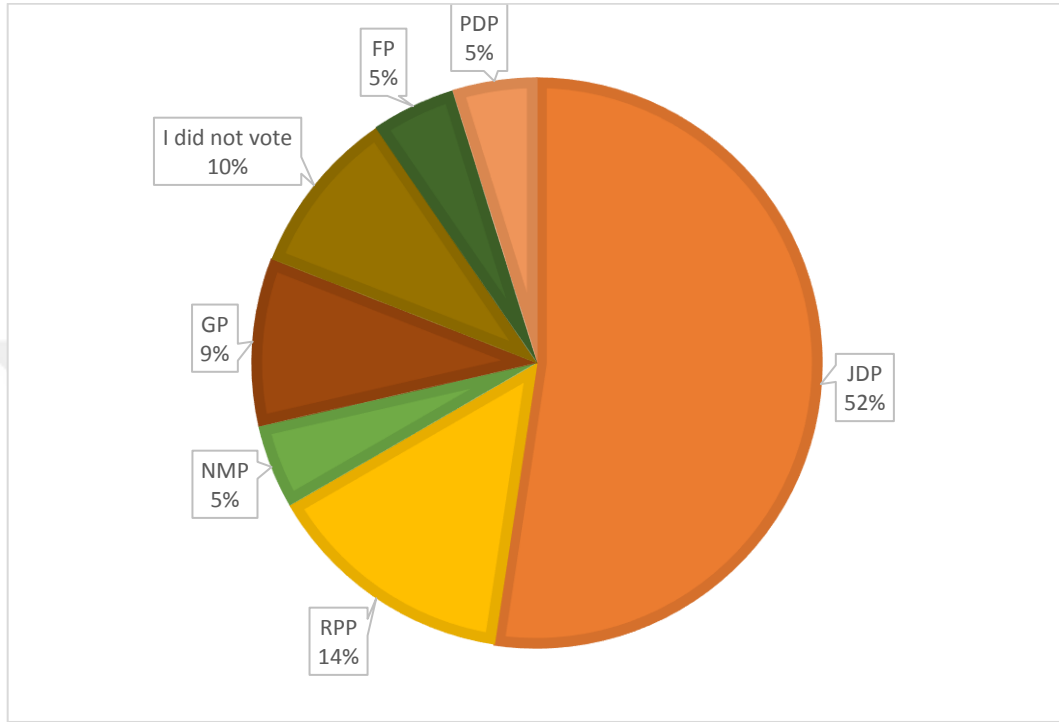


Figure 14: Participants' party preferences in parliamentary election 2018

In this research, the political orientation of the workers will be explained with 4 main variables: rationale for voting, perception of the most successful politician in the history of Turkey, the justification about Turkey's current problems, thoughts on Turkish policies on asylum seekers, refugees and migrants.

6.3.1.1. Rationale for voting

Many factors can explain the political affiliations of workers and party preferences. As our data reveals, the categorization of these factors illustrates the general motivation of the informants for voting. Questions such as “Which party and presidential candidate did you vote for in the 2018 general elections? Why is that?” were asked. 4 of the workers did not explain why they voted or not. 70% of the remaining workers stated that the effective factor in voting is ideological/identity-related. 17% of these workers explained their political orientation for socio-economic reasons. One of the workers, who

stated that he did not vote, stated that he did not feel close to any political party, while the other stated that he did not vote because none of the political parties benefitted him. It can be said that the vote preferences of the workers depend on many factors. While most of the interviewees state that ideological reasons are effective in their party preference, it is seen that socio-economic reasons also affect their party preferences.

The first and the most popular of the reference points in explaining the political tendency is that of ideology and identities. The ideological reasons of the workers in party preferences are related to the rural, religious, and socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics of them. These are effective in voting behavior of workers, regardless of the political party. When the answers given to the questions of the JDP government's policies, party and president preferences, and hope for the future are examined, the ideologies that affect the voting preferences of the workers become most obvious.

Some workers describe these through the party they vote for:

I voted for Selahattin Demirtaş and PDP. Since I am Kurdish, I believe that only PDP will represent me. That's why I voted for the PDP. I vote for the party representing the Kurds. I will give my vote to the PDP in the next election as well. ... (Ömer, PDP voter)

I voted for the JDP and for Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Because we are in better situation now. We couldn't buy anything before. We were poorer. Thank you for today. We have everything now. These are thanks to the JDP. That's why I voted and will vote for the JDP (Ebubekir, JDP voter).

Some workers, on the other hand, present identity related characteristics through opposition to the RPP:

I think Erdogan should continue for a better future. Because he is a successful politician working for this country. We say we can't find a job today, maybe yes, but the JDP is not responsible for this. The RPP, which does not know how to do anything other than a statue, is responsible (Mustafa, JDP voter).

... If PDP was not in the opposition alliance, I would have voted for them. I am a nationalist person. I voted for the NMP just to not vote for the PDP. I wouldn't vote for the RPP anyway, whether it's good or bad. In the next election, I will vote for the NMP again ... (Mehmet, NMP voter).

Erdogan is good, but those men around him are very bad. Which one should this guy follow? People around him don't work. If I vote for the RPP, it will sell the country just in a minute. PDP should also be closed down. However, I do not see any other party that will be a good ruling party. Again, I vote for the JDP (Kadir, JDP voter).

The fact that workers vote for one party or not because of opposition to other parties is related to the high level of social and inter-party polarization in Turkey nowadays. Explaining party preference and political opinion through the other is a common situation in other academic studies, street interviews, and social media. Some workers in this study had a similar situation. While some workers who voted for the JDP talked about the wrong policies of the RPP, some workers who voted for the RPP, PDP, and the GP criticized the JDP's religious, identity, and socio-economic policies and expressed their political views – an indication of the political polarization in the country that shapes voting patterns.

In the interviews, direct questions about the religious/sectarian, ideological, and ethnic characteristics of the workers were not asked. But some workers identified themselves as Turkish/Kurdish, Alevi/Sunni, nationalist, opponent, leftist, etc. Of the 21 workers interviewed, 3 of them voted for the RPP and all of these workers defined themselves as Alevi identity. When the reasons for voting for the RPP workers are examined, two main results emerge. Workers vote for the RPP because they describe themselves as 'leftist' and do not think that the JDP represents them, or because they are Alevi.

The situation where Alevis generally vote for the RPP is also reflected throughout Turkey as was mentioned in the previous section. Carkoğlu, in his research following the Alevi and Sunni sectarian distinctions, revealed that Sunni Muslims generally vote for right-wing pro-Islamist parties, and Alevis prefer more center or left-wing parties in the

L-R dichotomy (Çarkoğlu, 2005, p. 274). Considering the existing Turkish political parties, this reveals that Alevis prefer the RPP, while Sunnis prefer the JDP and NMP (Çarkoğlu, 2005, pp. 286-288; Hale & Özbudun, 2010, p. 78; Uncu, 2018, p. 23). The reason for these preferences of Alevis is that the center-right and Islamist parties take into account the religious freedom of the Sunni majority. This is the main reason why Alevis vote for the RPP, which is a political party that has a secular character (Çarkoğlu & Hinich, 2006, p. 370). An RPP voter, who thinks that the JDP does not represent him, made the following comment:

I am a left-wing person. JDP does not represent me. In the last elections, I voted for Muharrem İnce and RPP. I also voted for Mansur Yavaş in the local elections. After that, I will vote for the RPP again (Kemal, RPP voter)

From this, it is understood that religious identity is effective in the voting of Alevi workers. Workers who state that they are Alevis declare that the JDP produces policies for the freedom of religion and worship of Sunnis, but does not serve Alevi citizens. Moreover, it is observed that the identity of the party, not the persons, is at the forefront of these workers, who evaluate the Alevi initiative also useless. Because these workers, while declaring their political preferences, do not refer to individuals (the party leader or candidates) but the RPP as an institution. This is also evident in the presidential election. Those workers who voted for Muharrem İnce stated that they did not intend to vote for the new party founded by him and that they will vote for the RPP in the next election. In addition, despite being an Alevi and expressing this, personally, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu is not among the factors explained in voting for RPP by workers who voted for RPP.

It is observed that the RPP voters include criticism of the JDP in their comments on politics. The economy, unemployment rate, and foreign policy are the main criticism policy areas. However, when a general evaluation is made, religious/ideological reasons come to the fore in the party preference of RPP voters, not economic reasons.

The reason for voting by NMP, Good Party, and PDP voters is directly related to nationalism. This bond was also observed in this study with workers. It has been observed that workers who define themselves as Turkish or Kurdish nationalists vote for these parties. Mehmet (51, Ankara) explained that he voted for the NMP because he is a Turkish

nationalist and does not prefer the PDP, which is the political party preferred by most of the Kurdish nationalists:

... I gave my vote to the NMP in the last election. ... If PDP was not in the opposition alliance, I would have voted for their alliance. I am a Turkish nationalist. I voted for the NMP just to not vote for the PDP. I wouldn't vote for the RPP anyway, whether it's good or bad. In the next election, I will vote for the NMP again.

Workers who are uncomfortable with the alliance of the NMP, a party that defends Turkish nationalism, with the JDP, prefer the Good Party. The Good Party, founded by a group that left from the NMP, reveals the importance it attaches to nationalist values in its program, at the level of leaders and politicians, and in policy recommendations. The common point of the workers who voted for the GP is that while they were NMP voters in the previous elections, they now vote for the GP and they describe this situation as the alliance formed by the NMP with the JDP.

I used to vote for the NMP until the 2018 elections, but I don't anymore because it is allied with the JDP. Lastly, I voted for the Good Party. I also voted for Mansur Yavaş in the municipal elections. I will vote for the Good Party in the next election as well (Ali, GP Voter).

I am a nationalist. I used to vote for the NMP, but I don't like Bahçeli's course anymore. Whatever Erdogan says, he accepts without any objection. It's not like this, it shouldn't be like this. That's why I voted for the Good Party in the last elections. I will vote for the Good Party in the next election. (Fatih, GP voter).

Workers who voted for the Good Party harshly criticize the JDP's policies in all manner. Stating that Meral Akşener is successful and that she should be the leader of the NMP, these workers do not favor the relationship between the NMP and JDP. The possible reasons for this are the complete disappearance of the oppositional identity of the NMP, the perception that Devlet Bahçeli accepts Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's all demands unconditionally, and the clear disposition of Meral Akşener's charismatic leadership. Workers refer to Meral Akşener as a brave, straight-out, and strong-willed politician.

Meral Akşener comes from the understanding of a male-dominated nationalist political party. Interestingly, Meral Akşener is accepted as a female leader among male workers in such parties where the importance given to masculinity is vital hence was seen as challenging the male-dominated national politics.

PDP is a party that the interviewed workers refer to when explaining their party preferences. Workers explain their party preferences in terms of both voting and not voting for the PDP. First of all, if the reason why PDP was preferred is examined, it should be noted that only one worker (Ömer, 61) who voted for PDP was encountered during the interviews. Ömer explains his voting for the PDP because of his Kurdish identity:

I voted for Selahattin Demirtaş and PDP. Since I am Kurdish, I believe that only PDP can represent me. That's why I voted for PDP. I vote for the party representing the Kurds. Next time I will give my vote to PDP as well. I voted for Mansur Yavaş, as Demirtaş called for the RPP to vote in the local elections. RPP is still doing well. People in RPP oppose the wrong policies of the government. I am not satisfied with the government at all. There has never been a government that has harmed this country as much as the JDP.

Some of the workers who identify themselves with Kurdish identity stated that they voted for the JDP and Erdogan.

I voted for the JDP and Recep Tayyip Erdogan. I will vote for it in the next elections too. No matter how much we criticize, the JDP is still the best one. It has served many so far. I am a Kurd, but I would definitely not vote for the RPP and PDP. They do not represent my views. I will do anything for the Reis (President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan) ... (Mustafa, JDP voter).

Kurdish workers who voted for a party other than PDP feel the need to explain why they did not vote for PDP even though they were not asked such a question. This is probably due to the association of Kurdish nationalism with the PDP. There are two main reasons for this situation. First, Kurdish workers state that they prefer the JDP and that the most important reason for this situation is Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The cult of the

leader is influential in their voting behavior is related to the fact that they define Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as the "Reis", that they would even give their lives for him, and that there is no other party to vote for except the JDP. They put forward the relationship between PDP and PKK as the second reason for this situation. These workers, who define the PDP as a terrorist party, also specifically stated that the PDP does not represent the Kurds.

On the other hand, İshak (52, Ağrı) identified himself as a Kurd and stated that he voted for the JDP and Erdoğan in the 2018 elections, but he explained that he would prefer the Good Party in the next election for the following reasons.

I voted for the JDP for 3 terms but we are in a very bad situation because of the Syrians. Our right is being destroyed. It's really messed up now. We will almost be an Arab country; Syrians are constantly giving birth. I do not vote for the Kurdish party, nor am I a leftist. I can vote for Meral Akşener in the next election, I like the policies of the Good Party. Akşener is a brave woman.

This Kurdish worker state that he will vote for a Turkish nationalist party reveals the blurring of ideological belonging in some workers. The fact that this worker voted for GP shows that ethnic affiliation is not as effective as religious affiliation in voting for his case. Because this worker, who stated that he did not vote for the PDP because it supported terrorism and that he did not prefer the RPP because he was not left-wing, makes reference to Islam in his interview. From this point of view, the fact that he voted for the JDP in previous elections can be explained in terms of the JDP's religio-conservative identity. In the preference of the Good Party, the fact that it is seen as the "most reasonable" party among the parties engaged in opposition politics comes to the fore.

As the second rationale for voting, there are socio-economic factors that are effective on workers' political tendencies. This situation of workers who prefer to vote with socio-economic rationale is related to their individual economic order and household income.

I voted for the JDP and Erdogan. My child is a non-commissioned officer, Erdogan gave this job to him. They don't take the elderly to

work in this market. If I did not have a son, I would starve. We live on his salary. In the next election, I will vote for the JDP. Again, it is the JDP I am most satisfied with. This party is the best (Celal, JDP Voter).

Progress or decline in living standards has an impact on the party that workers vote for. The standard of living of Celal, who thought that the JDP gave his son a job, had a positive development and stated that he would therefore continue to vote for the JDP. However, some workers who voted for the JDP until the last elections said that they would not vote anymore, stated that their living standards have decreased, it has become more difficult for them to find a job, their rent has increased and their purchasing power has decreased due to the arrival of Syrians.

Among the workers, there are 2 people who stated that they did not vote in the 2018 elections. The reason for not voting is not because they are apolitical. Workers consciously choose not to vote or even refuse to vote. This is because workers see the elections as useless and do not feel close to any party.

I haven't voted in the elections for 2 terms. Previously, I voted for Erdogan and the JDP. Because I don't believe things will change when I vote. That's why I won't vote in the next election. Because you see, there is no one who thinks about the people in politics. There is no job for the citizens. The economy is in a very bad situation. The euro, the dollar is increasing, life is getting more expensive every day. I don't believe these will change with my vote. I was voting for Melih Gökçek in the local elections. Now Mansur Yavaş has come, he cannot do this task. Although Melih Gökçek was corrupt, he was working and serving (Ahmet, Non-voter).

I do not consider myself close to any party; none of them benefit me. Some people live on their backs, but I am not like that. I'm not voting. I did not vote in the last election. I will not vote in the upcoming elections (Rıza, Non-voter).

Ahmet's narrative relay an individual who is tired of the political system. Given his precarious situation and the economic hardships he is disillusioned and hopeless about

politics. Rıza's views are more persistent than Ahmet's: he has no allegiance to any party and he does not see any solution from the political class and the political process. He sounded hopeless.

Most of the interviewed workers answered the question of which party do you intend to vote for in the next election, in line with their political views in 2018. In other words, those who did not vote stated that they would not vote again and the party elections remained the same. This again shows that the main factor in the votes of workers is the political ideology. Despite this, 3 workers stated that they will clearly change their party preference/voting status in the next election.

While Bilal voted for the JDP and for Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2018, he stated that he would not vote in the next election. İshak stated that he voted for the JDP and for Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2018 and that he has been a JDP voter for a long time, and said that he would prefer the Good Party in the next election. Ayhan, on the other hand, stated that although he voted for the JDP and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, he did not know who he would vote for in the next election.

The change in the party preference of the workers who preferred the JDP and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in the 2018 elections, previous elections or future elections was due to the Syrian policy and the effects of the Syrian workers on the market.

I always voted for the JDP until the last election, but I will no longer vote for the JDP because of the Syrians. Because of them, rents have increased, it has become difficult for us to find a job because they are working for less money than us. ... (Mehmet, NMP Voter).

A government must first take care of its own citizens, look after Syrians. This government is starving us because of the Syrians, it gives them social assistance. We can't find jobs because of them (İshak, JDP Voter).

As a result, it can be said that many variables affect the political orientation of workers. These variables are related to identity politics, Alevi-Sunni and Turkish-Kurdish distinctions that have been and are influential in Turkish politics. This situation affects the political tendencies of the workers. Moreover, most of the workers who voted for the

JDP define themselves as Muslims and do not prefer the RPP because of its secularist nature. In the past, some workers feel excluded because of their Muslim identity and state that they are now freer in times of JDP is in power. Some workers, on the other hand, stated that they voted by pointing out the JDP's policies and serving the public. This situation is related to the fact that the JDP is a catch-all party as well as its Muslim identity. This party, which receives votes from many different segments of the society, can also receive votes from workers based on variety of reasons like charismatic leader in the international arena and its developmental policies.

On the other hand, in the Alevi-Sunni distinction, the Ulus labor market case is in harmony with the Turkish politics. All of the workers who stated that they are Alevi voted for the RPP in the 2018 or previous general elections. There are no clear lines in Turkish politics in the Turkish-Kurdish distinction. Alongside PDP, Kurds vote for JDP and RPP with a significant percentage as well. One of the Kurt participants stated that he preferred PDP because of his Kurdish identity, while the other Kurd participants explain that they voted for the JDP because of the Muslim identity. Another distinction based on ideology and identity was observed among workers who defined themselves as nationalists. Nationalist workers turn to NMP and GP, and the distinction between these two parties is based on the parties' relationship with the JDP. While the preference of the nationalist workers who are against the current government is the GP and the other participant who approves the policies of the JDP voter for the NMP.

6.3.1.2. Preferences of presidential candidate and workers' perceptions on the most successful politician in the history of Turkey

Workers gave a wide range of answers to the questions: "Who is the most successful politician in the history of Turkey? Why?" Turgut Özal, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Alparslan Türkeş, Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu, Selahattin Demirtaş, Bülent Ecevit, Adnan Menderes, Murat Karayalçın, Necmettin Erbakan, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and Erdal İnönü are politicians that participant workers describe as the most successful politician in the history of Turkey. The presidential candidates voted for by the workers in the 2018 elections are Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Muharrem İnce and Selahattin Demirtaş. In this section, a political orientation evaluation will be made through the presidential candidate voted on and the successful politician.

The table below shows the presidential preferences of the workers in the 2018 elections.

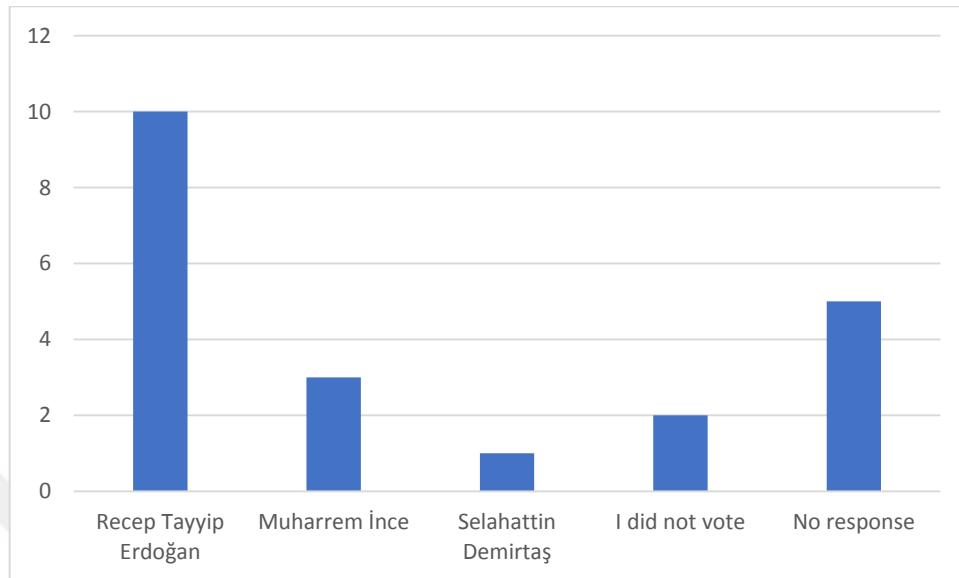


Figure 15: Presidential candidate voted by participants in 2018 elections

The reason for dispersed answers about the most successful politicians in Turkish history is that due to the fact that workers are generally above middle age, they have witnessed many periods in Turkish politics or they have been grown up with these political narratives. Most of the workers' youthfulness coincides with the 70s and 80s when the polarization between parties was very high, and the 90s, when identity politics was at the forefront. For this reason, workers' preferences for idols or successful politicians are based on a wide spectrum.

The party voted for, ideological background, ethnic origin, and sectarian identity is more or less compatible with the presidential candidate voted by the workers and the most successful politician in the history of Turkey in the context of left-right division. Accordingly, the most successful politician preference of the workers who voted for the JDP was Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (6/11), Turgut Özal (3/11), Adnan Menderes (1/11) and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu (1/11). These politicians are symbolic names of center-right, nationalist or conservative politics in the history of Turkey.

Muharrem İnce was the presidential candidate, voted for by the workers who voted for the RPP. The politicians that these workers find the most successful consist of people who have done politics in RPP or Social Democracy Party: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1/3), Erdal İnönü (1/3), and Bülent Ecevit (1/3). One of the workers, who stated that he did not vote other than these and he is an Alevi, gave the answer of Murat Karayalçın, who had served in the RPP for many years.

Ömer, who voted for PDP, stated that he voted for Selahattin Demirtaş as a presidential candidate because he successfully represented the Kurds and that Ömer saw him as the most successful politician in the history of Turkey. Workers who voted for the Good Party, which is the party founded by former members of the Turkish nationalist party NMP, pointed to Alparslan Türkeş and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu as the most successful politicians.

In the diagram below, the workers' answers to the question “Who do you think is the most successful politician in the history of Turkey?”

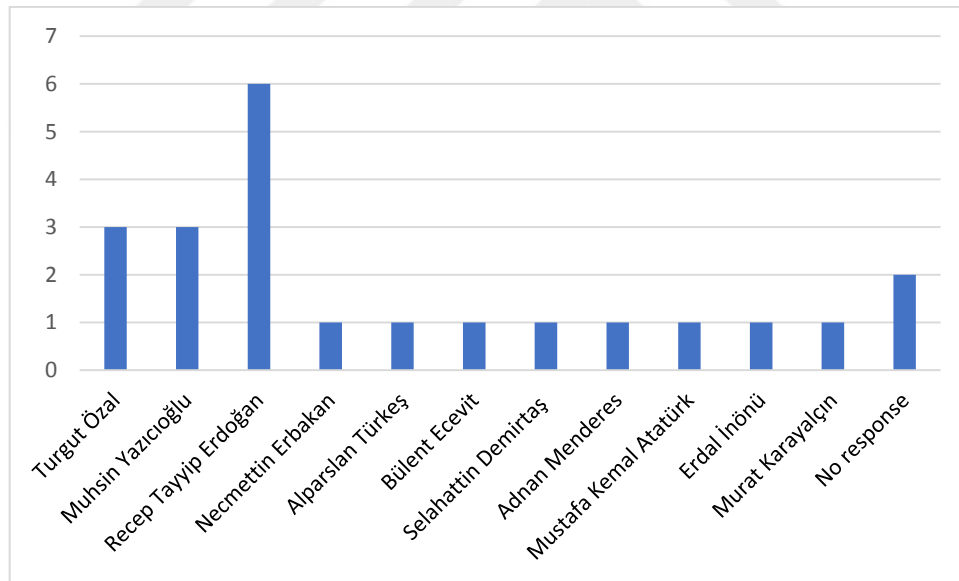


Figure 16: The most successful politician in the history of Turkey for participants

There is a meaningful connection between the party voted for, the presidential candidate, and the politician who is considered as successful. This connection has identity-related and ideological axes. While the party preference of some workers who express themselves as Muslims (5/21) and refer to more developmental policies of JDP (4/21), they see Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turgut Özal, and Adnan Menderes as the most

successful politicians since they are famous for their center-right policies. Workers who vote/voted before for the RPP stated Bülent Ecevit, Murat Karayalçın, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and Erdal İnönü, who were among the charismatic leaders or politicians of the RPP, as the most successful politicians and they are Alevi participants. While the worker who voted for the Felicity Party finds Necmettin Erbakan, the most charismatic leader of this ideology, as the most successful politician, the worker who defines himself with Kurdish identity says Selahattin Demirtaş as the most successful politician. While the party preferences of the workers who define themselves as nationalists are GP and NMP, according to them, the most successful politician is Alparslan Türkeş or Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu.

6.3.1.3 Workers' justification about Turkey's current problems

The question that is related to the important problem of Turkey was one of the interview questions and workers gave quite a variety of answers to this question, with some of them pointed out more than one problem. The answers to this question are as follows: problems related to the economy, unemployment/youth unemployment, inflation, insufficient and/or unjust distribution of social benefits, coronavirus, terrorism, people's unwillingness for work, discrimination, social polarization, and corruption. While analyzing this section, all the answers given by the workers were taken into consideration. Therefore, there may be overlapping and similarities in the answers.

Economy, unemployment/youth unemployment, people's unwillingness for work, and inflation will be examined under the title of the economy. In this context, the number of workers who have mentioned the economy in their answer to the question is 17. Among the workers, the rate of workers who see the economy as Turkey's important problem is 80% and this means that quite majority of the participants mentioned that there is a problem related to the economy in Turkey.

The cause of economic problems is explained as the state, that is, the government. The economic policies of the government were criticized by the workers and the limited intervention of the state on the free market was not seen as a sound economic policy. The economy, in particular, inflation and unemployment seem to be one of the most common problems of voters from all parties.

Turkey's most important problem right now is the economy. The economy needs to improve. We must get on well with our neighbors. The government should be on the side of the poor, not the rich. Politicians should come together and fix the economy together. Whoever comes, even if it is the opposition, the leader should be careful on economic policies (Hasan, RPP Voter).

Turkey's most important problem is inflation. The shopkeepers are making a raise at their own discretion. The price of everything has increased 2-3 times. We can no longer buy even food. The state should supervise the private sector, set rules, and implement them. This is how the economy improves (Bilal, JDP Voter).

Inflation is too high. The economy is bad. State banks take loans from other private banks, the interest is too high, which is a very bad thing. If there was money in the Central Bank of The Republic of Turkey, they would borrow from there. Young people can't do their job, can't find a job. We can't produce our own car yet, but we say we will go to the moon. I was better in my youth, now I am not at peace (Ismail, Felicity Party Voter).

Turkey's most important problem is unemployment. There is nothing in the world without production. If you don't produce agricultural products, nothing will happen. The state gives very little incentive to return to the village, it is not enough. So, we are in a difficult situation (Murat, RPP voter).

The most important problem is the economy and unemployment in Turkey. For example, I don't have a house, I don't have a car. I've been working for all these years, I can't get it (Fatih, Good Party Voter).

Here, it is observed that the criticism of the workers regarding the economy is multifaceted. It has been determined that the purchasing power has decreased with the increase in inflation and unemployment and therefore some workers cannot even reach their basic needs. The workers, seeing the continuity of production as an indispensable

element of the economy, stated that the equal distribution of the resources and employment is related to this. The workers, who stated that the Turkish lira depreciated due to the government's economic policies, attributed this to nepotism -in part of the fieldwork of this research, Berat Albayrak was the Minister of Treasury and Finance, he is the son-in-law of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan- and instability -frequent changing the president of the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey- is pointed out. Problems related to the economy were mentioned by some workers with corruption as well. These workers are those who vote for or refuse to vote or vote for opposition parties:

The main problem is the economy. We are economically bankrupt. The dollar is increasing uncontrollably. Inflation is too high. There is also the issue of 128 billion dollars. You say 'where did waste this money?' You can't get your answer (Kemal, RPP Voter).

Turkey's important problem is the economy. The President dismissed the head of the Central Bank overnight. The dollar rose again. Those who know this before act accordingly. We cannot act (Rıza, Non-voter).

The unequal distribution or inadequacy of social benefits and the injustice in income distribution are other issues that workers mentioned. The answer to this question actually includes clues about the precariousness of workers. The workers explained that the social aid to Syrians and the support for them during the coronavirus period is unfair. The workers stated that the state did not provide social assistance to them and this caused inequalities in social life.

People here do not go to work for less than 200 TL, daily. Conditions are generally good but they are still here to wait for work. Those who really need can't find work here because of them. The social benefits provided by the state are not distributed fairly. Social assistance is also given to those who have a car and home. These are unfair. For example, the state provides aid to Syrians, but not to us not to own citizens. Syrian's population will increase. After that, they will take the

government. Everyone is foreign. What will happen to our children?
(Mehmet, NMP Voter)

Now, the most important problem of Turkey is the economy. When the economy is good, everything will be fine afterward. But now there are people of all nationalities. All their needs, bills, medicines are met free of charge and they provide social assistance, but they are unjust to us. The government should first look at the economy of its own citizens. Social assistance should be distributed fairly. They gave social help to retired men who have cars and houses (İshak, JDP voter).

The Covid-19 pandemic has affected the world and there are many negatively affected areas of life. The economy is one of them. The growth rates of states and companies have been negative, health systems have come to the point of collapse, restrictions and quarantines have affected the financial situation of many people all around the world. The precarious people who do not have a regular job, earn their income daily, and work without social insurance are among the groups most affected by this situation.

The construction industry has also been exposed to these devastating effects. Workers in the Ulus Labor Market stated that the pandemic has reduced their chances of finding a job. Workers who hope to end the coronavirus gave answers to the question related to the most important problem in Turkey:

Corona is the most important problem in Turkey right now. If corona passes, everything will be fine. The economy also improves. It will be the same as before the pandemic (İbrahim, JDP Voter).

There is an infectious disease, the disease has multiplied because of the JDP's meetings. The pandemic has had a huge impact on our work. The construction industry has come to a standstill. No one takes the worker to go to work (Ayhan, JDP Voter).

The pandemic is a huge problem, but there is nothing that can be done. Therefore, I don't know. I hope it ends somehow. There is also youth

unemployment. For example, my children are studying at university, I am worried about their future (Kadir, JDP voter).

Two workers who voted for the JDP and PDP answered that discrimination and polarization are the most important problems in Turkey:

Turkey's biggest problem is discrimination. Everyone discriminates. Even government officials discriminate. For example, Alevis recruit Alevis, Kurds favor Kurds, and Turkmens favor Turkmens. I also went abroad. For example, the non-Muslims give our money immediately, but the Turks do not (Mustafa, JDP voter).

The economy is the biggest problem in Turkey today. Also, opponents are always excluded from society. When they oppose, they are labeled as terrorists. They already created it themselves. Is it necessary to become a terrorist at the slightest opposition? (Ömer, PDP Voter).

Both of these workers, who see discrimination as the main problem, define themselves with the Kurdish identity. These are workers who are not allowed to speak Kurdish at work, are not taken to work just because they are Kurds, and see themselves as second-class citizens socio-politically. Economy, unemployment, and precariousness are secondary problems for these workers, who encounter new types of discrimination every day in the workplace, school, and social life.

In addition to these, a worker from the JDP stated that terrorism used to be a big problem, but now it has decreased. No connection could be established between the answers given to the question of Turkey's important problem and the party preferences of the workers. Following this, the pandemic, discrimination, injustice in the distribution of social benefits, and corruption are among the other popular topics discussed by workers. As stated before, the overwhelming majority of workers said that economic issues are Turkey's most important problem. Despite this, most of the workers state that they vote for the JDP. As stated in the rationale for voting section, this confirms that political, ideological, and identity-related factors are more effective than economic factors in workers' voting.

6.3.1.4. Thoughts on Turkish policies on asylum seekers, refugees and migrants

Turkey's Syria policy is not supported by the majority of workers or workers stated that it is a wrong policy. 16 out of 21 workers are dissatisfied with the government's Syria policy. The most important reason for this situation is that Syrian workers cause some structural changes in the labor market and Turkish economy. As explained in more detail in the previous chapter, the workers mentioned that they could not find a job because of the Syrians, the rents and expenses increased, and the social benefits received became insufficient and unjustly distributed. Other issues are related to disruptions in social life. In this section, racist and xenophobic comments of some of the workers were encountered, but these comments will not be included in the research text since they are not the subject matter or interest of this study.

We have become second-class citizens in our own country because of them (Syrians). The government should think of its own people first and help its own people first. Then think of others, develop your own people first (Ali, Good Party voter).

It would be better if they set up a buffer zone. It was bad that they brought these people into the cities. We would have helped but they should stay at the border. They should live there. It was not good for them to come into the cities (Ebubekir, JDP voter).

I find the Syria policy wrong. We Turks do not take shelter anywhere, we are a proud nation. Syrians came to our country, children came, but young people came. It is wrong for the government to starve its own citizens and give aid to Syrians (İbrahim, JDP voter).

76% of the workers stated that their jobs deteriorated with the participation of Syrian, Afghan, and other foreign workers in the labor market without no doubt. The workers, who said that these foreign workers found more jobs than they did, stated that the reasons for this were that these migrants accepted to work for cheaper wages and that they were young.

There are 5 workers who support the Turkish government's Syria policy. When the answers of these workers are examined, comments such as Turkey extends a helping hand to the oppressed/Muslims and Turkish people are hospitable are encountered hence implying solidarity with the Syrian migrants and refugees.

Syrians are Muslims, guests come with sustenance. Discrimination is haram in Islam. People fled the war and refuged to our country. The RPP does not act in accordance with Islam at all (Esat, JDP voter).

The JDP had nothing else to do. We are religious brothers with Syrians. We are all descendants of the Ottoman Empire. We have been in these lands since the Great Seljuk Empire. That's why I support it (Mustafa, JDP voter).

It is right that we help the oppressed. Of course, we should help. They are also Muslims (İsmail, FP voter).

Finally, it should be noted that a clear correlation could not be established between the views of the workers regarding the Syria policy and their voting behavior. While there are JDP and FP voters and non-voter people among the workers who support the JDP's Syria policy, there are many JDP voters who do not support this policy, as well as workers from RPP, Good Party, NMP, PDP voters and non-voter workers.

When the answers given to the question about the government's Syria policy are classified, socio-political, socio-economic, ideological/political titles emerge. The workers explain their reasons for supporting or not supporting the Syria policy under these general headings. When the socio-political reasons for the lack of support were examined, the reasons are as follows: the social structure deteriorated with the arrival of Syrians and the Syrians caused social problems in Turkey. These were frequently mentioned by the workers. When the socio-economic reasons for not supporting Turkey's Syria policy are examined, the reasons for not being able to find a job due to Syrians, increasing rents and providing social assistance to Syrians not given to Turkish citizens emerge. Not supporting for political reasons is "What is Turkey doing in Syria?" can be summed up in a sentence. While the socio-political reason for the support is explained by the fact that

Syrians are Muslims and they are oppressed fleeing the war, the political reason is that Turkey's power is shown to the world.

To sum, the overwhelming majority of workers do not support Turkey's current Syria policy for socio-political and socio-economic reasons. The few supporters, on the other hand, explained the reasons for their support as Turkey has shown its power to the world through its Syria policy and Syrians are Muslims.

6.3.2. Precariousness and Political Tendency

The most difficult conditions of precariousness in the Ulus Worker Bazaar have been explained in detail in the previous parts of this study. The interviewed workers expressed the problems brought about by this precarity. Lack of work safety, difficult and dangerous working conditions, lack of social security, underpaid or not being paid, unemployment, etc. are common problems that workers face every day.

While workers give common or similar answers on issues related to precariousness and working conditions, this situation changes in political preferences. As explained in the sections above, the basic voting behavior of workers in the Ulus Worker Bazaar is shaped by the identity politics and Turkish-Kurdish and Alevi-Sunni cleavages. Workers often refer to these situations when describing their party preferences and political orientations, and identity plays an active role in their voting behavior. Workers explained their current party preference reasons as for economic or political/ideological/social reasons, as seen above.

Of the 21 workers interviewed, only Mehmet mentioned some characteristics of precariousness affects his party preference. He stated that he voted for the NMP in the 2018 elections. Besides Mehmet explained that he voted for the JDP until the last election, but did not vote in the last election for this party, and will not vote in the next elections because of unemployment, Syrians, and the unjust distribution of social benefits:

I always voted for the JDP until the last election, but I will no longer vote for the JDP because of the Syrians. Because of them, rents have increased, it has become difficult for us to find a job because they are working for less money than us. Working conditions are getting worse day by day. We are working at the cost of our lives. Now, in pandemic

conditions, the situation is even worse and they do not help. Social aid is not evenly distributed, aid is given to those who have a lot of property but not to us. They give social assistance to everyone to get votes. This shouldn't happen. You will distribute it to those who need it. (Mehmet, NMP Voter).

Only one worker was encountered who stated that some facets of precarity affect his vote preference and political behavior. To express it as a percentage, this rate is 4.7%. From this point of view, it can be said that for the overwhelming majority of workers, precarious working and living conditions are not affecting in voting behavior and party preference. Workers explain the reasons for voting with ideological, religious, and sectarian references.

As a result, the inference of Turkish voters since the 1990s that voters' voting preferences are determined by ethnic and religious identity, party identity, social status, political ideology and the performance of the macro economy (Kalaycıoğlu, 2017, p. 6) is also valid for the workers in Ulus Labor Market.

6.3.3. Workers' opinions on contemporary Turkish politics and government's policies

Two of the interview questions were asked to analyze workers' opinions on the current government, opposition, and solution of problems in Turkey. With the answers given by the workers to these questions, more in-depth answers were obtained regarding the current policies of the government and the political orientation of the workers.

The first one of these questions is as follows: "Which person, institution or organization would you prefer for a better future?" When the answers of the workers are classified, the following table is emerging:

Table 2: Preferred person, institution, or organization for a better future

Which person, institution or organization would you prefer for a better future?	Number of workers
State	2
A new government	7
The JDP	5
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	1
Opposition Parties	1
Change in agricultural policies	1
I do not know or no/irrelevant answer	4

Workers think that a better future will come again through the state, government, or political parties. This situation gives clues about the understanding of state and politics in Turkey. The traces of the paternalistic state understanding, which describes the state as mother or state as father, come to the fore in the answers of the workers from the state. The solution to the problems is largely expected from the state and the government. The absence of another and opposing authority such as the church as in the history of Europe strengthens this paternalistic bond between the state and the citizen in Turkey.

Answering the question as a new government, some of the workers also shared their thoughts on how the new government should be:

I hope there will be a developmental government that does not give support to partisans. Then our problems will be solved. There are men in the state with a lot of salaries. Why can't we produce vaccines? China produces it, we can't. Let there come a government that will not discriminate between Turks and Kurds (İshak, JDP voter).

In Kars, I have my place, my homeland, my fields. The state's agricultural policies are wrong. With the right agricultural policies, our economy will improve. For example, they do not give us grants. If I

receive a grant, I would go to my hometown. I would feed myself. Again, the government will fix it, but it should fix the agricultural policies for us (Rıza, Non-voter).

The state should distribute its social benefits equally. The state should help us, I have no expectations from anyone else (Ahmet, Non-voter).

For the recovery and development of Turkey, a good government is needed, it needs to protect the villagers (Murat, RPP voter).

For the solution of these problems, for the solution of inflation, there should be follow-up. No tracking. The oil comes to this country for very little money, tradesmen sell it very expensive. The state police should follow it up. The manufacturer can't win either. Tayyip Erdoğan keeps the richest, the people in the middle are crushed. This situation must change (Kadir, JDP voter).

While workers state the necessity of forming a new government for a better future, they offer very concrete policy proposals for this government. A striking point here is that the vast majority of workers propose solutions for Turkey in general in these policy proposals. No worker has submitted a policy recommendation for himself or labor status. While many workers were aware of problems such as job insecurity, not being insured at jobs, and underpaid or underpaid wages, they did not mention these in their policy recommendations. Workers mostly talked about solution proposals related to areas such as the economy in general and foreign policy.

On the one hand, some workers prefer the JDP and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to remain in power to solve the problems. These workers are people who voted for the JDP and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in the 2018 Elections as well and have orientations that support the government.

I think Erdogan should continue for a better future. Because he is a successful politician working for this country. We say we can't find a job today, maybe yes, but the JDP is not responsible for this. The RPP, which does not know how to do anything other than a statue, is responsible for today's situation (Mustafa, JDP voter).

The government should solve the existing problems, fix them. If the government fixes these problems, everything will be fine (Celal, JDP Voter).

On the other hand, some workers stated that a better future will only be possible if the JDP leaves/changes the government. Among these workers, there are those who refused to vote, voted for opposition parties, as well as those who stated that they regretted voting for the JDP and Recep Tayyip Erdogan in 2018.

The JDP has been in power for a very long time. It has to change now. When you stay this long, corruption happens, everything happens. I want to see the days when another party is in power. People are tired of even seeing the same faces now (Kemal, RPP voter).

I do not believe that anything will get better until the JDP leaves power. This is not something I would do alone. The JDP must go first, the government must change hands. Maybe a new government will fix it (Ali, GP voter).

These answers provide data on the above-mentioned high polarization in Turkey. This polarization is more evident among JDP and RPP voters. On the one hand workers who voted for the JDP and advocate the continuation of Erdoğan in power say that there is no other choice. In addition to this, there are also JDP voters who hold the RPP responsible for Turkey's current situation. On the other hand, the workers who voted for the RPP used harsh statements that nothing would improve without the JPP leaving power.

Some of the workers state that the long-term stay of governments in power is negative for the state administration. The reason for this is that parties and people who have been in power for a long time tend to be corrupted and have low accountability and check and balances. “What are the current government's policies that you find the most accurate? Can you comment on these?”⁴ is one of the questions that has been asked to workers. The answers to these questions are shown in two tables below:

⁴ A methodological discussion of this question took place in Chapter 3.

Table 3: The comments on the current government's most appropriate policy

What do you think is the most accurate policy of the current government?	Number of workers
Neither policy was right. / I am not satisfied with any of them.	8
I'm pleased with every policy/I like all policies in general.	5
Public serving and development policies	2
Health policy	2
(Previously) Economy	1
Solution process	1
Headscarf	1
I don't know/have no idea.	1

Table 4: The comments on the current government's worst policy

What do you think is the most incorrect policy of the current government?	Number of workers
I'm pleased with every policy/I like all policies in general.	5
Failure to make policies for the general public	2
Price control policy	1
Economic policies	1
Agricultural policies	2
Opposing the system established by Atatürk	1
Foreign policy	1
Syrian policy	8

A significant proportion -thirty eight percent (38%)- of the workers stated that they are not content with the current government's policies. According to this table, workers who gave specific answers to the question stated that they liked the policies that developed the country socio-economically. Other specific answers were about the solution process and freedom of headscarf in schools and in public services.

The Syria policy, agricultural policies and the policies related to the economy are the most detested policies by the participants. In addition, some of the workers interviewed stated that the current government makes policies towards only JDP's supporters and does not think about the public. Foreign policy and opposition to the system established by Atatürk are other wrong policies counted by the workers. Workers evaluate more on macroeconomic policies. Some of the criticisms of the Syria policy are directly related to the precariousness of the workers in the context of increase in labor supply and cheap labor. In addition, it is understood from these answers that the workers closely follow and criticize domestic and foreign policy.

The fact that the majority of the workers answered this question "I am satisfied with every policy of the JDP" or "I am not satisfied with any of the JDP's policies" is also an indicator of the polarization in the field of contemporary Turkish politics. This polarization, expressed through JDP's policies, is an indication that workers do not approach the gray area (complicated and nuanced views and perspectives) much and prefer black or white areas which is ideologically oriented. This again confirms that the main factor in voting is the ideological and religious/social background. Workers choose either white or black space, and this choice affects and shapes their entire outlook on the political sphere.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

The transition from the Keynesian economic model to neoliberal policies, becoming workforce more fragile and fluid with globalization, the abandonment of the Fordist production model and the transition to the post-Fordist models, the dissolution of employment in the agricultural and industrial sectors due to technological developments, and the increase in women's participation in the labor force have emerged a new situation that affects the work norm and political structure: Precariousness.

The spread of the informal economy, the increase in the worldwide mobility of labor, and the shift of jobs to the service sector as a result of technological developments, and the fact that they are carried out on short-term contracts have brought about an increase in the number of people working in precarious jobs. As a result of these developments, precariousness has become a new norm in employment. There are some specific groups that are often unable to find jobs other than precarious jobs and are forced to work under precarious conditions. Women, immigrants, old or inexperienced young people, the disabled, and ethnic and religious minorities who face discrimination are included in this group.

Some groups affected by precarization in Turkey took part in this study: Seasonal agriculture workers, contracted teachers, nonunionized blue-collars, contracted or subcontracted health workers and professionals, and some groups of white-collars. People working in these jobs work under poor working conditions with short-term or indefinite-term contracts in general, and therefore they may have to change jobs and employers constantly. Many of these workers, many of whom are non-unionized, are unemployed at indefinite intervals and are constantly working without job security and safety.

The subject of this research is the workers who are waiting for a job in the Labor Bazaar located in the Ulus district in the city center of Ankara, and almost all of them are working in jobs that are precarious. The demographic characteristics, socioeconomic status, and political orientations of these workers differ.

When the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the participant workers were examined, it was determined that all of the interviewed workers had an internal migration experience. Workers generally immigrated to the center of Ankara from distant and rural districts of Ankara, cities close to Ankara or located in Eastern Anatolia. It has been determined that the average age of the interviewees is higher than the requirements of the construction job they work in. The ages of the participants ranged between 40 and 70, with an average age of 55. Considering the educational status, most of the workers are primary school graduates and few of them are high school graduates, secondary school graduates, or have never been to school. In terms of the socio-economic situation, the workers do not have any other income except for a small group who are retired or have agricultural income.

When the situations related to precariousness are examined, it has been determined that almost half of the workers do not have social security. It is seen that the workers in the other half pay their social insurance, have a green card due to their insufficient economic situation, or are retired. When the job safety situation of workers is examined, it has been determined that job safety is mostly not provided or workers are provided with their own efforts, and this situation varies in the private and public sectors. There is no union to which the workers are affiliated, and it has been determined that some of the workers do not need it, some are against it, and some of them state that this is not possible due to the conditions they are in - they mean working without insurance and economic difficulties. In the Ulus Labor Market, it is not clear whether the workers will go to work, how many days per week/month they will be employed and the income earned from the work, and all these vary according to the constantly changing employers, the economic situation of the country, environmental factors and seasons. The uncertainty of the duration of the jobs and their mostly short-term nature cause workers to live a life between permanent unemployment and work. This situation negatively affects the social lives and long-term plans of the workers of Ulus Worker Bazaar. In addition, with the participation of Syrian, Afghan, and other foreign workers in the labor market, the chances of workers to find a job have decreased and jobs tended to become more precarious with this effect.

Whether the precarious situation of workers in the Ulus Labor Market affects their political orientation is one of the main research questions of this study. For this reason,

the political tendencies of the workers were determined. This determination is explained by 4 main variables: rationale for voting, perception of the most successful politician in the history of Turkey, the justification about Turkey's current problems, and thoughts on Turkish policies on asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants.

When the workers who explained the reasons for voting were examined, it was determined that 70% of these workers voted due to ideological/identity-related reasons. The reasons that are called ideological/identity-related show great similarities with the left-right, Alevi-Sunni, and Turkish-Kurdish cleavages in Turkey and political orientations related to them in the literature. Workers who describe themselves as Sunni Muslims and who express that they attach importance to developmental policies prefer the JDP. That is since the JDP is historically a party that represents the Muslim characteristics and center-right party as well as a catch-all party. Workers who describe themselves as Alevi vote for the RPP concerning Alevism and because of the JDP's Sunni Islam favored policies. Two basic distinctions and party preferences are detected in the workers who identified themselves as Kurds. While the Kurdish workers, who emphasize their Muslim identity rather than their Kurdish identity, prefer the JDP and a worker who votes for the PDP refers to the Kurdish identity of the PDP and believes that only a Kurdish party can represent him. The parties preferred by workers who define themselves as Turkish nationalists are the NMP and GP, which come from the Turkish nationalist tradition. Party preferences and evaluations of successful politicians in Turkish politics are in harmony. The people who are described as the most successful politicians are those who come from the party or party tradition that the workers vote for. The rate of workers who stated socio-economic reasons as the second reason for voting is 17%. The socio-economic justifications of the workers are inflation, positive/negative impact on the standard of living, and other economic indicators. The reasons for the workers who do not prefer to vote are that they do not feel close to any party and do not think that any of them will make a policy towards them.

Workers' evaluations of Turkey's problems, which are the third factor of political orientation, can be positioned on a wide spectrum: unemployment, inadequate/unjust distribution of social benefits, discrimination, Covid-19, terrorism, corruption are problems that were frequently mentioned by workers. Although the problems related to the economy are repeated frequently, this situation does not affect the party preference of

the workers. While more than half of the workers stated that they voted for the JDP in the 2018 elections, they critically approached the economic policies of the JDP. This is an indication that ideological/identity reasons are more effective than socio-economic reasons in the political preferences of workers.

As the fourth factor of political orientation, the situation of Syrians, Afghans, and other foreigners, which has become quite controversial in Turkey, has been examined. The vast majority of workers, regardless of party, find the Turkish government's policy on this issue wrong. Only a few workers, with their Muslim identity and the point of view of showing Turkey's power to the world, support policies in this regard.

A sound correlation could not be established between the workers' precarious experiences and their political orientations. Only one of the workers stated that he used to vote for the JDP but did not vote in the 2018 election due to unemployment, Syrians, poor working conditions, inadequate employment policies, and the injustice of social assistance, which are some of the features of precarity. Again, this is an answer devoid of basic precarious factors, yet a clear bond has been established in one person for these reasons alone. From this point of view, precariousness was not found in the justification of voting and party preference in approximately 95% of the workers. As a result of all these, it was determined that the political orientation of the workers in the Ulus labor market was determined by ideological/identity reasons.

Hitherto, existing studies on precarious work are explained in terms of a specific country, gender, or nationality. In this thesis, the experience of a very small and ignored group of people in precarious working conditions and the effect of these conditions on political orientation were studied and analyzed. In the literature today, precarious work is generally discussed over factory labor, short-term contracts, or women/immigrant chambers. Without any doubt, these focuses lay out the theory of precarious work and are very valuable. However, different from the existing studies, this study further focuses on workers who cannot establish a certain employee-employer relationship, even if they are short-term, daily workers, working conditions and life insurance, and workers who are in an uncertain situation. This reveals the original aspect of this thesis and its humble contribution to both precarious work and social sciences literature. This research has been prepared in order to increase the visibility of precariousness in the social sciences and

Turkish literature and to determine the political orientation of people working in precarious conditions since precariousness is a social reality that affects many areas of life beyond work and working conditions. It is hoped that this research will be a leading source for other studies that will be on the political orientation, work-life balances, and sociological characteristics of precarious people.



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2. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Görüşme Tarihi	 / / 202...	Görüşme No	
Görüşme Başlangıç Saati		Görüşme Yeri	
Görüşme Bitiş Saati			

Güvencesiz İşçilerin Politik Yönelimi

Bu araştırma; Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü öğretim üyesi Dr. Ayşenur Kılıç Aslan'ın danışmanlığında yüksek lisans öğrencisi Merve Köse tarafından yazılan tez için katkı sağlayan bilimsel bir araştırmadır.

Araştırmada güvencesiz işçilerin gündelik yaşam deneyimleri, çalışma koşulları ve siyasi eğilimleri araştırılmaktadır. Bu amaçla size bazı sorular sorulacaktır. Önemli olan sizin bu konular hakkında ne düşündüğünüzdür. Hiçbir sorunun doğru ya da yanlış bir yanıtı yoktur. Bu nedenle bütün soruları sadece kendi duygu ve düşüncelerinizi yansıtacak şekilde içtenlikle yanıtlamanız, araştırma için çok önemlidir. Sorulara başkalarının ne düşündüğü ya da genel olarak neyin kabul gördüğüne göre değil, gerçekten sizin ne yaşadığınız ve düşündüğünüze göre yanıt veriniz.

Mülakatta verilen yanıtlar isme göre değerlendirilmeyecek ve herhangi bir kişisel değerlendirme yapılmayacaktır. Bu nedenle çalışma için isminiz sorulmayacaktır. Araştırmaya katıldığınız için teşekkür ederiz.

Araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katılmayı ve araştırmanın sonuçlarının yüksek lisans tezinde ve bilimsel dergilerde yayınlanmasını kabul ediyorsanız lütfen burayı () işaretleyiniz.