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Syrian Refugees in Turkey

An Analysis of Role of the Labour Exploitation in their
Integration into the Labour Market

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Aim and Research Question	2
3. Relevance to Global Studies	2
4. Delimitations	3
5. Background: Syrian Refugees and the Legal Framework	4
6. Previous Research	6
6.1 Preparing to Move	6
6.2 Labour Exploitation	7
6.3 Migrant Illegality and Differential Inclusion	9
6.3.1 Migrant illegality	9
6.3.2 Differential inclusion	9
6.3.3 Relationship between labour exploitation and migrant illegality-differential inclusion	11
7. Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts	12
7.1 Dual Labour Market Theory	12
7.1.1 Economic duality	13
7.1.2 Dual labour market approach	14
7.1.3 The role of migrants in the labour market	16
7.2 Concept of Labour Exploitation	18
7.2.1 Labour Exploitation	18
7.2.2 Vulnerability	20
7.2.3 Control	23
7.2.4 Consent	24

7.3	Labour Market Integration	25
8.	Method	26
8.1	Case Selection	26
8.2	Research Design	26
8.3	Data Collection	27
8.3.1	Semi-structured Interviews	28
8.3.2	Secondary Sources and Legislation	30
8.4	Data Analysis	31
8.5	Role of the Researcher	33
8.6	Ethical Considerations	33
8.7	Validity, Reliability, and Generalisability	34
9.	Results, Analysis, and Discussion	35
9.1	Transactional Labour Exploitation	36
9.1.1	Vulnerability	39
9.1.2	Control	44
9.1.3	Consent	46
9.1.4	Sub-assessment	47
9.2	Structural Labour Exploitation	48
9.2.1	The existence of distinct labour segments	50
9.2.2	Differing behavioural patterns within each segment	51
9.2.3	Restrictions on Inter-Segment Mobility	56
10.	Conclusion and Future Research	61
	References	64
	Appendix (Interview Question Themes)	80

Abstract

This study investigates the role of labour exploitation in the integration of Syrian refugees into the Turkish labour market. Vulnerability, control, and consent are key elements in shaping labour exploitation. Informal employment among Syrian refugees is common both within the formal and informal sectors, which makes the line between them blurry. Labour exploitation plays a significant role and forms gaps and differences between citizen employees' and refugee employees' labour market participation. Legal restrictions, state policies, and the unwillingness of employers to comply with regulations also contribute to their labour exploitation and create an obstacle to their full labour market integration. This case study analyses Syrian refugees' labour exploitation from two perspectives, including transactional and structural, based upon semi-structured interviews, secondary sources, and legislation. The theoretical framework consists of three parts: the concept of labour exploitation, dual labour market theory, and labour market integration. Three hypotheses of dual labour market theory are employed while evaluating results within structural labour exploitation.

Keywords: Labour exploitation, vulnerability, consent, control, coercion, Syrian refugees, Turkish labour market, integration

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List of Abbreviations

1951 Convention: Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951)

1967 Protocol: Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (1967)

DTI: Department of Trade and Industry¹

FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights

ICLS: International Conference of Labour Statisticians

ILO: International Labour Organization

LFIP: Law on Foreigners and International Protection

MRCI: Migrant Rights Centre Ireland

NGO: Non-governmental organisation

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

TEPAV: The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey

TPR: Temporary Protection Regulation

TPR Work Permit Regulation: Regulation on Work Permits for Foreigners under Temporary Protection

Trafficking Protocol: Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime

TURKSTAT: Turkish Statistical Institute

UN: United Nations

UNHCR: UN Refugee Agency

UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

¹ The Department of Trade and Industry was one of the departments of the United Kingdom, and it was disbanded in 2007 (Davis and Walsh, 2016).

1. Introduction

Political and social turmoils across the world, such as conflicts and human rights violations, have entailed increasing migration flows (UN Refugee Agency, 2021a). By the end of 2020, out of the total number of forcibly displaced people worldwide (82.4 million), 4.1 million were asylum seekers "who were seeking international protection" and "whose claims had not yet been finally decided" (UNHCR, 2006, p. 441), and 26.4 million were refugees whose claims had been accepted (UNHCR, 2021a). Not all of the migrants² primarily move to another country in search of economic security, but migrants have economic impacts on the host countries (Bauder, 2006). Many commentators find that refugees accounted for a host country's economic downturn (Donelli, 2018), while others – even trade unions – assigned decreasing working conditions and weak bargaining power of natives to migrants (McGovern, 2007, p. 228; Munck, 2018, p. 161). Migrants, on the other hand, are mostly regarded as a "welcome labor force" and "more profitable" (especially irregular migrants whose movement takes place outside the laws) (Bauder, 2006, p. 4; Erdoğan and Şenses, 2015, p. 193; International Organization for Migration, 2021). About this perception, two points deserve emphasis. First, migrant workers' flexibility in terms of workplaces and working hours paves the way for flexible employment, and second, migrants can be employed as low-wage workers (Bauder, 2006, p. 4; Delgado Wise, 2015, p. 36; Könönen, 2019, pp. 783-4).

From such a perspective, labour exploitation stands out as a key concept by playing a significant role in migrants' and refugees' integration into the labour market. Nonetheless, the concept of labour exploitation can be analysed in separate contexts. Marx points out that as long as "the product of labour is not owned by the labourer" and/or "the labour gets less than

² Sometimes the term "migrant" is used as a neutral blanket term within migration literature when it comes to labour issues, as some have argued for the convenience of using the word "migrant" when the intention is to contain both refugees and migrants (Ruz, 2015). Nevertheless, according to the UNHCR, the phrase "migrant" should not be used as an umbrella term by covering both migrants and refugees since such usage may undermine the vulnerable situation of refugees and dehumanise the process of running away from danger (Ruz, 2015; UNHCR, 2016).

he produces,” the labour is compelled to be exploited, whereas according to neoclassical theory, exploitation could exist, especially if the capitalist system fails to provide perfect competition (Elster, 1978, pp. 3-9; Fairlamb, 1996, p. 193). Furthermore, labour exploitation can be found in varying forms, such as unlawful or deceptive recruitment; it can also be related to degrading living and working conditions, for instance, no remuneration or remuneration lower than the minimum wage, excessive hours of work, and a lack of occupational health and safety (Corbanese and Rosas, 2020, p. 12; Lewis et al., 2015, p. ix). The context and perspectives of labour exploitation to be used within this study will be discussed later in the ”Previous Research” and ”Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts” chapters. However, the line between bad labour conditions and labour exploitation is blurred. At this point, one should explore the roles of control or coercion, consent, and vulnerability and assess the claims with regard to labour exploitation on a case-by-case basis (Rijken, 2018, p. 200). Given refugees’ vulnerable situation, the most common notion within the framework of the exploitation of refugees is the abuse of vulnerability.

2. Aim and Research Question

The aim of this study is to evaluate the bad labour conditions of Syrian refugees in Turkey, investigate the extent of labour exploitation, and explore the role of labour exploitation in Syrian refugees’³ integration into the labour market in Turkey. Accordingly, the research question is as follows:

What is the role of labour exploitation in Syrian refugees’ integration into the labour market in Turkey?

3. Relevance to Global Studies

³ Under Turkish law, the term “refugee” excludes those who seek protection in Turkey as a result of events occurring in a non-European country. This point will be discussed more in the Background chapter. Nonetheless, the term “refugee” is used throughout the thesis regardless of this limitation. Please see the *Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951)*, art. 1, and *Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (1967)* for a comprehensive international definition of refugee.

In this chapter, I will present a higher level of abstraction of my study by zooming out and explaining the whole picture of this subject. When dealing with Syrian refugees' circumstances in Turkey from a global perspective, it is important to consider Turkey as a "hyper-ghetto" country for a more comprehensive understanding. Shamir (2005, p. 205) defines the hyper-ghetto as an "entire 'sovereign' national territory to whose boundaries the population is more or less permanently confined." The hyper-ghetto encompasses all citizens (with the exception of the minority of the upper and middle classes) whose mobility is restricted to the frontiers of the national territory (ibid.). Shamir (ibid.) emphasises that those hyper-ghetto countries generally host the largest numbers of refugees. Thus, refugees who are coming from hyper-ghetto states and entering another hyper-ghetto state are often doubly immobilised by filling the bottom positions in the social mobility hierarchy of the host country (ibid.).

The thesis speaks to the field of global political economy and international migration within global studies by letting the voices of Syrian refugees experiencing labour exploitation speak through the pages.

4. Delimitations

Issues such as how Syrian refugees perceive being exploited and how they discuss the criteria and circumstances of what they view as exploitation could have been included. However, due to the limited space of this study, this inquiry excludes Syrian refugees' perceptions regarding labour exploitation. Instead, this study focuses on a practice of labour exploitation. Therefore, questions within the semi-structured interviews do not aim to explore whether Syrian refugees are aware of the fact that they are exposed to labour exploitation. Questions regarding refugees' labour conditions were constructed in a way that illuminates the practice of labour exploitation without mentioning the concept.

In addition, discrimination against Syrian refugees in the labour market as a main research area would have been worth mentioning. Discrimination is a significant issue when it comes to

labour market integration, since gaps and differences between citizens and non-citizens determine integration level. However, this study doesn't focus on discrimination in order to delimit the subject.

Additionally, the dual labour market theory, which divides the labour market into primary and secondary segments (Doeringer and Piore, 1975, p. 70), will be treated from a migration perspective. As this thesis' research area is in the migration field, this thesis will cover the dual labour market theory only with application to the migration area.

Delimitation of methodologic issues will be elaborated under the "Method" chapter.

5. Background: Syrian Refugees and the Legal Framework

In this chapter, I will show the Syrian refugees' legal position in Turkey and give details of the legal framework of their employment.

Turkey is the world's number one host of refugees, hosting approximately 14 percent of the world's total amount of refugees (UNHCR, 2021a). In addition, Syria is listed as a notably large number of refugees' background country in Turkey (UNHCR, 2021b). In 2011, a watershed moment in the history of migration to Turkey occurred when large numbers of Syrians began to enter the country as a result of Syrian civil war, which was triggered by the Arab Spring (İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016, p. 60; Žuber and Moussa, 2018, pp. 248-9). The "open door" policy was disclosed by the Turkish state in 2011 (İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016, p. 60) and consequently, according to the UNHCR (2021b), over 3.7 million Syrians have been registered under temporary protection in Turkey as of December 31, 2021.

Nevertheless, the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Syrians in Turkey clearly showed that the legal framework related to refugees was not convenient to handle the massive waves of migration from Syria to Turkey (Donelli, 2018, p. 4). Syrian asylum seekers were listed as "guests" which did not provide them with any legal rights as the refugee status could not be granted to them by reason of Turkey's legal limitation to the 1951 Convention, which sets forth

that Turkey grants refugee status only to those coming due to the events taking place in member states of the European Council, and asylum seekers who are coming because of the events outside of Europe are not endorsed as refugees by Turkey (Donelli, 2018, p. 4; İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016; Kirişçi, 2014, p. 8; Turkish Republic Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, 2019; *1967 Protocol*, p. 4). Accordingly, new regulations were issued in 2013 and 2014: the i) Law on Foreigners and International Protection and ii) Temporary Protection Regulation set out new rules for foreigners, including the provisions that enable Syrian "guests" to be entitled to "temporary protection" status (Çetin et al., 2018, pp. 659-60; Kaiser and Kaya, 2016, pp. 108-9; Kilberg, 2014). Temporary protection status is defined under Article 91 of the LFIP:

"Protection provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and who have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection" (Çetin et al., 2018, p. 699).

TPR 2014 (Tur) also introduces the principles related to services regarding health, education, and labour market access, which also benefit Syrians under temporary protection. Moreover, employment matters, for example, work permit and employment conditions with regard to foreigners, including those under temporary protection, were regulated in 2016 under the i) Regulation on Work Permits for Foreigners under Temporary Protection and the ii) International Labour Force Law (İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016, p. 64; Üstübcü, 2019).

In accordance with the TPR Work Permit Regulation, Syrians under temporary protection are entitled to apply for a work permit after six months from the date of their temporary protection registration (İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016, pp. 63-4). Furthermore, those under temporary protection cannot be paid less than the minimum wage in Turkey (Çetin et al., 2018, p. 661; İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016, p. 64). Consequently, remarkable initiative has been undertaken by

the Turkish authorities in regard to the labour exploitation that Syrians face. Nonetheless, one should acknowledge that those attempts are not sufficient to prevent the uneasy situation of Syrian refugees in the labour market. Luis Pinedo Caro (2020) wrote a report titled “Syrian Refugees in the Turkish Labour Market.” In his report, Caro (2020, p. 21) underlined the “working conditions’ deficits in relation to excessive working hours, non-compliance with the minimum wage legislation, and denial of rights at work derived from the absence of work permits.” Additionally, he underlined the factors that cause failure to obtain a work permit (Caro, 2020, p. 35). One of the noteworthy factors to bear in mind is the ten percent employment threshold (ibid.). The TPR Work Permit Regulation has introduced an employment quota, and according to this quota system, the number of foreigners under temporary protection at the workplace cannot exceed ten percent of the number of Turkish employees at the same workplace (Caro, 2020, p. 35; Çetin et al., 2018, p. 661; İçduygu and Şimşek, 2016, p. 64; Üstübici, 2019). Furthermore, the person under temporary protection must work in a city where he or she is registered in order to be eligible to apply for a work permit (Caro, 2020, p. 36; Çetin et al., 2018, p. 661). It should be noted that work permits and working conditions are important indicators, as they do affect not only the wellbeing of refugees but also the extent to which they are integrated into the Turkish labour market.

6. Previous Research

Since labour market integration and labour exploitation of migrants are studied broadly within the migration field, I will mention just certain previous studies containing issues of preparing to move and the concepts of “labour exploitation,” “migrant illegality,” and “differential inclusion” that motivated me to examine the subject of this study.

6.1 Preparing to Move

Dealing with the research area of my study, one must acknowledge that there is a huge difference between migrants who move forward with their own free will and voluntarily and

asylum seekers who are seeking international protection in terms of prior preparations in relation to their move to a host country (Stark, 2008, p. 662; UNHCR, 2006, p. 441). Migrants are able to lay the groundwork related to their life in the host country (such as learning the language of the host country), whereas asylum seekers mostly do not have a chance to make such preparations due to their unplanned departure (Stark, 2008, p. 662). This can be deemed one of the important factors that contribute to refugees' vulnerability. The vulnerable positions of refugees play a significant role in their labour exploitation, and vulnerability will be discussed later in the "Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts" chapter.

6.2 Labour Exploitation

Skrivankova (2010, p. 16) problematises the absence of a clear definition of "labour exploitation," as there is no clear line between forced labour (extreme exploitation) and labour exploitation (violation of labour rights). On the other hand, this binary may lead to a "hierarchy of suffering," which can damage the struggle against labour exploitation (Skrivankova, 2010, p. 18). At this point, Skrivankova (ibid.) elaborates on the concept of "the continuum of exploitation," which was put forward by Andrees (2008, p. 22) as a range running from sub-standard working conditions to forced labour. According to Skrivankova (2010, p. 18), the continuum ranges from "desirable situation of decent work" to "negative extremity of forced labour" and shows us any type of factors lowering standards of workers at certain categories and filling spaces between decent work and forced labour. The continuum contains all types of labour exploitation and, in practice, helps us to realise and improve labour standards in all cases apart from decent work and wipes out situations paving the way for forced labour (ibid.). Skrivankova (2010, p. 19) also highlights that the absence of economic alternatives within the market is not the underlying factor that makes individuals bear with bad labour conditions (ibid.). Bad labour conditions also cannot be considered forced labour per se (ibid.). Bad labour conditions should be examined through the lens of vulnerability, and it should be explored whether there is abuse while obtaining the consent of the worker (ibid.). In my study, I will

examine the vulnerability concept in detail in the "Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts" chapter, and then vulnerability will be one of the lenses I use in the "Results, Analysis, and Discussion" chapter, while evaluating the bad labour conditions of Syrian refugees in Turkey to investigate the extent of labour exploitation.

In his book, "Labour Exploitation and Work-Based Harm," Scott (2017, p. 7) also focuses on a continuum (a range running from criminal activities to decent work) rather than a Marxist definition of exploitation that can be considered a vicious cycle (surplus value⁴ obtained from labour leads to further control of capitalists and this leads to greater exploitation) or a judicial maximalist approach that deems evidence of illegality necessary to define a case as exploitation. Furthermore, Scott (ibid.) presents a comprehensive approach while conceptualising exploitation and considers it something beyond the legal framework; and he does not limit himself with legal divisions, such as the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights' (2015, p. 34) division between severe labour exploitation (slavery, servitude, forced or compulsory labour, and others) and labour exploitation. In my study, I will also use certain sub-concepts from the "Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts" chapter rather than the legal approach or legal classifications while assessing Syrian refugees' situation in relation to labour exploitation in the "Results, Analysis, and Discussion" chapter.

Zwolinski and Wertheimer (2017) explain two types of exploitation: transactional and structural. Transactional exploitation is when unfairness occurs only between the parties to a particular transaction (for instance, the unpaid wage of an employee). Structural exploitation implies exploitation at the institutional level, where the rules "unfairly benefit one group of people to the detriment of another" (ibid.). The Marxist critique of capitalism can be considered a good example of structural exploitation, as according to Marx, economic and political institutions within the capitalist order are exploitative in this way (ibid.). My study uses both

⁴ The Cambridge Dictionary (2022) defines surplus value as "the difference between the amount a worker is paid and the value the worker adds to the goods or services produced."

perspectives. I will examine transactional exploitation by evaluating Syrian refugees' labour conditions through the concept of labour exploitation, whereas structural exploitation will be considered through dual labour market theory, and both are parts of my theoretical framework. Both will be discussed in the "Results, Analysis, and Discussion" chapter.

6.3 Migrant Illegality and Differential Inclusion

6.3.1 Migrant illegality

Fudge (2018) takes the effects of policies of labour market deregulation ("reduction of legal intervention into the relationship between employees and employers") and flexibilisation (introduction of temporary, short-fixed-term contracts) on employment issues as a starting point and claims that as a result of these policies, rigid labour rules, such as unemployment insurance and standards regarding employment conditions, can be excluded in some cases (European Industrial Relations Dictionary, 2017; Harvey, 2005, cited in Fudge, 2018, p. 561; Michie and Sheehan, 2003, p. 126). Since the mid-1990s, authorised immigration and asylum options have been decreased by states through their migration laws and policies, which has led to an increase in irregular migrants (Fudge, 2018, pp. 561-4). That facilitates meeting the needs of a deregulated market (ibid.).

In the same vein as above, De Genova (2002, p. 432), presents a concept titled "migrant illegality" and discusses it from the instrumentalist perspective. According to De Genova (2002, pp. 439-40), illegality is an outcome of immigration law, as the law constructs separate migrant categories, and "illegal alien" is the most profitable one in terms of the sustainability of a flexible labour market. In other words, the legal production of migrant illegality is a condition for the presence of vulnerable migrants as workers (ibid.).

6.3.2 Differential inclusion

Although the concept of differential inclusion can be understood within different scopes, this review will look into it within migration studies.

In their book, Mezzadra and Neilson (2013, p. 162) cite Castles' (1995, p. 294) definition of the concept: "a situation in which immigrants are incorporated into certain areas of society (above all the labour market) but denied access to others (such as welfare systems, citizenship, and political participation)." According to Mezzadra and Neilson (2013, p. 164), this definition was valid under the Fordist era, when the classical guest-worker systems (recruitment of labour migrants in Western Europe after the Second World War) (Castles, 1986, pp.761-2) ruled over the labour market. However, under current terms of the flexible labour market, migrants cannot be assured due to blurred lines between inclusion and exclusion (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013, p. 164). In other words, under the age of Fordism, at least, there was a common and legitimate recognition of their presence as "immigrant workers" (Abdallah, 2000, cited in Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013, p. 152). However, since the early 1980s, endeavours to flexibilize the labour market and the enlargement of the informal economic sector (a sector unregulated by the institutions of society) have encouraged irregular migration (Castells and Portes, 1989, p. 12; Mezzadra, 2011, pp. 125-6). Thus, the supply of cheap and irregular labour force increased (Mezzadra, 2011, pp. 125-6). As a result of this, currently, despite migrants' presence in the labour market (inside), they can be excluded from the protection of employment law and related welfare benefits (on the outside) (Allen and Axelsson, 2019, p. 116).

Mezzadra and Neilsson in 2012 (p. 67) and Casas-Cortes et al. in 2014 (p. 80) reached the differential inclusion concept by questioning social inclusion, as despite the good intentions of programmes of social inclusion, they are also means of hierarchy construction. Differential inclusion, as a concept, helps us to understand layers of this hierarchy, including "subordination, rule, discrimination and segmentation" within society (ibid.). In the same line of thinking, Villegas et al. (2020, p. 325) find it misleading to construct a binary from inclusion and exclusion and set forth differential inclusion as evidence, which includes the violence of both inclusion and exclusion. McNevin (2006, p. 141) also contributed by naming "immanent

outsiders,” who are exposed to differential inclusion as they are denied the right to the status of insiders, despite being economic participants.

For instance, blind spots in the notion of Fortress Europe or US-Mexican border, where the migrants’ escalating presence is ignored, can be considered both ”legal production of migrant illegality” and ”process of migrant inclusion through illegalization,” as they build racial segments within the labour and citizenship (De Genova, 2002; Mezzadra and Neilsson, 2012, p. 67-8). According to Wills et al. (2010, p. 60), there are also segments within the migrant labour force, depending on legal status, nationality, ethnicity, race, and gender. The link between migration control and labour regimes leads to ”different degrees of precarity, vulnerability and freedom” for individuals depending on their legal status, race, and class (Casas-Cortes et al., 2014, p. 79), as states use migration policies as a tool to deregulate the labour market (Rosewarne, 2001, p. 84). Thus, states give tacit consent to irregular migration (Mezzadra, 2011, p. 126; Rosewarne, 2001, p. 84).

Finland’s case is another example of differential inclusion. In Finland, employment law is considered a universal law, which means everyone should be entitled to have the same labour rights regardless of their legal status (Könönen, 2018, p. 63). Nevertheless, immigration policies differentiate migrants’ employment conditions through restrictions regarding migrants’ mobility in the labour market (ibid.). Such restrictions and the ambiguous situation of their legal status render migrants dependent on work and employers (ibid.).

6.3.3 Relationship between labour exploitation and migrant illegality-differential inclusion

The case of Syrians in Turkey, which is the subject of this writing, cannot be deemed a part of irregular migration since Turkey followed the ”open door” policy and encouraged Syrians to enter Turkey. Nevertheless, when it comes to the labour market, the state may not prevent differential inclusion through this policy alone due to the absence of a i) legal framework and

ii) regular implementation of regulations and the presence of certain regulations that work against Syrians, as mentioned in the Background chapter.

Due to the segmented and incomplete nature of the inclusion of migrants, the classical dichotomy between regular migrants and irregular migrants is losing its significance (Cuttitta, 2014, p. 300). Legal presence does not always mean legal access to the labour market. Differences in the allocation of rights create differential inclusion (Könönen, 2018, p. 56). As a result of the close relationship between migration policies and labour regimes, I believe that "legal production of illegality" has a lot of significance in terms of the path leading to migrants' labour exploitation. Also, labour exploitation contributes to the "differential inclusion" of migrants.

In the light of the above-mentioned previous research, in this thesis, I will attempt to fill the gap regarding the connection between Syrian refugees' labour exploitation and integration (instead of differential inclusion) into the Turkish labour market by forwarding the voices and situations of working refugees.

7. Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts

In my attempt to answer my research questions, I will use dual labour market theory (also called labour market segmentation theory), which I will explain in detail in this chapter. Then, I will explore this thesis' key concept, "labour exploitation." Lastly, I will briefly mention labour market integration.

7.1 Dual Labour Market Theory

The following paragraphs trace the dual labour market theory's role in international migration. I will attempt to illustrate i) the labour exploitation that Syrian refugees may be exposed to and ii) the role of labour exploitation in their integration into the Turkish labour market in the "Results, Analysis, and Discussion" chapter through the lens of the key aspects of this theory.

Within his work, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*, Piore (1979, p. 35) divides the market into two separate sectors, namely: i) a primary sector has mostly job positions for natives, and ii) a secondary sector has mostly employment options for migrants. For a more in-depth understanding of this separation, one must first understand economic duality (Piore, 1979, p. 36).

7.1.1 Economic duality

The Marxian model is useful as a point of reference while explaining economic duality. According to Marx (1867, cited in Bauder, 2006, p. 36), capitalist economies are based on two sorts of capital: “constant capital,” which refers to capital as a means of production, and “variable capital,” which refers to labour. In other words, there are owners of capital (employers) and owners of labour (employees) (Piore, 1979, p. 36). The presence of capital is a must for production, and this makes capital indispensable (Bauder, 2006, p. 19; Piore, 1979, p. 36). In other words, capital can be seen as a fixed factor (*ibid.*). However, labour is a variable factor (*ibid.*). In case of a decrease in demand, labour can simply be released (Bauder, 2006, p. 20; Piore, 1979, p. 36). Due to the fact that the owner of capital is the one who manages and determines the production process under a capitalist system, the owner of labour has to bear a disproportionate share of the negative consequences of the economic flux and uncertain situation of the system (*ibid.*). According to Marx’s methodological approach, production should not be considered solely as “the physical production of a tangible object” (Tregenna, 2011, p. 286). Considering this perception, it can be claimed that the owner of capital manages and determines the process not only in the production sector but also in some of the activities within the services sector.

Keeping labour and capital separate is crucial, since in the absence of this separation workers would not be willing to leave their work in order to not lose their capital (Reisman, 1996, p. 293). This duality in the economy between capital and labour leads to another duality among

workers (Bauder, 2006, p. 20; Piore, 1979, p. 37): the employees working within the primary sector and the employees working within the secondary sector. Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that the distinction is based on good and bad jobs rather than skilled and unskilled employees (Wachter et al., 1974, p. 638). In other words, even if employees in the secondary sector are as good as those in the primary sector, a process of divergence creates two segments in the labour market, as detailed below (Taubman and Wachter, 1987, p. 1192).

7.1.2 Dual labour market approach

According to the dual labour market approach, a labour market is divided into two segments: the capital-intensive primary sector with high levels of technology and the labour-intensive secondary sector with minimum machinery and technology (Bauder, 2006, p. 20; Doeringer and Piore, 1975, p. 70). The primary sector consists of better-paying, steady, skilled, and preferred jobs; job security; and better working conditions (Doeringer and Piore, 1975, p. 70). On the other hand, the secondary sector is known for its low-paying, unstable, and unskilled jobs (construction and manufacturing); undesirable working conditions; and common dismissal (Doeringer and Piore, 1975, p. 71; Piore, 1979, pp. 18-38). Dual labour market theory includes three hypotheses: “the existence of distinct labour segments; differing behavioural patterns within each segment; and restrictions on inter-segment mobility” (Reich, 1984, p. 63).

Unsecured jobs taking part in the secondary sector act as guarantors for the presence of secure jobs (Piore, 1979, p. 40). The employees within the secondary sector are the ones who bear the undesirable consequences of economic fluctuations, as they can be laid off easier due to the nature of their jobs, which consist of low-skilled activities (Rueda, 2005, p. 63). For instance, if demand falls as a result of fluctuation, employees in the secondary sector can simply be laid off, as the secondary sector’s minimal level of technology investment enables the employer’s loss to be minimal as well (Bauder, 2006, p. 20; Piore, 1979, p. 39). In this way, costs arising from the uncertain condition of the capitalist system can be compensated within the secondary sector (Piore, 1979, p. 39). In other words, thanks to the dual labour market, unsecured jobs are

disproportionately gathered into the secondary sector and create a bottom place in the job hierarchy (Piore, 1979, p. 40). Thus, workers in the secondary sector function as sacrificed employees and sustain employment, industries, and technologies within the primary sector that would otherwise not be secured throughout economic fluctuations (Bauder, 2006, p. 20; Piore, 1979, p. 86).

Duality within the labour market varies depending on the region (Portes and Walton, 1981, p. 60). In developed countries, the distinction is based on the primary sector and the secondary sector, whereas the labour market is divided into two segments: the formal sector and the informal sector in low and middle-income countries (Portes and Walton, 1981, p. 60; Sindzingre, 2006, p. 60). According to the International Conference of Labour Statisticians (1993, par. 5/1):

”The informal sector may be broadly characterized as consisting of units engaged in the production of goods or services with the primary objective of generating employment and incomes for the persons concerned. These units typically operate at a low level of organization, with little or no division between labour and capital as factors of production and on a small scale.”

The informal sector has a heterogeneous form that refers to “unregulated labour-intensive activities,” “small enterprises,” “activities occurring outside the legal framework,” and “unregistered activities.” (Sindzingre, 2006, p. 59) Nevertheless, ICLS (1993, par. 5/3), distinguished informal sector activities from underground sector activities, stating that informal sector activities are not necessarily carried out to evade the tax or labour legislation.

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and the International Labour Organization (2019, p. 155), when it comes to an employment perspective, informal employment can be considered both in terms of “informal employment in the formal sector” and “informal employment in the informal sector,” which takes place both in formal small enterprises having registered activities and informal firms having unregistered activities.

With regard to “employment in the informal sector,” ICLS (1993, par. 5/1) states that “Labour relations -where they exist - are based mostly on casual employment, kinship or personal and social relations rather than contractual arrangements with formal guarantees.” Generally, the unskilled are employed (Sindzingre, 2006, p. 60), and employees’ wages are less than the minimum wage amount within the informal sector (Sindzingre, 2006, pp. 64-5).

“Informal employment” refers to an employee’s condition that is not subject to labour legislation, tax regulations, social insurance contributions, or other employee benefits, such as annual leave and severance payment, as those employees are not declared to state institutions by their employers (OECD and ILO, 2019, p. 156). It can be easily said that unregistered entities, where solely unregistered activities (goods and services) are carried out and income obtained from these activities is not reported, also engage in informal employment due to the nature of their unregistered characteristics.

7.1.3 The role of migrants in the labour market

The dual labour market theory becomes prominent among other international labour migration theories since it is based on the labour demands of industrial societies rather than the rational choices of migrants (Massey et al., 1993, p. 440). The dual labour market theory puts forward a claim with regard to demand for migrant labour: Migration “meets the requirements of the secondary sector of a dual labor market” (Piore, 1979, p. 26). It is for this reason that labour migration is initiated by governments or employers through the recruitment process (Massey et al., 1993, p. 444).

Secondary sector jobs are not popular among natives (Piore, 1979, p. 27), as natives have a citizenship that is a “form of capital that complements other forms of capital...as a means of domination” (Bauder, 2006, p. 49) and prompts them not to present their economic capital (labour) within the secondary sector. Natives as members of a nationality are willing to work in prestigious jobs in the primary sector (Piore, 1979, pp. 27-8), which results in labour shortages within the secondary sector (Castles and Kosack, 1973, p. 399). This situation could prompt

one to consider a solution, such as salary increases within the secondary sector in terms of attracting employees (Massey et al., 1993, p. 441). However, any salary increase in the secondary sector would produce a domino effect because the labour market consists of a job hierarchy in compliance with social expectations, and raising the wage at the bottom of this hierarchy would require wage increases in subsequent levels of the job hierarchy as well (also called structural inflation) (ibid.). At this point, in order to enable the continuing existence of the secondary sector, migrants play a significant role as they meet the labour requirements of this sector (Massey et al., 1993, p. 442) and preserve jobs within the primary sector for natives (Piore, 1979, pp. 86-7). The secondary sector needs workers who solely aim to earn money without considering prestige (Massey et al., 1993, p. 442). Migrants, at least in the early stages of their lives in the receiving country, have this kind of motivation since they do not consider themselves to be part of the host country (ibid.). One must acknowledge that, generally, due to their temporary attachment to the labour market, migrants are more adaptable to the secondary sector, which contains unsecured jobs, in comparison to natives, who are attached to the labour market permanently (Piore, 1979, p. 39). The migrants accept wage amounts and labour conditions that the natives do not agree to (Castles and Kosack, 1973, p. 399; Piore, 1979, p. 2), as the migrants are more open to manipulation and control in comparison to the other worker groups (Piore, 1979, p. 92). Also, migrants may be perceived as a more attractive worker group due to their flexibility, since they are likely to leave their families in the sending country, which enables them to have less responsibility in the host country and devote themselves to their job (Bauder, 2006, p. 21).

Additionally, with the help of national legislation's restrictions (for example, prohibition of free circulation of foreigners in the labour market), migrants may be excluded from the jobs in the primary sector even if they are more skilled and committed (Bauder, 2006, p. 24; Piore, 1979, p. 28), which results in "underemployment" ("condition of workers whose education or training makes them overqualified for their jobs") (Britannica, 2022; Hack-Polay et al., 2022, p. 169). In

other words, citizenship status is used as a tool to push non-citizens towards the secondary sector and the informal sector (Bauder, 2006, p. 49).

Lastly, despite the fact that migrants play a significant role in sustaining secure jobs in the labour market, as mentioned above, there is a limit to the demand for migrants. If the cost of production in the secondary sector declines too much, the conditions provided by secure jobs in the primary sector will be undermined, which will result in the secondary sector attempting to expand into a stable portion of labour demand within the primary sector rather than enabling its function (Piore, 1979, pp. 41-2).

7.2 Concept of Labour Exploitation

In order to examine labour exploitation more deeply, I will also explore the sub-concepts of vulnerability, control, and consent after I define the concept of labour exploitation.

7.2.1 Labour Exploitation

According to Marxist exploitation, the exchange of labour for goods occurs unequally, since the amount of labour in the good that can be purchased with the worker's income is usually less than the worker's amount of labour throughout the process of embodiment of goods (Roemer, 1985, p. 30). It should be borne in mind that in this study, the concept of labour exploitation is not presented within the context of Marxist analyses of exploitation.

It is significant to treat labour exploitation with both transactional and structural dimensions to see a comprehensive picture. Because the transactional viewpoint remains very limited as an account analysing exploitation between individuals, one needs to discuss exploitation from a structural standpoint (McKeown, 2016, p. 160). Structural insight enables us to realise that, in fact, labour exploitation occurs not only between individuals (for example, between A and B) but also groups (for instance, between employers and employees within Marxist theory), and it plays a noteworthy role within historical and social structure (ibid.). Thus, one can understand

patterned results within transactional exploitation and historical results within structural exploitation (Sample, 2003, p. 16).

Despite the fact that there is no clear definition of "labour exploitation," it is generally agreed that a violation of labour rights can be considered "labour exploitation" (Rijken, 2018, p. 190). Many people often use the concepts of forced labour and labour exploitation interchangeably (Radeva Berket, 2015, p. 362), although forced or compulsory labour can be deemed one of the severe forms of labour exploitation (FRA, 2015, p. 34). According to FRA (ibid.), forms of labour exploitation are divided into two kinds: severe forms of labour exploitation and other forms of labour exploitation. Severe forms of labour exploitation are as follows: slavery, servitude, forced or compulsory labour and other severe forms of labour exploitation (ibid.). Some of the other forms of labour exploitation's (also named routine labour exploitation) indicators are low or no salary, wage manipulation, excessive working days or hours, lack of sufficient breaks, bullying, poor living conditions, hazardous work, very poor working conditions, lack of contract or social insurance, and violation of a legal framework or employment contract (ILO, 2009a; Lewis et al., 2015, p. ix; Murphy et al., 2020; Velizarova and Kirov, 2018, pp. 66-7).

There are risk factors that underlay the path to labour exploitation (FRA, 2015, p. 14). In general, in recent years, countries have been prone to follow the flexibilisation of labour markets, which leads to wage decreases, excessive hours of work, and unpaid overtime work. (Lewis et al., 2015, p. 19; Velizarova and Kirov, 2018, pp. 67-8). Also, the introduction of new labour legislation facilitates these types of implementations (ibid.). These tendencies have increased the ways that will maintain labour exploitation (Lewis et al., 2015, p. 19; Velizarova and Kirov, 2018, p. 68). In particular, risk factors relating to workplaces, employers, employees' personal situations, and the legal framework play a more significant role when it comes to migrant and refugee workers: working in sectors that have a tendency to exploit workers; working at an informal workplace; a lack of an employment agreement or information regarding

employees' rights; the reinforcement of workers' dependency by giving them accommodation; a low level of education and qualification or a lack of knowledge of the host country's language; poverty in or turmoil in the sending country; a lack of efficient inspection mechanisms; and deficiencies and legal gaps within the legal framework, to name but a few (FRA, 2015, p. 14; Velizarova and Kirov, 2018, p. 68).

The differences between bad labour and labour exploitation are ambiguous within legal terms (Rijken, 2018, pp. 189-90). Because in many legislations labour exploitation is classified as criminal offence and bad labour conditions bear legal consequences solely in terms of violation of labour law, distinguishing between the two is a process that must be carried out carefully (Rijken, 2018, p. 191). I will draw on Rijken's (2018, pp. 196-200) relevant factors, which are distilled from the Chowdury Case (a case regarding migrant workers) by her. For a closer examination of labour exploitation, I will employ her terminology (vulnerability, control, and consent) that she has found useful when it comes to distinguishing labour exploitation from bad labour conditions (Rijken, 2018, p. 200). Those sub-concepts will be employed in the "Results, Analysis, and Discussion" chapter while analysing the labour exploitation cases of the interviewees from a transactional perspective.

7.2.2 Vulnerability

To begin with, since I will examine vulnerability in terms of labour abuse, I would like to take the relationship between precariousness, vulnerability, and labour exploitation into consideration. Precariousness, which is increased due to the flexibilisation of labour markets and the economic crisis and contains in itself both instability and insecurity, leads to a rise in vulnerability and facilitates labour exploitation as "the act of taking advantage of workers" (Trif et al., 2016, p. 5; Velizarova and Kirov, 2018, pp. 68-71).

In a more general context, vulnerability is defined as "a matter of being under threat of harm" (Goodin, 1985, p. 110) or "a disposition of personality or circumstance of life that serves to hamper the rational-emotive process" (Hill, 1994, p. 686). Although there is no definition of

”abuse of a position of vulnerability” in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, according to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013, p. 3), an earlier draught of the Trafficking Protocol contained the following definition: “any situation in which the person involved has no real and acceptable alternative but to submit to the abuse involved” (Rijken, 2018, p. 202). As it is still not defined within the draught what ”no real and acceptable alternative” refers to, it is difficult to employ this definition while analysing cases (ibid.). Many employees, who are entitled to refuse to work within excessive working hours in terms of the legal framework but in practice continue working so as not to lose their jobs, are a good example of this ambiguity (ILO, 2009b, p. 7). Also, DTI (2006, p. 25) has a similar definition for ”vulnerable worker”: ”someone working in an environment where the risk of being denied employment rights is high and who does not have the capacity or means to protect themselves from that abuse.”

On the other hand, according to Bewley and Forth (2010, p. 5), vulnerability is a continuum in which an individual is under the influence of different factors (ILO, 2009b, p. 8). In the same line of approach, there are various classifications of factors having an effect on the occurrence of vulnerability. UNODC (2013, p. 3), for example, separates into two groups: pre-existing factors, including age, gender, etc., and subsequent factors, such as isolation, dependency, and irregular legal status that may be created by exploiters (ILO, 2009a; Rijken 2018, pp. 202-3). Furthermore, human rights violations and sociopolitical alienation such as poverty, inequality, and discrimination that originate in the heart of the social structure and a lack of legal protection harm the process of making a free choice (Gallagher, 2010, p. 415; Hill, 1994, p. 687). In the case of not being adequately nourished or sheltered due to poverty, individuals can make decisions in a way that they wouldn’t have otherwise (Gallagher, 2010, p. 419; Hill, 1994, p. 687). Also, inequalities concerning income and opportunity between or within countries and

regions strengthen vulnerabilities (Gallagher, 2010, p. 419).⁵ Additionally, vulnerability may originate due to armed conflict and postconflict situations; in other words, difficulties in the past may put people in a difficult position (Gallagher, 2010, p. 430; ILO, 2009a).

In the same line of classification, in their book, Waas et al. (2015, cited in Rijken, 2018, p. 203) separate into three factor groups, including internal factors (for instance, level of intelligence or state of mind), external factors (poverty, lack of education, irregular legal status, etc.), and triggers or situational factors (for example, acute need for money or a difficult family situation) (ILO, 2009a; Rijken, 2018, p. 203). External circumstances may lead to an internal emotional state of vulnerability that could impact the rational choice system of the individual (Hill, 1994, p. 687).

Moreover, vulnerability has different dimensions, such as economic, social and cultural, linguistic, and legal vulnerability. Economic vulnerability may originate from economically disadvantaged backgrounds, which may result in a vicious cycle of "debt, vulnerability and dependency on the employer" (ILO, 2009a; Radeva Berket, 2015, p. 365). Social and cultural vulnerability, in particular, is common among migrant workers, as one of the most common sorts of recruitment among migrant workers is through relatives and acquaintances, which leads to an employee's psychological and emotional dependency on the employer and vulnerability to exploitation due to the close relationship between worker and employer (ILO, 2009a; Ollus and Jokinen, 2013, p. 69; Radeva Berket, 2015, p. 366). A good example of this is the abuse of cultural or religious beliefs (ILO, 2009a). Furthermore, problematic issues such as being confined to certain workplaces and having low levels of knowledge of legal rights are a result of linguistic vulnerability, or, in other words, a lack of knowledge of the host country's language (Radeva Berket, 2015, p. 366). Last but not least, irregular migrants and asylum seekers are especially the ones who suffer higher legal vulnerability since they may have no choice but to

⁵ Gallagher (2010, p. 419) here refers to trafficking-related vulnerabilities. For details, please see UN Trafficking Principles and Guidelines, Principle 5. Nevertheless, I applied it to a more general context as it is also applicable to labour exploitation.

work within the informal market when they face limited options in the formal market due to deficiencies within the legal framework (Radeva Berket, 2015, pp. 366-7).

In spite of the fact that one must carry out situation-specific analysis while evaluating the degree of vulnerability (Gallagher, 2010, p. 415), it is generally agreed that there is a group called "vulnerable populations," which consists of children, migrant women, recent immigrants, and undocumented immigrants (Wagenaar et al., 2017, p. 224). Nevertheless, it would be wrong to conclude that the motivations of vulnerable people arising from their features should be the ones to blame for the abuse or exploitation because there is always an agent who is capable of making a choice between causing harm, taking advantage of a vulnerability, or preventing harm (Goodin, 1985, p. 112; Hill, 1994, p. 680; Rijken, 2018, p. 203). Additionally, it is useful to specify that the presence of vulnerability does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that vulnerable people will end up being exploited (DTI, 2006, p. 25; Rijken, 2015, p. 439, 2018, p. 204). For instance, external conditions such as poverty may not necessarily impact on an individual's rational choice process unless this situation triggers the individual's state of mind in a way that affects the individual's capacity to make decisions (Rijken, 2015, p. 440, 2018, p. 204). At this point, one should look for other elements of labour exploitation.

Vulnerability will play an important role in my analysis since refugees are one of the most vulnerable groups in the world and have a high potential for being victims of labour exploitation.

7.2.3 Control

Control can be any act and can be physical or psychological (Rijken, 2018, p. 201). Violence and coercion can be deemed severe forms of control and can be easily realised (ibid.).

It is often claimed that coercion includes physical force, whereas abuse of vulnerability does not (UNODC, 2013, p. 73). Nevertheless, there are strong arguments against this distinction (ibid.). For instance, it is often pointed out that coercion also can include threats (threats include, but are not limited to, threats of dismissal, withholding of wages, and deportation

depending on the worker's migration status) or psychological manipulation (ILO, 2009a; Murphy et al., 2020, pp. 337-43; UNODC, 2013, p. 73). Some go further and argue that abuse of vulnerability is one of the means of coercion, so there is no need to distinguish between them (UNODC, 2013, p. 73). Nonetheless, there may be some cases, such as an individual who is exposed to coercion but is not vulnerable (ibid.).

In contrast to coercion, it is difficult to detect acts of control other than severe forms of control in cases of vulnerability abuse (Rijken, 2018, p. 201). For instance, an employer, who is a perpetrator of the act of control, does not openly prohibit employees from reporting their situation of labour exploitation to the relevant authorities but instead uses certain means of control, including surveillance (can also be deemed a type of coercion depending on the degree of pressure) and monitoring systems (cameras, etc.) or provides employees with accommodation (ILO, 2009a; Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, p. 16; Murphy et al., 2020, pp. 338-9).

Also, it is argued that in the presence of coercion, exploitation is beside the point (Hill, 1994, p. 661). The arguments in favour of this approach point out that exploitative offers limit free choices but include an additional alternative (a benefit for the offeree). This additional alternative, which may be accepted or rejected without sanction (at least from an objective perspective), is not offered by coercive threats (Wertheimer, 1987, cited in Hill, 1994, pp. 661-84). In other words, coercion includes the threat of harm, whereas exploitation offers certain benefits for the offeree (Hill, 1994, pp. 661-84). However, there are strong arguments against this distinction (Hill, 1994, p. 663). For example, it is said that an exploitative offer limits an individual's free choice or puts an individual in a worse position as the consequence of his or her choice (Feinberg, 1983, cited in Hill, 1994, p. 663).

Control will play an important role in my analysis, as it facilitates labour exploitation.

7.2.4 Consent

When a victim gives consent to the exploitative case, this consent does not automatically affect the exploitative side of the case, as the consent could be held void due to the control carried out on the victim, a lack of knowledge about the host country's legislation, or the victim's bad economic background (Rijken, 2015, p. 437, 2018, pp. 201-2). As per par. 37 of the Legislative Guide for the Trafficking Protocol (UNODC, 2004), "Once it is established that deception, coercion, force, or other prohibited means were used, consent is irrelevant and cannot be used as a defence." Therefore, in the case of severe labour exploitation situations that involve coercion, it can be said that consent is null (Rijken, 2015, p. 437). On the other side of the fence, when it comes to other forms of labour exploitation, the situation can still be described as exploitative, even if the exploited chooses to establish a relationship with the exploiter (Wertheimer, 1996, p. 251). Hence, in cases other than severe forms of labour exploitation, all indicators (including labour conditions) should be taken into account to determine whether there is labour exploitation or not, even if consent is given (Rijken, 2015, p. 437, 2018, p. 202; UNODC, 2013, p. 78). I will employ consent while analysing the labour exploitation cases of my interviewees as well, since obtaining a concept may not make sense in vulnerable situations.

7.3 Labour Market Integration

In spite of the fact that there is no international definition of "labour market integration," according to the Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs of the European Commission (no date), when it comes to the integration of migrants to the labour market, differences between nationals and non-nationals regarding employment and working conditions have to be considered. Furthermore, it is two-dimensional, including individual and structural levels. Two dimensions won't be mentioned widely under this study because, as mentioned earlier, my research question only examines labour market integration in terms of labour exploitation. For this reason, instead of individual and structural levels of labour market integration, I will analyse two dimensions-transactional and structural-of labour exploitation.

8. Method

In this chapter, I will mention the details of the method I followed while conducting the research. First, I will explain how I chose the subject of this study. Then, I will elaborate on the planning of the research. Thirdly, I will specify my data collection process, which involves conducting interviews and examining secondary documents and certain legislation. I will also mention interviewee selection and the interview process within this part. The rest of this chapter will examine, respectively, the interpretation of the data obtained from research, my role as a researcher during the study, ethical considerations, and a brief description of validity, reliability, and generalisability issues.

8.1 Case Selection

Mostly, a case and a country are considered two sides of the same coin (Klotz, 2008, p. 43). Likewise, having Turkish background led me to select a case from recent history (the Syrian flow to Turkey after the civil war) and a nearby territory (Turkey).

As each research question is grounded on a core concept (Klotz, 2008, p. 44), I also chose labour exploitation as a core concept. Since my purpose is not to treat this core concept from an epistemological perspective (refugees' perceptions of labour exploitation), I focused on the practice of labour exploitation because I wanted to explore the role of labour exploitation in Syrian refugees' integration into the Turkish labour market.

8.2 Research Design

Most of the time, research questions determine the method (Yin, 2009, p. 10). Likewise, my research question helped me decide which method to follow. My research question is "What is the role of labour exploitation in Syrian refugees' integration into the labour market in Turkey?" This question is exploratory, as I would like to explore the role of labour exploitation. Therefore, any method could be used (Yin, 2009, p. 10). However, despite the fact that this is a what question, it investigates how labour exploitation affects labour market integration. "How"

questions generally prompt the use of case studies (Yin, 2009, p. 10). Hence, this research question oriented me to do a case study.

In qualitative research, the researcher conducts research by examining a concept or a phenomenon (Creswell, 2009, p. 98). As I have a main concept throughout my writings (labour exploitation), I chose to conduct a qualitative case study.

8.3 Data Collection

Qualitative researchers usually gather information by talking directly to individuals in the field, and researchers are key instruments as they collect data from various sources by examining documents and conducting interviews (Creswell, 2009, p. 175). Since, throughout this study, conducting interviews and examining secondary sources were the best methods for data collection to be able to answer the research question.

Interviews were useful for this study. Since I was not able to observe my interviewees in their working lives directly, the interview method enabled me to contact interviewees face-to-face, one-on-one, and in person (Creswell, 2009, p. 179). Moreover, as I was the one who designed the questions, this type of data collection gave me more control over the course of events (ibid.). Qualitative interviews have generally unstructured and open-ended questions due to their nature (Creswell, 2009, p. 181). Throughout my study, semi-structured interviews were beneficial because they gave me more space in comparison to a tight questionnaire. Thus, apart from the set of core questions, I could adapt my questions depending on the flux of the interview, and this enabled me to eliminate “a kind of mass-produced superficiality” (Gusterson, 2008, p. 104). This point is important for my study, as my aim is not to make generalisations and my interviewees represent only a small number of Syrian refugee employees in Turkey.

Secondary sources were quite helpful during my study. Thanks to secondary sources, I was able to save time without hesitating on their reliability (Bryman, 2008, p. 295). As those data

have been collected by various reputable institutions or reputable researchers, I could trust their high-quality work (Bryman, 2008, pp. 295-7).

Legislation is also vital to verifying the data I obtained. Throughout my writings, I used legislation as a means of verification as well as a pathfinder.

8.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

I chose semi-structured interviews, as they better captured the nature of exploring my core concept, "labour exploitation." Thus, I obtained an enormous amount of data regarding practices related to my core concept from the interviewees' experiences.

Interviewee selection

Firstly, I identified "purposefully selected individuals" in line with my research question (Creswell, 2009, p. 178). However, given the sensitivity of the issue, it is not easy to find many volunteers. Therefore, no specific geographical area was determined in terms of the interviewees' cities. Four of them have been referred to me by several friends, and two of them have been referred to me by my colleagues. I managed to find one of them with the help of the "snowball technique" (Gusterson, 2008, p. 98). The first interviewee referred her friend to me. Despite my thesis being based on particularity rather than generalisability, I wanted to reach a relatively wide sample by diversifying it. I could sense that ethnic diversity (Kurds, Turkmens and Arabs) and job diversity (low, middle and high-skilled jobs) could make a significant contribution. Therefore, in spite of the fact that one more interviewee told me that he could find some other volunteers among his friends, in order not to get trapped inside his network, I implemented an anti-snowball sample that enabled variety among interviewees (Ackerly, 2008, p. 35; Gusterson, 2008, p. 98).

Although this thesis involves female working experiences, I must acknowledge that there is a lack of diversity based on gender, as only two of the seven respondents were women.

The list of respondents is as follows:

Respondent	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Date of entry into Turkey
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1	Female	28	Turkmen	2013
2	Female	36	Turkmen	2012
3	Male	26	Arab	2013
4	Male	41	Turkmen	2015
5	Male	31	Arab	2014
6	Male	40	Kurd	2013
7	Male	34	Arab	2015

Except Respondent 5, all of them have been issued temporary protection identity documents. Despite having run away from the Syrian war, Respondent 5 did not want to register for temporary protection due to reasons explained under the "Results, Analysis, and Discussion" chapter. In spite of the fact that he was not a refugee within legal terms but entered Turkey due to war in his country, I wanted to mention his experiences within this study as well, since his experiences were closely related to the theory and this study has nothing to do with a legal analysis.

Interview process

When you interview the interviewees, you have to fit in with them in terms of time scheduling and meeting place (Yin, 2009, p. 85). Therefore, I adjusted myself to them in terms of venue and schedule. I presented them with options (face-to-face, online, or telephone) and requested that they choose one of them. I conducted different types of interviews (Creswell, 2009, p. 182). Respondents 1 and 2 do not live in the same city as me, and they chose to do an interview over the phone. Respondent 3 immigrated to Europe in 2021, and he wanted to do an interview over the phone as well. I did a face-to-face interview with Respondent 4 in a place near his workplace. Respondent 5 also immigrated to Europe in 2019, and we did an online face-to-face interview. Moreover, I had telephone conversations with Respondents 6 and 7. All of them were conducted during one meeting. The length of them varies from 27 minutes to an hour.

Before having interviews, I prepared an interview guide, which contains themes and questions. Nevertheless, interviewees don't have to follow the line of a set of questions. (Yin, 2009, p. 85). Due to the nature of semi-structured interviews, these interviews are open-ended (ibid.). At the beginning of my interviews, I asked certain personal questions (such as, "What city were you born in?" or "How old are you?" or "Are you married?"), which served as icebreakers (Creswell, 2009, p. 183). These types of questions play a bridging role between introduction and deeper conversation (Gusterson, 2008, p. 104). I asked questions regarding their arrival to Turkey within the second part of my interview guide. Then, I posed questions about their employment process and labour conditions. The interviews ended with some concluding questions and speeches. All interviewees could speak Turkish. For this reason, I had no difficulties regarding the language or interpretation of their speeches. Their consents were obtained to record their answers by making handwritten notes (Creswell, 2009, p. 183).

8.3.2 Secondary sources and legislation

To ensure validity and reliability, I used both domestic and international secondary sources. Secondary sources can be separated into two groups: data collected by other researchers and data collected by institutions in line with their scope of activity (Bryman, 2008, p. 295). Surveys conducted by non-governmental organisations, reports published by inter-governmental organisations, official documents and statistics published by state authorities, booklets and statistics published by both governmental and non-governmental organisations, and newspaper articles are among my secondary sources.

Using official and unofficial statistics as sources has several advantages. Besides saving considerable time and money, as the data is not based on samples, it provides a more comprehensive picture (Bryman, 2008, p. 304).

Considering the historical framework of my case study, I did not implement any specific timeframe limitation while choosing documents. My case study, which is related to the Syrian flow to Turkey, is a recent historical event. It started approximately 10 years ago, and

evaluating a phenomenon and identifying the outcomes of it takes time and patience. Therefore, the subject of my thesis was naturally limited, and I did not want to make it more narrow.

Furthermore, I benefit from newspaper articles. They played the role of a secondary source for my study. They include outstanding points and declarations from some politicians' speeches regarding Syrian refugees' employment conditions. This enables me to obtain the languages and words of some politicians (Creswell, 2009, p. 180) without watching all of their speeches. Thanks to those newspaper articles containing remarkable parts of politicians' speeches, I saved a tremendous amount of time by watching only the related speeches.

Since my thesis touches upon migration and employment, it would be unlikely to benefit from international agreements and domestic legislation, including laws and regulations regarding refugees and employment matters. They shed light on my analysis by providing certain data for the classification in my mind before my writing process and by helping me evaluate the compliance of data obtained from other sources with the legal framework.

8.4 Data Analysis

There are 4 general analysis strategies when it comes to case studies, such as "relying on theoretical propositions," "developing a case description," "using both qualitative and quantitative data," and "examining rival explanations" (Yin, 2009, pp. 130-3). While I was analysing the data, I combined two strategies: "relying on theoretical propositions" and "using both qualitative and quantitative data."

I had the theoretical propositions of dual labour market theory and the concept of labour exploitation in my mind during the data collection process. Thus, I focused on certain data and ignored other data (Yin, 2009, p. 130). As I analysed the data through the lens of theory and concept, sorting out the data in this way was significant for me. Each hypothesis of the theory and each subject of sub-concepts led the way to me for data classification.

In spite of the fact that I mostly benefited from qualitative data (data from my interviews) as a central source to my case study, I also used quantitative data, in particular statistics and other quantitative outcomes from certain surveys. Quantitative data covered and supported the qualitative data that I obtained from the interviews, and quantitative data also gave a broader perspective to the findings from the interviews and supported my arguments in a more comprehensive way.

As mentioned earlier, my research question is "What is the role of labour exploitation in Syrian refugees' integration into the labour market in Turkey?" and my core concept is labour exploitation. Semi-structured interviews are a perfect match for analysing labour exploitation from a transactional perspective, since this perspective focuses on individual exploitation experiences. However, when it comes to analysing labour exploitation from a structural perspective, I definitely needed sources that could provide the whole picture. As semi-structured interviews represent only a small sample size, to obtain more comprehensive data sets, I analysed data obtained from secondary sources.

I analysed the data mainly within the framework of a coding process. Coding is a process that involves taking data, segmenting its sentences, and labelling each of them with a title (Creswell, 2009, p. 186). To analyse labour exploitation's role from a transactional perspective, I gathered and personally translated all the notes related to interviews into English and separated them into groups according to their main topics. After labelling them various sub-titles, I matched each of them with the sub-concepts of the core concept and combined the sub-concepts with the data throughout my writings. To analyse labour exploitation's role from a structural perspective, this time I matched each set of data from the interviews with the propositions of the theory and combined them with the data that I sorted out during the review process of secondary sources. I did not use secondary sources when analysing transactional labour exploitation. Two things are behind this: i) I have enough findings due to the presence of interviews. ii) Transactional labour exploitation requires examining the relationship between

individual parties, whereas secondary sources containing quantitative data are a must while analysing structural labour exploitation due to its comprehensive nature involving groups within society.

When I wanted to support my findings among the results with legislation, I reviewed the related legislation.

8.5 Role of the Researcher

As this study was conducted through qualitative research, I, as a researcher, engaged with the interviewees. This led to the rise of several ethical and personal issues (Creswell, 2009, p. 177).

Due to the nature of qualitative methods, the research was inevitably conducted in an interpretative way (ibid.). In order to strike a balance between the effects of my culture, personal bias, values, and personal background on the process of interpreting the interviews I conducted, I also used several international and domestic secondary sources where my personal background was less effective on the interpretation process of these documents.

The role gives privileges to the interviewer (Gusterson, 2008, p. 106). The interviewer is entitled to ask private questions to the respondents (ibid.). Nevertheless, it is important to make the interviewees feel comfortable to acquire reliable data. Considering the fact that my father's side roots are Arabic and come from the south of Turkey, not far from Syria, I was able to provide this comfortable environment. This situation also oriented me to think that the only difference between the Turkmen interviewee, who was born in Syria and speaks Turkish as her mother tongue, and my Arabic grandmother, who was born in Turkey and speaks Arabic as her mother tongue, arises from the matter of border, which is determined unnaturally by states.

8.6 Ethical Considerations

"Being 'in the field' brings ethical responsibilities" (Ackerly, 2008, p. 42). Semi-structured interviews, as a data collection tool for a qualitative method, bring along certain ethical

dangers. In order to avoid these dangers, a researcher must consider the well-being of the interviewees (Gusterson, 2008, p. 111).

First of all, it was quite important for me to make my interviewees understand why I was keen on doing an interview with them. For this reason, honesty was the principle that I implemented throughout the interviews. I elaborated on my educational background and the reasons behind writing this thesis. Then, I briefly explained the purpose of my study and gave information regarding the interview process. Getting someone's consent means nothing if that consent is not explicit, and in order to render a consent explicit, the person who gives consent must be informed.

Confidentiality is one of the most significant points to ensure a respondent's well-being (Gusterson, 2008, p. 111) and reliability of the research. Hence, I ensured all interviewees that their names or the names of their workplaces would not be part of my study, and I would invent pseudonyms for them.

8.7 Validity, Reliability, and Generalisability

Validity in qualitative methods means checking the accuracy of the findings by implementing some strategies (Creswell, 2009, p. 190). I attempted to test accuracy in two ways. Firstly, I was not limited to domestic documents. I also examined international documents. Secondly, I used both qualitative and quantitative data. Quantitative data, which involves statistics, helped me see a more comprehensive picture. Last but not least, as this thesis has nothing to do with how Syrian refugees perceive being exploited, I asked some extra questions to check the validity of respondents' answers during interviews. For instance, I asked both of the following questions: "Have you ever been paid less than the minimum wage?" and "How much was it?" Also, I conducted a checking process with the help of legislation afterwards.

Reliability in qualitative methods means checking the reliability and consistency of the approaches of the researcher by implementing some strategies (Creswell, 2009, p. 190). To

ensure reliability, I double-checked whether there was a shift by comparing the data with the codes and my writings.

Overall, due to the qualitative nature of this thesis, its aim is not to generalise findings or reach general results. On the contrary, this thesis aims to examine the concept within a specific area. The semi-structured interviews were done with a limited number of people. For this reason, this study should be evaluated within the framework of particularity.

9. Results, Analysis, and Discussion

At this point, I would like to repeat my research question, since it would be useful to keep it in mind while reading this chapter: What is the role of labour exploitation in Syrian refugees' integration into the labour market in Turkey?

This chapter is divided into two parts. I'll examine the role of labour exploitation in Syrian refugees' integration into the Turkish labour market in both parts. Transactional exploitation will be analysed within the first part by combining sub-concepts of labour exploitation with the results of interviews. Throughout my analysis in the second part, I'll use dual labour market theory as a lens, and labour exploitation will be analysed from the perspective of structural exploitation in the light of findings from interviews, secondary sources, and legislation.

The interviews that took place between me and the interviewees elaborated on the respondents' labour conditions and helped me examine the role of transactional and structural labour exploitation in their integration into the Turkish labour market, as the respondents mentioned their personal experiences related to their working lives in Turkey.

First, under the transactional labour exploitation section, I will examine labour exploitation by looking at Syrian refugees' individual experiences. To analyse deeper, I will employ the key concept of "labour exploitation" and its sub-concepts, such as vulnerability, control, and consent. Also, I will analyse its role in their integration into the Turkish labour market. Secondly, under the structural labour exploitation section, I will focus on Syrian refugees'

labour exploitation deriving from legislation, a deficit in the legal framework, and differences in the manner of employers towards their Syrian employees and Turkish employees. Also, this section will be the part where dual labour market theory will be used as a lens in my study.

9.1 Transactional Labour Exploitation

To analyse this study from a transactional perspective, one must focus on the individual experiences of Syrian refugees during their working lives in the Turkish labour market. When I read conversations between me and interviewees, I realised that none of the interviewees were exposed to severe labour exploitation (slavery, servitude, etc.). However, I noticed that they were all exposed to bad labour conditions. Considering the fact that bad labour conditions are not sufficient alone to say that there is labour exploitation, first, I will summarise the bad labour conditions of the interviewees with the help of quotes from them under the categories of excessive working days and hours, low or no salary, lack of sufficient breaks, hazardous work, violation of the legal framework, non-payment of employment receivables, and poor living conditions. Then, I will employ the sub-concepts of vulnerability, control, and consent for a deeper analysis of labour exploitation.

The following are some of the working conditions of my interviewees:

Excessive Working Days and Hours

”We worked 12 hours a day. As I lived inside the workplace, my employer wanted me to help him do something that had nothing to do with my duty, like doing things about his house even during the holidays, on Sundays. I couldn’t turn my mobile phone off since I lived in his workplace” (Respondent 3).

”I wanted to change my job, but I couldn’t find time to look for a job due to overtime work” (Respondent 4).

“Our boss always said that we have to complete orders quickly. So we were

working until late in the evening every day” (Respondent 6).

“There was no holiday. I was working every day and for 16 hours a day. One day, I was ill; I was not even able to stand. I couldn’t persuade my employer; he wanted me to continue to work; therefore, I left the job. There was no mercy” (Respondent 7).

Low or No Salary

My wage was 2000 Turkish Lira, whereas the minimum wage was 2800 Turkish Lira, but I couldn’t take regular payments. Every week, my employer gave me a little bit of my salary; he never gave me the total amount of it. In some workplaces, I could never get my money; in that case, I left the job” (Respondent 3).

”While I was working without a work permit, I got less than the minimum wage” (Respondents 4 and 7).

“Many employers didn’t make payments to me, and therefore I had often changed my job. Indeed, they don’t want to miss a trick; they want employees working for free and staying in the bakery” (Respondent 7).

Respondent 5 told me that he could not take his salary for last month after he told his employer that he would quit the job 15 days later in accordance with the law.

Bullying

”I was talking to my Syrian friend on the phone just for a couple of minutes while I was doing my job in auto mechanic. My employer told me that I am not allowed to talk on the phone. I replied to him that I have to because my Syrian friend recently came to Turkey and I have to pick her up in the evening. I also said there is no harm in that as I’m doing my job at the same time. He started to shout at me” (Respondent 3).

Lack of Sufficient Breaks

”When I was working in a bakery, our employer didn’t want me to have a tea break. Legally, I had 15 minutes for a tea break, but my employer came 5 minutes after I sat down and was telling me that I should stand up and get back to work” (Respondent 3).

Hazardous Work

”There was no occupational health and safety. My Syrian relative fell from a high and died while he was working on a construction site. His employer wrapped his corpse before someone looked at him and said he was working illicitly and he didn’t know that he was working there. Because he was working without a work permit, his employer could easily conceal the case” (Respondent 3).

”I know one person who died on a construction site and two Syrian people who lost their fingers and feet. One of them was working in construction site, and the other was working in turner. After the occupational accident, their employers came to the hospital immediately and asked them not to tell them that they were their employees. They added that if they did not tell, they would reimburse their hospital expenses, make extra payments and let them continue to work in their workplaces. Thus, employees told officers that the accident occurred when they visited their friends in their workplace. Then, only one of the employers reimbursed expenses and made extra payment, but none of them let employees continue to work in their workplace, since employers were scared of further inspection” (Respondent 4).

Respondent 7 explained that the atelier, where dough is made, is full of machines. He added that there was no occupational safety and his shoulder couldn’t move due to excessive working hours. He stated that his employer did nothing, and he went to the hospital on his own.

Violation of the Legal Framework

Respondent 5 explained that despite his wage being more than the minimum wage, his employer reported it as the minimum wage to state institutions⁶. He went on to say that after a long struggle with his boss, he was finally able to persuade him to write a correct report.

Non-payment of Employment Receivables

Respondent 5 specified that his employers have never made payment for annual leave, overtime work, or public holidays, despite his overworking.

Respondent 6 elaborated on the fact that some employers made overtime payments and some employers didn't, whereas some employers said that the products they produced were defective, so they wouldn't make overtime payments.

Poor Living Conditions

"I had to live in my workplaces, in bakeries. None of them had beds. In a bakery, I was sleeping and sitting next to the toilet. In another bakery, I was sleeping next to the oven. Only in one bakery, I was staying in a room. Even a stable is better than those accommodations" (Respondent 7).

The above-mentioned bad labour conditions are indicators of labour exploitation (as confirmed by the ILO, 2009a). However, considering the fact that in some legislation, bad labour conditions point out a violation of labour law, whereas labour exploitation falls within the scope of a criminal offence, I find it useful to analyse refugees' situations deeper with the help of sub-concepts of labour exploitation, including vulnerability, control, and consent.

9.1.1 Vulnerability

Informal employment

Migrant workers, in particular asylum seekers and undocumented migrants, are one of the most vulnerable groups when it comes to labour exploitation (Radeva Berket, 2015, pp. 366-7;

⁶ Employers may illegally do so to reduce official employment expenses.

Rijken, 2018, p. 195). Undocumented migrants have no choice but to work in informal employment due to their irregular situation (Bauder, 2006, p. 49). Although temporary protection status excludes Syrians from undocumented migrant positions in Turkey, this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that they manage to have work permission. Refugees can easily find themselves in the midst of an informal economy and exploitative conditions (Mencutek and Nashwan, 2020, p. 618), since they do not have many choices to live on and the circumstances of their lives have such negative effects on their rational-emotive process that they resign themselves to abuse. One respondent indicated that she worked in a non-governmental organisation where the staff were Syrian and the administration was Turkish. She specified that:

”In fact, me and my Syrian colleagues wanted our employer to obtain a work permit for us, but we couldn’t do anything. It’s okay as long as we earn some amount of money. For this reason, we didn’t insist on being entitled to have social security insurance” (Respondent 1).

Another respondent told me that:

”I requested all my employees obtain a work permit for me because I wanted to be entitled to have social security insurance. My bosses always said that they couldn’t do that as if they obtained a work permit, they would make more tax and social security payments. They know that I have to work anyway” (Respondent 3).

Another respondent stated that:

”My employer, an NGO, applied to the relevant institution for my work permit 8 months after I started to work, although I requested it a long time ago. I was in a probationary period and received my wage by hand during these 8 months, and my Syrian colleagues had the same kind of problems. I

think they waited until they were sure that we're good people. I understand them"⁷ (Respondent 6).

Linguistic vulnerability

The most outstanding types of vulnerability among respondents are economic, linguistic, and legal vulnerability. When it comes to linguistic vulnerability, the linguistic distinction between the Syrian Kurds, Turkmens, and Arabs stands out in the labour market. Turkmen Syrian refugees' mother tongue is Turkish, whereas Syrian Kurds' mother tongue is Kurdish, and Syrian Arabs' mother tongue is Arabic. This has generally favoured Turkmens over Kurds and Arabs in terms of their working lives in Turkey. One of the Turkmen respondents explained that:

"My mother tongue is Turkish. I learned Arabic in school in Syria... My Turkish colleagues misbehave the Arab Syrian colleagues who learned Turkish after they came to Turkey; they ignore their problems, but they act differently towards me. Knowing Turkish as a mother tongue advantages me" (Respondent 1).

Also, one of the Arab respondents stated that:

"I worked in a bakery for a month and a half. The employer paid nothing to me. I went to the police station to complain. Then, I couldn't speak Turkish well. For this reason, they didn't understand me. I had hard times" (Respondent 7).

According to Strauss and McGrath (2017, p. 203), differences like ethnicity play a catalytic role in constructing a racialised migrant labour market. In the light of the abovementioned statements, I go further and argue that differences such as ethnicity and language play a catalytic role in producing new stratifications (Turkmens-Kurds/Arabs) within refugee

⁷ According to Turkish labour law, a probationary period of no more than two months is permitted. This term may be extended to four months under CBAs (collective bargaining agreements).

categories in the labour market. These new stratifications are determining factors in the abuse of linguistic vulnerability.

Murphy et al. (2020) indicate that migrants are at higher levels of risk of precarious work. Furthermore, according to Mencutek and Nashwan (2020, p. 618), refugees often find low-skilled jobs easier, like jobs in agriculture and construction, in comparison to jobs that correspond with their education level. Again, I'll build on and extend this argument. Stratifications deriving from language and ethnicity are also applicable to this issue. Because there is a strong likelihood that Kurd and Arab refugees work in low-skilled and precarious jobs due to their linguistic vulnerability in their early life stage in Turkey, they are more likely to be exposed to a higher level of exploitation in comparison to Turkmen refugees. For example, all of the Turkmen interviewees had a chance to work as translators, which prevents them from working in low-skilled jobs, whereas, except for one Arab interviewee, all Arab and Kurd interviewees had work experiences within the informal sector, such as textile mills, bakeries, construction, car washes, and auto mechanics.

Legal vulnerability

Legal vulnerability is also a path leading to refugees' labour exploitation. It has both direct and indirect dimensions. One respondent (Respondent 4) declared that he holds a degree in law from a law school in Syria, and he knows that he has an option for recognition of foreign qualifications in Turkey. But he can't exercise this option, as it requires too much effort, and he needs to work to survive. This can be deemed an indirect dimension of legal vulnerability in terms of rendering refugees open to labour exploitation.

Moreover, one interviewee (Respondent 6) said that he had no idea what the minimum wage⁸ was until he started to work in an NGO as a teacher. He first heard it there and realised that his

⁸ The Cambridge Dictionary (2022) defines minimum wage as "the lowest amount that employers can legally pay employees."

previous salaries were below the limit in his former workplaces in Turkey. This can be deemed a good example of the direct dimension of legal vulnerability.

Despite Turkish law imposing fines both on foreign employees and on employers in cases of employment without obtaining a work permit, this constitutes no obstacle that can stop employers from abusing Syrian employees' legal vulnerabilities. Respondent 3 explained that:

”I’ve worked for a month. The employer said that he didn’t have money and didn’t make a payment to me. Then, I’ve worked there one more month and couldn’t get money. I requested it and told him that I would tip off the cops. He shamelessly said that I’m free to go, and I don’t have a work permit, therefore I’m not entitled to any rights.”

Economic vulnerability

The reasons behind the abuses noted above are mainly rooted in economic vulnerability. One interviewee (Respondent 3) declared that if he didn’t work for a week, he would starve. Additionally, situational factors are dominant in some interviewees' economic vulnerability. 2 interviewees (Respondents 3 and 7) said that they just kept working, although they were aware of their exploitation, because their families in Syria were starving and they needed to send them money. One of them (Respondent 7) explained that he, at least, ate bread here, but his family couldn’t even afford to buy bread in Syria.

Vulnerability originated due to armed conflict

Also, external factors such as having a legal status like ”refugee” form a big part of the Syrians' psychological vulnerability. MRCI (p. 19) declared that in Ireland, employers think that refugee employees should be grateful for finding a job and working and shouldn’t dare to complain. There is a similar situation for Syrians in Turkey. One respondent indicated that:

”Me and my colleagues do not resist, as there is nobody to apply for our complaints. In addition, we know that if we start to complain or file a lawsuit, they will say, ”How do you dare to complain or file a case? You are a refugee” (Respondent 1).

Likewise, respondent 3 declared that there’s nothing to do as they left their country and took refuge; they must be grateful and have to obey.

9.1.2 Control

Physical violence

There is only one interviewee who was exposed to physical violence, or, in other words, a severe form of control. He said that:

”I worked in a bakery. Every week, my employer stated that he would make a payment to me next week, but he never did. I was sick of waiting for payment, hence I started to argue with my employer loudly. He started to swear at me. Then his mother came and slapped my face” (Respondent 7).

Abuse of vulnerability

To repeat the earlier claim, according to UNODC (2013, p. 73), abuse of vulnerability can be deemed one of the means of coercion. One of the interviewees replied to my question, ”Have you ever been threatened by your employer or chief?”

”Me and my colleagues never put ourselves in that position. We have to keep our silence even if we are right, since you know that you can’t find a job anywhere... Anyway, we came here and took refuge, we don’t want to create more problems” (Respondent 1).

Threat

On the other hand, there are respondents who were exposed to coercion by being threatened in several ways. These can be summed up in four groups: threats of dismissal, withholding of

wages, degradation of working conditions, and whistle-blowing. A respondent who worked in a hospital as a translator elaborated on that:

”When some of my Syrian colleagues complain about the non-payment of their overtime work, our chiefs tend to take minutes due to their violation of workplace rules that they would not otherwise take; they were using minutes as a threat... One of my Syrian colleagues, who is also a translator and is compelled to perform duties outside of job description, filed a complaint with the Presidency’s Communication Center. When a state institution investigated this complaint, the hospital punished him/her by sending him/her to a department where they knew that he/she doesn’t like to work”⁹ (Respondent 2).

Moreover, respondent 4 explained that his employer knew that he was in a difficult situation economically, and when he requested a work permit, his employer replied that he can work at another place if he’s not happy. Respondent 4 added that he was threatened with the withholding of his wages. Furthermore, respondent 5, who worked in a real estate company, stated that when he requested a work permit, his employer threatened him with dismissal and declared that he could easily find many unemployed Syrians begging for a job to fill their positions.

Whistleblowing is another common method of threatening employees. Respondent 7 stated that:

”In one of my former workplaces (a bakery), I worked with a chief who does not like Syrians. One day, we were about to fight. Suddenly, our boss came and told us that if the police came, they would probably take us to Syria, since we don’t have temporary protection identity documents.”

⁹ In Turkish labour law, taking the minutes about an employee may enhance the risk of dismissal for this employee.

Accommodation and surveillance

Rather than relying on more direct methods of control, employers may prefer veiled means of coercion by providing employees with accommodations. Respondent 3 said that:

”I stayed in the bakery’s and carwash’s small room, which had a bed, while I was working there. The problem is that this makes you dependent on your employer. You have to start to work one hour earlier not to become homeless. Sometimes an employer stays in the workplace to drink alcohol in the evening, and you have to stay with him and do cleaning after he has left. You have to keep your mouth shut and just tell him, that ‘Okay brother, no problem!’ to guarantee your accommodation. You shouldn’t complain.”

Accommodation can be used as a way of direct control besides veiled coercion. Respondent 3 added that:

”My employer didn’t make full payment to me. When I asked, he replied that I stay in his workplace without paying any rent; for this reason, I can wait for the rest of the payment.”

Additionally, surveillance can be used as a way to put a high degree of pressure on employees.

Respondent 7 indicated that:

” I worked in three bakeries and stayed in all of them. All bakeries have two floors, including a basement where the dough is made and an upstairs where the bread is sold. Our bosses didn’t let us go upstairs because they were afraid of the cops. We were working without a work permit and they were scared of the penalties.”

9.1.3 Consent

The cases where coercion is involved, like the example of the employee who asked for overtime payment and was threatened with minutes by his or her chief, contain indisputably null consent, as coercion voids the employee’s consent to that working relationship.

Nevertheless, in other cases where coercion is not directly involved but labour exploitation still occurs, it may seem like the employee can leave the relationship, but in fact it is nearly impossible for that employee to do so due to the huge inequality of bargaining power within the relationship (Wertheimer, 1996, pp. 265-6).

For instance, respondent 4 explained that he insisted on requesting a work permit but that his employer wasn't keen on doing that. Then he willingly started to do the amount of work that four people could do under normal conditions and went to work even when he was ill, as he felt himself insecure at a workplace without job security¹⁰ and wanted to be indispensable.

”We weren't feeling well in the textile mills. We felt like we were human only in appearance, but in fact we knew that we were not treated as humans. Our Turkish was limited; we hadn't improved it enough to express ourselves and make ourselves understood. We just said 'okay' no matter what they said, not to be in trouble and not to be deported from the country” (Respondent 6).

Respondent 7 specified that he did all sorts of work, including ones outside of his task description, while he was working in a bakery. He added that his employer knew that he was in a difficult situation, and when he refused to do so, his employer told him that he could quit the job if he wasn't pleased with it. He obeyed to live on. Nonetheless, due to the inequality of bargaining power rooted in refugees' vulnerability, consent should not be taken into consideration.

As it is seen from the above-mentioned examples, inequality of bargaining power can be traced to refugees' bad economic situation or their lack of knowledge of the host country's legislation and language. Hence, these employees should still be entitled to complain about their working relationship without regard to their consent (Wertheimer, 1996, p. 252).

9.1.4 Sub-assessment

¹⁰ In Turkey, if one works at a workplace without a work permit, there is a risk of being dismissed easily since one is not registered with the Social Security Institution.

In the light of all the findings above, it can be said that the abuse of the linguistic, legal, and economic vulnerabilities of interviewees plays an important role in paving the way to their transactional labour exploitation. This exploitation is able to function with the help of control mechanisms, including coercive activities implemented by refugees' employers. This testifies to the fact that control and coercion are still among the main elements in the labour exploitation of refugee workers (also confirmed by Lewis et al., 2015, pp. 24-5).

To realise that the traces of severe labour exploitation, such as slavery and servitude, are not part of the above cases is, of course, not to say that the refugees have freely consented to their working conditions. Threats by employers invalidate refugees' consent. Even if there is no coercion, refugees' backgrounds, including war in their home country, together with all the vulnerabilities that it leads to, have a huge impact on their rational choices and render them desperate.

Moreover, employers, who are not keen on obtaining work permits for their Syrian refugee employees, are highly engaged in exploitation. Informal employment has created a barrier to Syrian refugees' full and official integration into the labour market. Informal employment has two dimensions within labour exploitation. As it is seen from the above cases, informal employment, which comes into existence with the abuse of vulnerabilities, is an example of labour exploitation on its own. It is also a facilitator factor for the existence of further exploitation acts because both employees and employers, who are parties to informal employment, are aware that informal employees are invisible in the labour market and in the eyes of laws and regulations. Thus, employers can easily become agents of further exploitative acts, and refugees resign themselves to further acts of exploitation.

9.2 Structural Labour Exploitation

In this section, I will employ the dual labour market theory. Structural labour exploitation is directly associated with this theory. Both consider the benefit of one group in comparison to

the loss or damage of another group in order to sustain a system. I will elaborate on this throughout this section.

First of all, I shall argue that the dual labour market theory is not wholly applicable to the foundation of Syrian flows to Turkey, which started in 2011 due to the Syrian civil conflict. This theory is based on the claim that labour migration is initiated by governments or employers through the recruitment process (Massey et al., 1993, p. 444), whereas in Syrian refugees' case, it is obvious that their migration is rooted in the war in Syria without the need for further comments.

However, given that Syrians constitute a significant portion of the Turkish labour market's low-cost labour pool as a result of informal employment and employment in low-skill jobs, the relevance of dual labour market theory to Syrian labour conditions in Turkey cannot be overlooked.

”At the moment, Syrians sustain the industries in certain cities. Hundreds of thousands of Syrians work within the most difficult and hardest labour in industry. Same for industry in Kayseri. They can't find employees, but Syrians work”¹¹ (Vice chairman of the ruling party in Turkey) (Cumhuriyet, 2021).

”Employ a Syrian in your factory, exploit him without a work permit... One million Syrians will return; who will revolt? These employers” (Interior Minister of Turkey) (Cumhuriyet, 2022).

At this point, one must remember the three hypotheses of dual labour market theory: “the existence of distinct labour segments; differing behavioural patterns within each segment; and restrictions on inter-segment mobility” (Reich, 1984, p. 63). This theory's claim is that migration “meets the requirements of the secondary sector of a dual labor market” (Piore, 1979, p. 26). I will analyse my study through the lens of the theory by evaluating each hypothesis.

¹¹ Kayseri is a city in Turkey.

9.2.1 The Existence of Distinct Labour Segments

According to dual labour market theory, there are two sectors, including primary and secondary sectors, within the labour market (Doeringer and Piore, 1975, p. 70). Turkey is classified as an upper middle income country by the World Bank (World Bank, 2022), and according to the Turkish Statistical Institute (2022), the share of informal employment in the Turkish labour market is 27.8% by December 2021, whereas according to Güler and Toparlak (2018, p. 174), the share of the informal economy in Turkey is 27.8% by 2016. In the light of these data, it is more reasonable to employ the terms "formal/informal" sectors rather than "primary" and "secondary" sectors when implementing the dual labour market theory to my case, which takes place in a developing country like Turkey.

In Turkey, the majority of economic activities are conducted informally (Davutyan, 2008, p. 261; Ülgen and Öztürk, 2006, p. 57). Large-scale enterprises collaborate with informal enterprises and outsource some economic activities (Davutyan, 2008, p. 262; Ülgen and Öztürk, 2006, p. 74-5). Among these economic activities are construction, textile manufacturing, catering, and consulting (Davutyan, 2008, pp. 261-2; Ülgen and Öztürk, 2006). According to the ILO's (no date) infographic prepared with the help of TURKSTAT's data, Syrian refugees mostly work within sectors that have historically had highly informal employment rates. The trade, construction, and manufacturing (textile, garment, leather, and footwear) sectors, which generally display high informal employment rates, held 79.1% of Syrian workers by 2017 (Caro, 2020, p. 13). In 2014, the textile and garment sector was the sector where Syrian refugees mostly worked, whereas the trade and hospitality sector contained the most Syrian workers by 2020 (ILO, 2021). Also, "other services," including personal belonging-clothing repair, car wash/house cleaning, and waste collection are other outstanding sectors in which Syrian refugees work (Caro, 2020, p. 13).

91.6% of Syrian employees in Turkey have been working informally as of 2017 (Caro, 2020, p. 12). As per the survey conducted by the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey, between

October 2018 and February 2020, almost nine out of every ten Syrian workers who participated in the survey declared that they are employed without a work permit (Akyıldız et al., 2021, p. 21).

Three of my interviewees (Respondents 3, 6, and 7) told me that they worked within the informal sector as informal employees, including in car washes, construction, bakeries, auto mechanics and textile mills. Despite respondent 1, 4, and 5 having solely worked within the formal sector (hospital, association, real estate company, media company, telecommunication company, garment manufacturing company), they had the experience of being part of the informal economy by working as informal employees within the formal sector.

In the light of all of the above findings, it would not be wrong to say that Syrian refugees meet the requirements of the informal sector of the Turkish labour market at first glance. Nevertheless, this situation is not only the result of a labour shortage due to citizens' unwillingness to work in the informal sector, as specified in the theory. By 2017, the number of informal workers was 491,278 as compared with 379,132 in 2014 within the textile, garment, footwear, and leather sectors (Caro, 2020, pp. 32-3). Despite an increase in the proportion of informal workers in these sectors, the number of Turkish employees among informal workers fell from 379,132 to 272,650 as a result of the presence of Syrian refugees (ibid.). As a result of the Syrian influx, Turkish employees were pushed out of the informal sector. Employers within the secondary sector abused the vulnerability of Syrian refugees by employing them without obtaining work permission.

9.2.2 Differing Behavioural Patterns within Each Segment

According to the theory, the formal sector has better working conditions, such as wage amounts, social security, and working hours, in comparison to the informal sector. In spite of the fact that there are characteristic differences within each segment, my interviews show that there is no sharp distinction between the formal and informal sectors when it comes to Syrian refugees.

Informal employment

All interviewees, except respondent 2, who is a formal worker within healthcare organisations as a translator and desk clerk, stated that there were times that they had to work as undocumented workers; in other words, they had to work without work permission, which can be called as “informal employment.”

Only one of these six interviewees (Respondent 3) said that he always worked as an informal employee within the informal sector, including in car washes, construction, bakeries, and auto mechanics. He was exposed to labour exploitation and had bad working conditions, as it is expected, due to the characteristics of the informal sector.

Two interviewees (Respondents 6 and 7) indicated that they worked as informal employees within the informal sector with bad labour conditions, such as in bakeries and textile mills, whereas they worked as formal employees (translators) with better working conditions within the formal sector (association). This is also consistent with the theory, because they were entitled to labour rights while working in the formal sector, whereas they were in a precarious employment relationship when working in bakeries and textile mills. For instance, sometimes they didn't receive money when that entity couldn't receive an order, or even sometimes their boss did not make payment to them without showing a reason, and they were dismissed or kept changing workplaces to survive. Also, as it is specified in the theory, the distinction is based on good and bad jobs rather than skilled and unskilled employees (Wachter et al., 1974, p. 638). For example, Respondent 7 is a graduate of law in his home country, but he worked as an informal employee in bakeries within the informal sector for a long time.

Three interviewees (Respondents 1, 4, and 5) specified that they worked in formal sectors (hospital, association, real estate company, media company, telecommunications, garment manufacturing company) as both formal and informal employees. Respondent 1 worked informally in an association as a translator and was a formal worker in a hospital as a desk clerk and translator. Respondent 4 worked as a translator in an association informally, was

employed in a media company informally, and became a formal worker after some time. Respondent 5 worked as sales representative within a telecommunications and real estate company informally and became a formal mechanical engineer in a textile manufacturing company. It would seem telling in this light that not only entities in the informal sector but also registered entities in the formal sector tend to abuse the vulnerability of Syrian refugees and employ them without a work permit. This is an indicator of the fact that there is no sharp distinction in terms of the characteristics of labour conditions in different sectors when it comes to refugees.

While I was analysing the findings from my interviews, I also realised that there is a duality in terms of the manner in which employers treat refugee employees and citizen employees in the same workplaces. This also makes the line between the formal and informal sectors blurry. I will elaborate on this duality with the help of some quotes from the interviewees later. First, I will summarise it in the tables below.

Formal sector + Syrian refugees' formal employment	Taking leave	Overtime payment	Formal sector + Syrian refugees' informal employment	Excessive work	Overtime payment
Syrian Refugee	X	X	Syrian Refugee	✓	X
Citizen	✓	✓	Citizen	X	✓

Informal sector + Syrian refugees' informal employment	Duties outside of the job description	Getting paid less than the minimum wage
Syrian Refugee	✓	✓
Citizen	X	X

Refugee employees working with work permits within the formal sector

First, I will look into refugee employees who worked with work permits within the formal sector.

Respondent 1 told me that:

”Turkish translators were able to take leave, but Syrian translators were generally not allowed to take leave. They wanted Syrian translators to be often on call. When I newly gave birth to my first child, they wanted me to be on call in the evenings. I told them that I couldn’t do so, and it created a problem. However, thanks to our chief, whom I knew before, I could fortunately take a breast-feeding leave. Otherwise, I’m sure they wouldn’t have let me.”

Additionally, respondent 2 elaborated on that:

”I liked working in a hospital as a translator. My job, being a translator, made sense to me. Unfortunately, I had to quit the job, as they also wanted me to work on the weekends and do things out of the scope of my duties, such as transportation of blood. In addition, they didn’t even make overtime payments. Turkish translators also worked on the weekends, but they took overtime payments. Now, I am in a data processing unit and don’t work on weekends. Nonetheless, I miss my previous job. I was helping patients by providing communication between them and doctors. Here, there is no opportunity to help people.”

As it is seen above, working legally (with a work permit) within the formal sector is not necessarily an obstacle to labour exploitation and/or does not necessarily indicate successful labour market integration. Both respondents appear to be integrated into the labour market, but their vulnerabilities may be exploited, and they may be treated worse than their Turkish colleagues. These kinds of attitudes create differences between nationals’ and refugees’ labour market participation.

Refugee employees working without work permits within the formal sector

Secondly, I will explore the cases of refugees who worked without obtaining a work permit.

”Turkish employees stopped working at 5 o’clock as they were registered at a social security institution; they felt confident, they left the end of the shift.

Nevertheless, my employer clearly wanted me to work overtime”

(Respondent 4).

Respondent 5 stated that he normally worked 5.5 days a week. However, when a customer came, he had to work regardless of whether it was a Sunday or public holiday. Sometimes, when he went out of town to meet with a customer, he worked 16 hours a day. He added that due to a lack of a work permit, he felt under a high level of pressure to make a sale and overperform.

Refugee employees working without work permits within the informal sector

Respondent 7 declared that in the bakery, although Turks did just one type of work, his employer wanted him to do all sorts of work, including kneading dough, baking, doing apprenticeships, and assisting in doing everything. He said that he worked 16 hours a day, and there is no way that Turks would accept doing so.

Respondent 3 indicated that his Turkish colleagues were getting paid the minimum wage, whereas he earned less than them. When he asked for a minimum wage payment, his employer said that he should feel free to quit the job.

When the above cases of refugees working with a work permit are compared with the above cases of refugees working without a work permit, it can be seen that labour exploitation occurs solely due to the acts of employers in the first case. Nevertheless, when it comes to refugees working without a work permit, apart from the acts of employers, some refugee employees’ acts derive from insecurity due to the lack of a work permit and are also effective in causing labour exploitation. In other words, employees who were working without a work permit felt so much pressure and insecurity so high that it seemed like they were sometimes exposed to

exploitative acts voluntarily. Indeed, they may actively do so due to a lack of alternative employment opportunities (Schenner and Neergaard, 2019, p. 16).

As it is seen from the above cases within both the formal and informal sectors, Syrians are exposed to overtime work. Therefore, it would be wrong to say that behavioural patterns are different within the formal and informal sectors towards Syrian employees. Rules of behaviour and manner are not homogenous across sectors, and individual occupations and workplaces may be determining factors in them (Bauder, 2006, p. 47).

Indeed, as both cases have shown, the differences between the attitudes of employers towards nationals and Syrian refugees lead to labour exploitation. For instance, according to the ILO (no date), 75.9% of Syrians worked overtime, whereas 53.5% of Turks worked overtime by 2014. Furthermore, it has been confirmed that the average Syrian wage is less than the minimum wage (ILO, no date) and Turks earn 63.1% more than Syrians in 2017 (Caro, 2020, p. 19). This labour exploitation, which considers the benefit of Turkish employers at the expense of Syrian refugees, also points to structural exploitation. Refugees working without a work permit are integrated into the labour market neither in appearance nor in fact, whereas refugees working with a work permit seem integrated into the labour market only in appearance.

9.2.3 Restrictions on Inter-Segment Mobility

The most significant constraint on mobility between the formal and informal sectors is the restriction on formal employment. Despite the fact that informal employment does not always occur within the informal sector, it is more likely to occur within the sector due to the nature of the informal sector historically.

Individual factors such as language barriers and lack of market knowledge are not the only major obstacles to the labour market integration of refugees (Schenner and Neergaard, 2019, p. 16). There are also legal restrictions on labour market integration (ibid.). As stated in the Background chapter, despite the fact that Syrians began to enter Turkey in 2011, they did not

have legal status until 2013. This situation deprived Syrian refugees of many legal rights, such as the right to work legally. Even after they were entitled to have temporary protection status, they had to wait until 2016 to be entitled to obtain a work permit. Since one must have a valid residence permit to apply for a work permit, but a temporary protection identity document is not equivalent to a residence permit in the eyes of the law (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management, 2022; *TPR* 2014 (Tur), art. 25), it was legally impossible for them to obtain a work permit. The *TPR Work Permit Regulation*, which contains a provision enabling formal employment for Syrians under temporary protection, came into effect in 2016.

According to the ILO (2021), the ratio of Syrians who were formal workers was under 10% until 2019. Considering the fact that almost nine out of every ten Syrian workers declared that they worked informally within the survey conducted between 2018 and 2020 by TEPAV (Akyıldız et al., 2021, p. 21), it can be said that there is slow progress.

In addition, when interviewees' working lives are examined, it is understood that legal restrictions are not the only obstacle to their formal employment. Their personal cases are as follows:

Respondent 2: She started to work in 2018-after the *TPR Work Permit Regulation* was enacted-within the formal sector and has never been informally employed. As a result, her case contains no illegal situations.

Respondent 7: He was an undocumented migrant as he wanted to leave Turkey and enter Europe. He worked informally within the informal and formal sectors. After he changed his mind and registered a temporary protection identity document, he became a formal worker in his job within the formal sector. For this reason, in this case, illegality is derived from the refugee.

Respondent 3: He was employed informally within the informal sector.

Respondents 1 and 4: They were employed informally within the formal sector before legislation regarding Syrians' work permits came into effect. Both of them continued to be employed informally at their workplaces for a long time, even after the law was introduced. Then they changed their jobs within the formal sector, and Respondent 1 became a formal worker, whereas Respondent 4 was again informally employed. One year later, he told his employer that he would quit the job if a work permit was not obtained. Upon this statement, his employer obtained a work permit because he didn't want to lose an employee doing the amount of work that four people could do under normal conditions.

Respondent 6: He was informally employed within the informal sector both before and after legislation on work permits was enacted. Finally, he started to work informally within the formal sector. One year later, his employer obtained a work permit for him.

As it is seen from the above cases, apart from the deficits in legislation, the unwillingness of employers to obtain work permits also leads to informal employment. In this way, they could reduce employment costs (taxes, social security premiums, etc.).

Another legal restriction on formal employment is that the person under temporary protection must work in a city where he or she is registered. "Unfree labor provides a low-cost, disciplined, and flexible workforce in the secondary labor market" (Bauder, 2006, p. 22). In this way, the state can determine whether Syrians are free within the labour market or if they are subject to certain employers (Bauder, 2006, p. 24).

Respondent 5 elaborated on the fact that he has never applied for a temporary protection identity document because he realised that it would be more difficult for him if he registered for one:

"If I had been registered for temporary protection, I couldn't have worked in my previous job. When you are registered for temporary protection, you cannot travel freely, but I had to travel properly for that job. Also, you can

not go even if you find another job in another city.”

Respondent 5 was neither registered for temporary protection nor was he an irregular migrant. He obtained a residence permit by submitting his savings. Nevertheless, he also couldn't be a formal worker within the formal sector for a long time due to the quota system. Although the quota system for regular foreigners is more flexible than the quota system for those under temporary protection, which sets forth that the number of foreigners under temporary protection at the workplace cannot exceed ten percent of the number of Turkish employees at the same workplace, Respondent 5 explained that he could not obtain a work permit. Since 70-80% of employees are foreigners, an employer could obtain a work permit only for managers, not the staff.

Apart from restrictions on formal employment, my interviewees' cases show that mobility from the informal sector to the formal sector is not impossible for refugees, contrary to what dual labour market theory implies. 2 interviewees (Respondents 6 and 7) started to work in the formal sector as translators after spending a long time in the informal sector and having overcome the language barrier. Respondents 1, 2, and 4 always worked in the formal sector thanks to their Turkic ethnic group and knowledge of the local language.

Syrian refugees' case in Turkey cannot be called labour migration. It was not initiated systematically by the Turkish government or employers with the purpose of meeting labour requirements. However, once refugees entered Turkey, the opportunity was used through deficits in legislation and restrictions imposed within legislation. The attitude and approach of government officials can be understood from their statements:

”Syrians contributed to the labour force. They worked in jobs where Turks did not work. There is also labour exploitation. I think that in order to prevent this exploitation, Syrians' work permits should be obtained promptly and on a regular basis... They are also functional in terms of economy, for

instance, the economy of Gaziantep...but on the other hand, employers, investors, industrialists are thrilled with Syrians. They say that if the Syrians are withdrawn, the economy of Antep will collapse... If you withdraw Syrians in certain important places, the economy of this country will collapse. Maybe the first group of Syrian refugees will always work within industry and construction where Turks can't work"¹² (adviser to the chairman of the ruling party in Turkey) (Euronews, 2021).

It can be observed that, in many places in the world, sometimes refugees are not allowed to work legally or they are oriented towards the secondary labour market (Bauder, 2006, p. 49). In Turkey, the case is similar. Syrian refugees were treated like undocumented immigrants due to a lack of legislation regarding work permits, despite having temporary protection identity documents. Thus, they were pushed legally into the informal economy. In this way, the state manages to form a segmented labour market system through its migration and labour policies (Bauder, 2006, p. 24). This situation has nothing to do with self-guiding market forces, but it is related to the result of policy efforts (Bauder, 2006, p. 52). Precarious employment and legal status, together with unfree labour relations, are produced by the state and employers hand in hand (Strauss and McGrath, 2017, p. 200). Hence, when labour exploitation's role in refugees' labour market integration is examined, one should look from a wider perspective and also keep in mind the policies and implementations of authorities and employers (Rijken, 2018, p. 195). Their condition is such a vicious cycle. Labour exploitation in the absence of basic rights makes refugees more vulnerable, flexible, and competitive (Bauder, 2006, p. 21). Being more vulnerable and competitive leads them to resign themselves to exploitation (Bauder, 2006, p. 24).

The role of labour exploitation in the labour market integration of refugees can be traced in varying dimensions. This study highlights two of them, including the dimension of the host

¹² Gaziantep is a city in Turkey.

state with its legislation and regulations and the dimension of employers with their implementation of labour practices. One of the major obstacles to labour market integration is that there are certain limitations on the legal employment of refugees. On the other hand, there is no limitation or control mechanism to prevent the informal employment of refugees (Mencutek and Nashwan, 2021, p. 629). This study would seem to indicate that Syrian refugees find themselves in the midst of labour exploitation as a result of their efforts to integrate into the Turkish labour market.

10. Conclusion and Future Research

The purpose of this study was to explore the role of labour exploitation in Syrian refugees' integration into the labour market in Turkey. As it is shown in the "Results, Analysis, and Discussion" chapter, labour exploitation plays a major role in Syrian refugees' integration into the labour market. From the transactional perspective, focusing on individual exploitation cases, three elements, including vulnerability, control, and consent, are part of the shaping of their exploitation. Linguistic vulnerability plays a determinant role depending on the ethnicity of Syrians (Kurds, Turkmen, Arabs). Turkmen, whose mother tongue is Turkish, remain ahead of the Turkish labour market in comparison to Kurds and Arabs, at least at the initial stages of their lives in Turkey. Legal vulnerabilities have both direct and indirect effects in terms of paving the way for labour exploitation. Lack of knowledge regarding labour rights facilitates labour exploitation and forms an obstacle to labour market integration. Also, burdensome processes, such as the recognition of diplomas, orient refugees to low-skilled jobs and constitute mismatches within their labour market integration. The most outstanding vulnerability is economic vulnerability. This vulnerability, which originated due to armed conflict, separates refugees from labour migrants and renders them open to labour exploitation in terms of their participation in the labour market. Moreover, means of control and coercion such as physical violence, threats (dismissal, withholding of wages, degradation of working

conditions, and whistle-blowing), and accommodation and surveillance are the implementations that constitute differences between national employees' and refugees' labour market participation. It is important to understand that refugees' so-called consent cannot be deemed freely given due to the low levels of their bargaining power arising from their vulnerabilities shown within this study.

Informal employment is a big part of Syrian refugees' labour exploitation. There is no clear distinction between the formal and informal sectors in terms of Syrian refugees' working conditions. Informal employment is common in both sectors when it comes to Syrian refugees. Furthermore, both refugees with work permits and refugees working without work permits are exposed to labour exploitation. This points out the structural dimension of exploitation, which is the main obstacle to full labour market integration. Legal restrictions and state policies, together with employers' unwillingness to obtain work permits, are part of the creation of labour exploitation and the gaps and differences in Syrian refugees' labour market integration.

It should be borne in mind that the choice of theoretical framework and method plays an important role in critically evaluating my own analysis. The concept of labour exploitation is at the centre of my research question, and two perspectives on labour exploitation (transactional and structural) are useful for my examination. Transactional labour exploitation allowed me to examine labour exploitation on a microscale by illustrating the relationship between employee and employer, whereas structural labour exploitation allowed me to examine labour exploitation on a macroscale by illustrating the legal framework's function on labour exploitation and differences in employers' attitudes toward their Syrian and Turkish employees.

At this point, another part of my theoretical framework, dual labour market theory, was employed to complete the analysis of structural labour exploitation's role in labour market integration. Thus, the concepts of labour exploitation and dual labour market theory were combined to analyse the results. It is critical to conduct interviews in order to obtain firsthand results and examine the role of structural and transactional labour exploitation in labour market

integration. Also, using legislation as a source is necessary to calibrate the results obtained from interviewees for objectivity. To evaluate results from a structural labour exploitation perspective and through the lens of dual labour market theory, secondary sources are a must, as secondary sources have the ability to provide a comprehensive picture.

This study focuses on Syrian refugees' labour exploitation and their labour market integration. The contribution of the thesis is in the voices of exploited Syrian refugees, which reveal structural exploitation made possible by the refugees' vulnerability in Turkey's dual labour market. However, violence against Syrian refugee women in their working lives can be analysed from a wide perspective. Forced sex, which can be deemed one of the most severe forms of labour exploitation, can also be explored, as it is also directly linked to vulnerability. The informal employment of Syrian refugees is analysed within the framework of this study. However, their participation in the Turkish labour market informally raised vital questions, such as the effects of this situation on the ratio and position of citizen employees' informal employment. This can also be the subject of future research.

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Appendix (Interview Question Themes)

Personal Background

Name and age

Place of birth and ethnicity

Marital status and number of children

Educational background and work experience

Arrival

The date of arrival

Have you ever lived in a refugee camp?

Have you been issued a temporary protection identity document? / When?

When and how did you learn Turkish?

Employment

Workplaces and duties / Have you ever worked more than one job at the same time?

Have you ever made an effort to find a job that matches your educational background?

Do you have a work permit? Did you ask your employer for a work permit?

Have you ever signed an employment contract?

Has your employer ever provided an accommodation to you? Where? How was the place?

Have you ever been threatened by your employer related to your legal status or something else?

Have you ever been exposed to physical violence or mobbing at work?

Have you ever been fired? Why?

Labour Conditions

How many hours do you work a day? Do you have a break?

Are you entitled to sick leave and annual leave?

Do you get paid regularly? How much is it? Have you ever been paid less than the minimum wage? Has your employer ever deducted your wages for some reason?

Have you ever gone above and beyond your call of duty at work?

Do you feel safe at work? Is there occupational health and safety at work? Do you have the necessary equipment to feel safe at work? Have you ever had an occupational accident?

How are your labour conditions? Is there anything that you are not pleased with?

Have you ever been discriminated against at work?

Concluding

Is there anything you think needs improvement?

Is there anything you want to add? Do you have any questions?