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**INTERSECTIONAL VULNERABILITY AND
RESILIENCE: SYRIAN MALE REFUGEE
TEXTILE WORKERS IN NORTHWESTERN
TURKEY**

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Merve Merih Özdemir

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Members of the Examining Committee:

Lee Pegler
Helen Hintjens

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Disclaimer:

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Inquiries:

International Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460
e: info@iss.nl
w: www.iss.nl
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

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List of Acronyms

ILO	International Labour Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

Abstract

The arrival and significant increase of the population of Syrian refugees in Turkey in the last years, brought the issue of their survival as a big community in a new country. By being an important country about textile sector for the West, refugees started to engage with textile work in Turkey. Since the Northwestern part of the country has prevalence of textile work, many Syrian male refugees engaged with this sector. And therefore, since textile work is very open to vulnerability on labor rights, the situation may be even harder for Syrian refugees. At this point, intersectionality of being masculine, Syrian, a refugee, and a worker can positively and/or negatively alter Syrian male refugees' vulnerability. For all these reasons, this paper analyzes the narratives of Syrian male refugee textile workers about their work in the textile industry in Northwestern Turkey, from the perspective of labor vulnerability and resilience, and using the framework of intersectionality.

Relevance to Development Studies

Intersectionality approach as a tool of deeper and multiangled analysis for inequalities, discrimination and exclusion of a target group, gained a strong influence in academic research in the field of Development Studies, since the naissance of the term three decades ago. Meanwhile, the concepts of masculinity as a part of gender equality and being a refugee as a part of conflict and peace, are also used in Development Studies on the purpose of equality and comprehensiveness in development. In this sense, this research paper uses these two concepts of masculinity and being a refugee by the lenses of intersectionality, to deeply explain the labor vulnerability as an inequality and discrimination in labor, in the specific case of Syrian male refugee textile workers in two big industrial cities in Northwestern Turkey.

Keywords

Syrian Refugees, Turkey, Textile Work, Labor Rights, Intersectionality, Labor Vulnerability, Resilience

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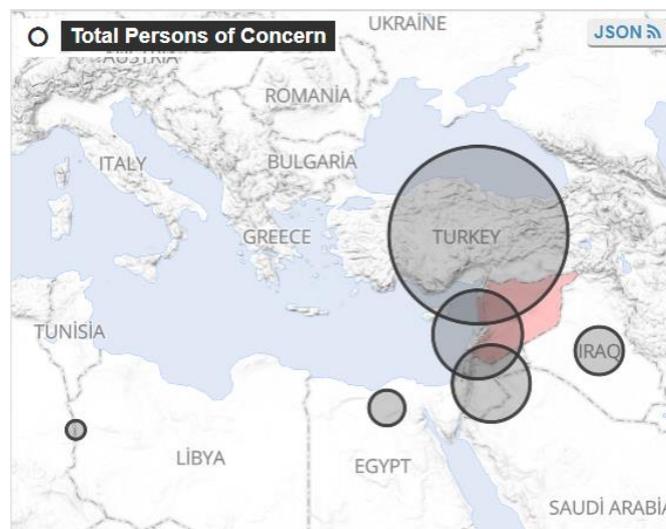
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Syrian Refugee Arrivals in Turkey

The conflict that started in March 2011 because of protests against the political regime that is conducted by Syrian president Bashar Al-Assad, turned into a civil war in Syria. According to Syrian Observatory in London, this civil war became the reason of a civil war with at least 321 thousand people's death and 145 thousand people's loss only from March to April 2011. In this process, hundreds of thousands of people became injured, and more that 6 million Syrian citizens had to change their place inside of their country. This situation of a deep chaos became the reason of a continuous refugee flow from Syria which becomes one of the most serious refugee flows in the history of the world (Erdoğan 2019: 2). And since this chaos is also clearly seen as the worst civil war in this century, there is "no end in sight" of the conflict in Syria. Therefore, refugee flow from Syria to other countries has a continuous aspect for years (Eze and Agena 2018: 21).

On the other hand, since European Union countries closed their borders to stop refugee flow to Europe, the main route of Syrian refugees became neighbouring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan. And European countries obtained the role of financial support for these host counties to host Syrian refugees in their countries (Şimşek 2019: 173). Because of "open door policy for Syrian refugees" of Turkish authorities that accepts all Syrian refugees to Turkey from Syrian-Turkish border, Turkey became the country that has the biggest Syrian refugee population (Aslantürk 2020: 188). In parallel to this information, according to a report of UNHCR (2020a: no page), 65 percent of all registered Syrian refugees live in Turkey. And according to another report of UNHCR (2020b: no page), the registered population of Syrian refugees cumulatively increased to 3.6 million by September 2020, since their first arrival in 2011.

Map 1. UNHCR Syria Regional Refugee Response Total Persons of Concern by Country of Asylum: bigger circle shows larger number in host countries of registered Syrian refugees.



Source: <http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>

However, this intense and continuous flow from Syria to Turkey created risks for Turkish authorities to manage the crisis with its social and economic dimensions for both Turkish and Syrian populations living in Turkey. For example, learning Turkish language and culture for Syrians, employment and sheltering for both parts became significantly more difficult because of fast decrease in total population (Nurdoğan et al. 2016: 228-230). Besides, the economy of Turkey has been affected because of expenses for Syrian refugees that gained very significant ratio for the country's total economic expenses. These expenses became a lot more than economic aids that came from European Union and other countries. Thus, this situation has also an effect on both Turkish and Syrian populations economically, as result of economic constriction (Özdemir 2017: 125-126).

1.2 The Attitude of Turkish Authorities on Syrian Refugees and Their Labor

For the legal status of being a “refugee” in Turkey as starting point, the main resource is Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees in 1967 that Turkey is a signatory part of. Nevertheless, Turkey accepted this protocol with condition of geographical border. According to this condition, only the citizens of countries that are member of European Commission can be considered within the legal status of “refugee” in Turkey. This means, there is a legal distinction between European and non-European asylum seekers, and this distinction affects the legal status and rights of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Even they have the conditions of being refugees, Syrian population is not legally seen as “refugees” in Turkey (Dillioğlu 2015: 3). The legal status of Syrian people in Turkey was defined in 2014 in Turkish national law as people under “temporary protection” that means people coming with urgent reasons and for a limited time. This shows that Syrians are seen as short-term newcomers (Sariteke et al. 2018: 394-395).

As it can also be understood from the previous paragraph, the attitude of Turkish authorities has been based-on short-term residence of Syrian population in Turkey. The legal status of “temporary protection” and its condition of “temporariness”, also gives ambiguity for the rights of Syrian refugees such as their labor and economic welfare (Rittersberger-Tılıç and Bal 2019: 30). In this sense, the only legal regulation related to Syrian refugee labor was made in 2016, after the population started to be very big and flow has no end in sight. According to this regulation, Syrians under temporary protection and who are in Turkey for at least six months could legally work under some conditions that are at least ten Turkish workers for one Syrian worker in the same place and with at least minimum wage, after they gain work permit. However, since this regulation is not enough, there are too few people that could obtain work permit, and more than 95% of Syrian workers in Turkey still work informally (Erdoğan 2019: 11-12).

1.3 Syrian Refugee Engagement with Textile Work in Northwestern Turkey

Figure 1. A Syrian Male Refugee Textile Worker in Turkey



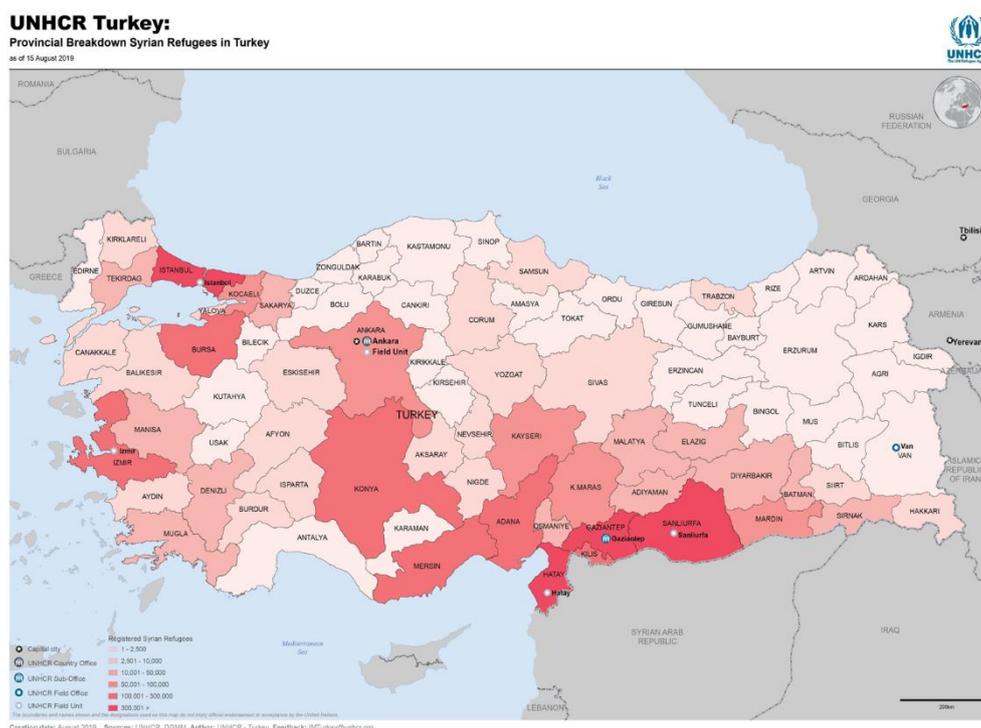
Source: Mülteci Medyası (Refugee Media) (2020)
<https://multecimedyasi.org/2020/05/20/genc-multeci-isciler-gelecege-dair-umutlarimiz-yok/>

According to ILO (2019: no page), because of not having the possibility of work permit, lack of knowledge in Turkish language, limited access to information and services related to their economic situation due to this lack of language, and low level of employability due to low level of educational and technical knowledge, refugees in Turkey have to work in informal sectors without specific standard of labor. And as stated by Kahveci (2019: 105-106), the current negative labor conditions of Syrian refugees with existing economic problems have opened up the acceptance of working for smaller amounts of money, and thus, gave possibilities for them to find work in the informal sectors of the economy.

In parallel with these developments, Turkey is a crucial country in global textile work, and a major exporter, being closer to western Europe than other countries with major textile industries, and being a producer of what are seen as high-quality products. Therefore, the textile industry has become a “locomotive sector” in the Turkish economy and a major sector of employment (Uyanık and Çelikel 2019: 33). This situation leads to the significant possibility of a textile labor force that includes a large informal sector, with the possibility of abuse of desperate new-coming workers who need to earn money. Industrial big cities of textile work can be seen as the main areas where textile work of Syrian refugees has grown most rapidly in Turkey (Korkmaz 2017: 44-45). As ILO declares (2019: no page), the most prevalent sector that Syrian refugees engage in Turkey, is production sector, especially the production of garment.

Besides, a significant share of Syrian refugees lives in the Northwestern part of Turkey, which is known as industrial heart of the country. According to «Mülteciler Derneği» (The association of Refugees) (2020: no page), approximately 507 thousand Syrian refugees live in Istanbul, the highest number in any city in Turkey. After Istanbul and a few cities on the Turkish-Syrian border, the highest number of refugees live in Bursa, a city close to Istanbul which has a well-known textile sector. An estimated 176 thousand Syrian refugees live in Bursa.

Map 2. UNHCR Turkey Provincial Breakdown of Syrian Refugees in Turkey in August 2019: redder cities show more Syrian refugee populations. It is visible that except border cities, the largest Syrian refugee populations are in two cities of Northwestern Turkey: Istanbul and Bursa.



Source: https://www.unhcr.org/tr/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2019/08/9.2-UNHCR_Provincial-Breakdown-Syrian-Refugees-in-Turkey-August-2019.png

According to Mutlu et al. (2018: 74), because of the size of the textile sector in Istanbul, the difficult working conditions, and the high probability of irregular and undeclared employment in this sector, many refugees engaged with textile work as a sector in which they hoped to find work. Similarly, as mentioned by Saraç and Keskin (2019: 2884-2885) since in Bursa there are very high numbers of Syrian refugees, their engagement in textile work is prevalent for the same kinds of reasons that Mutlu et al. (2018) identified i.e. the ease of finding undeclared employment.

On the other hand, by engagement of Syrian refugees with textile work, there started to occur some labor rights violations because of their legal status and informal work. For example, The BBC Turkey film (2016: no page) was entitled: “Child refugees employed in textile factories in Turkey”, and explains how a group of journalists detected that the textile factories that Marks and Spencer and Asos purchased clothes from were using refugee child and adult workers to produce these clothes under hard conditions. The news mentioned that the journalists also learned that companies supplying Zara and Mango also employ unregistered refugees in jean production under extreme conditions such as working hours, heavy workload, and very little money. This shows that even in factories that work for big brands, there is a lack of labor rights of Syrian refugees.

1.4 Research objectives and question

Since I could only meet male Syrian refugee textile workers, my first research objective is the effect of intersectionality of masculinity, time and space from Syria to textile sector in Turkey, legal status and class, on vulnerability and resilience of Syrian male refugee textile workers in Northwestern Turkey. My second objective is the level of vulnerability and resilience of Syrian refugee textile workers in Northwestern Turkey through the lens of labor rights. My main question is:

To what extent the intersectionality of masculinity, time and space from Syria to textile sector in Turkey, legal status in Turkey and class affect the vulnerability and resilience of Syrian male refugee textile workers in Northwestern Turkey, from the perspective of labor rights?

Sub questions

- 1) What is the role and effect of Turkish authorities on labor rights of Syrian refugees in Turkey, and how are these reflected in their textile work?
- 2) What is the effect of the intersection of cultural hegemonic masculinity with other personal identities, on vulnerability and resilience?

1.5 Methodology and Methods

1.5.1 Primary Data of Qualitative Interviews

The main aim of this research is to see the positionality of Syrian male workers in vulnerability and resilience in textile work. For that reason, this research will use a qualitative approach with the aim of “delving into social complexities in order to truly explore and understand the interactions, processes, lived experiences and belief systems that are a part of individuals, institutions, cultural groups and even the everyday” (O’Leary 2017: 272). Nevertheless, doing a qualitative research is advantageous when it is done as primary data which means collecting the researcher’s own data, because of being able to get data that overlaps with all aspects of research (Hox and Boeijs 2005: 594) And in my case, since I would like to learn about the level of vulnerability and resilience of Syrian refugee textile workers by using the specific lens of intersectionality approach in this research, I use primary research data of qualitative interviews with male Syrian refugee textile workers in Northwestern Turkey. The aim of the questions that will be asked to interviewees will be to learn about their opinions about their jobs from the perspective of labor rights and from the lens of intersectionality by tackling masculinity, time and space, class, and legal status.

For the identity of masculinity, since the only workers that I could do interviews with, are male whose wives do not work, the main focus is on their narratives about taking care of their families. Because this proved a significant theme in their overall narratives, that the main reason of this pattern is the social and

cultural construction of masculinity in relation to their roles as economic providers for their families. For the identity of textile worker, the main focus is on their socio-economic and educational background to understand the effect of class on vulnerability and resilience. And for the identity of being refugees, since they do not usually have work permits and this is a lack of legal protections for their labor rights in comparison with Turkish citizens, the main focus will be on the effect of their legal status to their work in Turkey.

These diversities are used to answer the main research question, and the sub-questions of the research, for a framework from the perspective of intersectionality. The interviews also covered the situation arising as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, since economic activities slowed down on a global scale. This means COVID-19 may have had its effect on Syrian refugee workers' vulnerability, since textile work is dependent on the level of demand and already a sector where refugee workers could be expected to be vulnerable to various forms of unfair labor practices or unemployment.

1.5.2 Methods Shaped by COVID-19

As indicated by Sy et al. (2020: 1), in the cases of a strong pandemic such as COVID-19, pandemic management for researches is crucial for not doing harm to anyone as result of infection. In this sense, pandemic management for researches of qualitative interviews should be done remotely by phone and videoconference, or by obeisance of physical distance and with precautions of infection if interviews must be done face-to face (2020: 3). In the beginning of this study, to understand their real stories and situations of Syrian male refugee textile workers, my first preference was for in-person interviews under safe conditions, and the chance to meet personally with my interviewees. In this sense, online meetings and telephone calls (especially telephone calls since I cannot see their faces and mimics) proved insufficient. However, in the case of lockdown due to COVID-19, to do pandemic management for my research, I decided to collect data from qualitative interviews through online meetings and telephone calls, except when conditions and local regulations in Turkey allowed for face-to-face meetings, under safe conditions of physical distancing. For that reason, due to the issue of COVID-19 and the security concerns with health, I did only four of my interviews in-person because of having a chance of providing a safe space when meetings were possible in Turkey in the end of August by regarding the precautions of Turkish government such as social distance, masks and sanitizers (Turkish Ministry of Interior 2020: no page), five of them online, and three of them on phone only as voice, from the total of twelve interviews. Thus, to be able to get sufficient information from all interviewees may be a limit for this research.

1.5.3 Ethnographic Dimensions

Since my main objective is to understand the real situation on labor in textile sector and Syrian male refugees' position related to their work in a new country with a different culture, I followed an ethnographic approach during my qualitative interviews. Firstly, doing ethnographic research relies on searching for the

answers by learning personal experiences that are shaped by culture (Genzük 2003: 1). And doing ethnographic interviews is based on gathering data within a friendly atmosphere of conversation, to gain some natural ethnographic aspects for the research outputs (Spradley 2016: 58). For that reason, I did my interviews in their totally free times that are out of work, and asked and received questions in an atmosphere of dual conversation. I asked about their cultural and educational backgrounds, family lives, personal roles of culture, and their daily life in Syria and Turkey generally and specifically their work in Turkey. At the end of my interviews, I believe that I received ethnographic hints for my analysis related to vulnerability and resilience. Secondly, in the process of analyzing ethnographic outputs, the key is the interpretation of meanings, practices, and results of human actions within wider contexts (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 3). Thus, the main aim of ethnographic dimension of this qualitative research is analyzing in-depth the reasons and conditions of vulnerability and resilience in textile work of Syrian refugee male workers.

1.5.4 Ethical Considerations in This Qualitative Research

The term “ethics” in social research refers to the determination of what is good/right and what is bad/wrong for the researcher, in his/her social research (Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 16). And ethics in social research is a prerequisite for sensitive groups such as refugees, because of higher risk of marginalization (Hugman et al. 2011: 1272). In this sense, there are three different types of matters to be obeyed for ethics in qualitative social research especially for sensitive groups that are: “the risk of harm”, “autonomy and informed consent”, and “privacy, confidentiality and anonymity” (Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 32, Orb et al. 2001: 95).

By the first domain of ethical considerations that is the risk of harm, it is explained that qualitative research should be based-on protection of harm that can come as a result of this research, such as publication of the outputs of interviews may be the reason of negative sanctions by the usage of these outputs (Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 66; Orb et al. 2001: 95). In my qualitative interviews for this research paper with Syrian refugee male textile workers, nearly all of the interviewees asked me the question even before I start to explained myself: “Who are you? Where are you going to use my answers?”. After I get this question -even in a few cases without they ask- and I explain that I am a master’s degree student in the Netherlands, I do a research and I need some answers for my questions. Then in the cases of in-person and online interviews I show my student card, in the cases of phone interviews I send the photo of my student card on WhatsApp, for them to view. After this conversation, I got explanations that they are afraid of usage of their answers for Turkish authorities. However, all interviewees gave objective answers after my explanations about myself and my research.

By the second domain of ethical considerations that is autonomy and informed consent, it is explained that qualitative research should be done with the recognition of participants about the research, and giving permission to use their answers in research publication and to take approval for the interview (Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 76; Orb et al. 2001: 95). In my qualitative interviews, after I explained about my position and made them sure that I do not

work for their harm, I mentioned that I do a research for Syrian refugee textile workers' working conditions and labor rights. I also added that they do not have to give any information they do not want. As answers, because of providing information about why I try to talk to them and ask some questions about their work, they accepted to talk with me about all questions, they all declared that they can surely talk to me. And one case made me very happy that after I explained about these issues: two teenage daughters of an interviewee wanted to talk to me that they also would like to study like me. I talked to them on phone, but I could clearly understand from their voices that they were very excited about my research as a master's degree student.

And by the third domain of ethical considerations that is privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, it is explained that qualitative research should be done by regarding their vulnerability and keep them anonymous both as place and information, to not to be affected personally especially in the case of being powerless of participants with diverse reasons (Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 100; Orb et al. 2001: 95-96). And in my qualitative interviews, after my small conversation with my interviewees about gaining trust and informed consent, and giving the guarantee of not giving harm, with the aim of providing privacy, I declared that they do not need to give their names, exact addresses and work places; only knowing which city -Istanbul or Bursa- they live in would be enough for me. On the other hand, all of them gave their names to me, but since I do not have any idea where most of them work, live and about their surnames, their privacy is provided.

1.6 Chapter Outline

The second chapter which is on "Conceptual and Theoretical Framework" and will consider the concepts of being a refugee, a textile work, labor vulnerability and resilience, and cultural masculinity from the perspectives of the theme of this research. In the second part of this chapter theoretical perspectives on intersectionality as an academic field will be covered, as well as specific intersectional methods that are going to be used in this study.

The third chapter which is on "Being a Refugee and a Textile Worker" analyzes the vulnerability and resilience of refugee textile workers with the effect of Turkish politics and institutions because of their Syrian, refugee, and textile worker identities. This will explain the working conditions, alongside the perceptions of Syrian refugee textile workers about their work.

The fourth chapter which is on "Masculinity for Labor Vulnerability and Resilience" will analyze vulnerability and resilience that was shaped by the intersection of masculinity roles from Syria to Turkey and textile work, with other identities that Syrian refugee textile workers obtain. This chapter shows how masculine roles shape the position of Syrian male refugee textile workers that is explained in the previous chapter.

The fifth chapter which is on "Conclusion and Reflections" will conclude the research and show the reflections related to this study.

Chapter 2: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Conceptual Frameworks

2.1.1 *Being a Refugee*

The main explanation that can be understood as global for the term of refugee, comes from The Refugee Convention of 1951 gives the definition of a refugee as someone who:

“owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such a fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.” (Shacknove 1985: 275; UNHCR 1951: 6)

As mentioned by Haddad (2004: 7), this general definition of the term “refugee” shows that being refugee is different than other types of migrants who move to a new country voluntarily. Unlike other migrants, refugees are forced to change their countries to save their lives, and to rebuild their lives, which have been damaged by violent conflict and/or state-sanctioned discrimination. Therefore, in the question of being a refugee, there is a crisis of basic human rights.

Besides, Helton (1990: 119-120) indicates that individuals that have the conditions of being refugees, as declared in the definition of The Refugee Convention, do not have the specific legal status of citizen or migrant to obtain basic rights. Therefore, refugee protection procedure for their rights in their new country should be implemented at the level of law and policy in the host country. Feller (2006: 529) explains that The Refugee Convention has minimum general requirements for refugee protection in the host country: no persecution, *non-refoulement*, no torture or other cruel treatment; no risk to the life of refugees; accessible durable solution for unjust and unequal situation of the refugees that may be reason of the lack of adequacy in the conditions of existence (The Refugee Convention 1951). With this explanation, it is clear that lifesaving and equality is the core of refugee protection in all fields, to prevent possible vulnerabilities.

Specifically in relation to the theme of this research, The Refugee Convention has requirements that refugees not face restrictions in entering the labor market and that unequal conditions in labor conditions, such as unequal wage should not be imposed on refugees (1951: 98); matters of labor such as working hours, overtime arrangements, holidays, remunerations and benefits shall be on the basis of equality with nationals and guaranteed by law (1951: 125). From these explanations, it is also clear that general equality and justice principles should be protected also specifically in terms of labor laws, to protect refugees from vulnerability.

2.1.2 Labor Vulnerability

Inside the current labor market, some workers are more in demand for various reasons such as their education or skills levels, and an important part of the total body of workers may not enjoy the benefits of being in demand. Saunders (2003: 7) points out that 'low demand' workers are more vulnerable to violations of their labor rights. According to his study, the concept of labor vulnerability means "workers lacking statutory rights", who are therefore unable to reach minimum legal standards for workers such as minimum wages, overtime payment, paid vacations and annual leave, public holidays, limits to working hours and days, and notice of termination, as well as job protection for maternal/paternal leave (2003: 7-8). Vulnerable "workers unable to access their statutory rights" that means even in the case that workers have statutory rights, they may not be able to benefit from them. This may be due to a lack of knowledge, or fear of losing their job, or other forms of non-economic coercion from employers or the neglect of their rights by the state and legal institutions such as courts (2003: 9). In addition, such vulnerable "workers [lack] access to non-statutory benefits", which means they are not able to access benefits that are required legally, and should be provided by employers, such as paid sick leave, long term disability benefits, or group life insurance. Finally, such vulnerable workers are also: "lacking access to social protection/social security programs", which means being outside of the existing protective frameworks such as employment insurance and formal working contracts (2003: 10).

Besides, Marx and Picot (2020) point out three main approaches to understanding labor vulnerability. According to their study, the first approach is "the individual-risk approach", which explains levels of vulnerability through the effects of economic globalization. Through globalization and increases in demand for specific workers, the economic interests of other individuals are neglected, leading to their labor market vulnerability (Marx and Picot 2020: 356; Walter 2015: 5). The second approach is "insider-outsider theory" which explains differences in levels of labor vulnerability between insiders who have regular contracts and possibilities for permanent jobs, and outsiders who cannot be engaged with registered employment, and little prospect of a permanent job. From this perspective, outsiders are significantly more vulnerable because of not having legal rights and labor representation through trade unions, for example (Marx and Picot 2020: 357; Rueda 2007: 387). A third approach is "subjectivity of labor market vulnerability" and explains the sociological and psychological aspects of relative labor vulnerability. This approach suggests that between two individuals, even two workers in the same type of work, the conditions of vulnerability, or lack of vulnerability, will be interpreted in two different ways (Marx and Picot 2020: 357; Sverke, Hellgren and Naswall 2002: 243).

A more formal legal approach is adopted by the ILO (2003: 2), where it defines vulnerability as including more or more of the following factors in relation to the law: the extent of labor-related law is too narrow on paper or in interpretation; the extent of labor-related law is unclear, resulting in its ambiguity or law being poorly formulated, an ambiguous relationship between employer and employee, and a lack of enforcement of the rights of workers in labor-related laws.

2.1.3 Masculinity as Social and Cultural Construction

Masculinity is the term used to mean a group of values, norms, and patterns of behavior that explains both implicit and explicit responsibilities and expectations of action from male individuals for being a man sufficiently. For that reason, masculinity, in the same way as femininity, and differently from biological sex which is given at birth from the body, is determined by what being a man means in society, often in contrast to what it means to be a woman. The members of a specific society have a broad consensus about what it is to be a “real man” and how a man’s gender identity should be exhibited by his constructed role in society expressed through culture and historical precedents (Stets and Burke 2000: 1; Lindsay and Miescher 2003: 4).

This gender identity of masculinity gives common expectations and responsibilities by society for individuals with male bodies such as gender attitudes, roles, and stereotypes to be able to play the role of a “man” in the societal order, and to protect their individual manhood and feel “normal” and accepted in their family and in the wider society they engage with and are held responsible to (Stets and Burke 2000: 1). In this sense, gender attitudes of masculinity are based on roles that are related to assumptions about ideal manhood, such as the role of man as protector of the family and the nation (Gilligan 1982; Stets and Burke 2000: 1). Gender roles are thus based on common expectations of masculine (and feminine) behavior, as a worker and as thereby economic provider of the family (Eagly 1987; Stets and Burke 2000: 1). Gender stereotypes of masculinity are based on common opinions about the “typical” personality traits associated with men, often in contrast to those associated with a “typical” woman (Spence and Helmreich 1978; Stets and Burke 2000: 1).

Masculinity is also explained as “the complex cognitive, behavioral, emotional, expressive, psychosocial and sociocultural experience of identifying with being male” (Kahn 2009: 2). For that reason, according to Kahn, masculinity is a concept that explains a psychosocial process which is constructed by the recognition and internalization of social, cultural, and relational experiences of being male in a particular society. Through this psychosocial process, the existing codes of masculinity are derived from society and culture, and become a crucial psychological measure of self-esteem of male individuals in that society (Kahn 2009: 3). This implies gendering as a social and cultural process, so that different societies with different cultures have diverse expectations of men, and varying codes of “ideal” masculinity. The expectations and codes are fluid over time as well as between places, and even classes and identity-groups (Kahn 2009: 3-4).

Nevertheless, codes of masculinity are constructed by society and cultures that individuals live in, and other social structures intersect with codes of masculinity, including structures of inequality along the lines of race, nationality, class, personal status or class, all of which can shape the ways in which individual masculinities operate and emerge in society, such as the male refugee textile workers researched in this study (Connell 2006: 71). On the other hand, to understand masculinity as a context of gender, going beyond gender such as its relation with class, race, and global inequality should be done. In this sense, the term “hegemonic masculinity” explains the pattern of gender practices that puts men to dominance and women to subordination. Nonetheless, hegemonic masculinity is a dynamic and changeable context because of the effects of class, race, culture, and other positions that societies have (2006: 76-77). And as a crucial

example of hegemonic masculinity, gendered character of workplaces can be given, because of male domination, and discrimination of women, as if that area and sector belongs with male identity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 834).

2.2 Theoretical and Analytical Perspectives on Intersectionality

2.2.1 What do Academics Say About Intersectionality?

Many academics have worked on and written a great quantity of research about intersectionality in its theoretical and methodological aspects, the strengths and limitations of masculinity as a concept. All have sought multi-dimensional answers to the question of how social inequalities intersect to form individual life circumstances and identities. As a basic definition, the term intersectionality refers to existing interactions between race, gender, and other social categories that become reasons for difference in the lives of individuals, in social practices, attitudes of institutions and relations of power and inequality (Davis 2008: 68). In this sense, intersectionality is sometimes called a principal research paradigm as it brings many other paradigms around one of these social divisions together (McCall 2005: 1772; Hancock 2007: 63). It is a tool of analysis to explain inequalities generally, without necessarily prioritizing one over any other (Yuval-Davis 2006: 193), and it is a theoretical framework for recognizing multiple inequalities in society in ways that relate to individual and group perceptions of difference (Walby et al. 2012: 225). From these explanations, it can be understood that intersectionality is a lens through which to understand inequalities amidst interacting and complex identities of groups and individuals.

On the other hand, from this wide spectrum of academic work, I consider five key studies, where various approaches to intersectionality can be identified and are defined. The first Crenshaw (1989, 1991), the second is McCall (2005). Other approaches can be found in Hancock (2007), Hankivsky (2014) and finally in Collins and Bilge (2016). All these authors had an important role in developing intersectional approaches in the social sciences, and in elucidating possibilities for analysis from different point of views and starting points, that could nonetheless end up expressing something of the sheer complexity of identities as experienced and narrated, using the term intersectionality.

The first use of the term intersectionality was by American legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in her landmark essay in 1989. For her this concept helped to display the relative marginalization of Black women in Western feminist theories, and why neither gender equality nor antidiscrimination law could deal adequately with the inequalities Black women faced (Carbado et al. 2013: 303) She suggested that in case of discrimination and inequality, gender and race identities should not be treated as separate issues but as intersecting with one another (Crenshaw 1989: 139). In 1991, Crenshaw elaborated on her concept of intersectionality. According to this work, Black women's inequalities arise from three issues: (i) structural intersectionality that means the intersection of race, gender, and the location of women of color, (ii) political intersectionality that means the feminist and anti-racist political agendas that disregards the intersection of race

and gender, and (iii) representational intersectionality that means the women of color's cultural structure, which defines their place in that culture (Krenshaw 1991: 1245). Here, it is clear that intersectionality emerged to address the interactions between race and gender in explaining social inequalities in a more multidimensional way.

Another approach to intersectionality worth considering, is from McCall (2005). In her research, she focused on intersectionality as a tool, instead of suggesting any new theoretical approach. After reflecting on various perspectives, she concluded that intersectionality was crucial as a paradigm for understanding inequalities of gender and other identities. Yet she could not find any clear definition of the "how-to" of intersectional analysis for policy analysts or by academics in general (McCall 2005: 1771). For that reason, after all her hard work, McCall introduced a proposed methodology for applying intersectionality to understanding different inequality dynamics among individuals. According to her methodology, there are three types of intersectionality: anticategorical, intracategorical, and intercategorical (2005: 1774).

By anticategorical, McCall means the belief or premise that nothing can totally fit into a specific category of identity because of the range of diverse experiences that people have. This type of intersectionality analysis involves the deconstruction of all normative assumptions about identities, resulting in identities as very fluid and situational (2005: 1777). By intracategorical, she refers to cases where the research is based on one identity such as gender or race as central issue, and that other forms of identity are articulate onto this central identity in specific social or ideological settings (2005: 1780). Finally, within an intercategorical approach, relationships between inequalities by consideration of all existent identities of a social group, are central to intersectional methodology and analysis (2005: 1785). From this useful explanation, it can be understood that interactions between personal identities of individuals can be analyzed in different ways, at various levels and on the basis of divergent priorities. The aim is always to see the total effect altogether, however, of various social inequalities.

Also interesting is the work of Hancock (2007). In her approach to intersectionality, she clearly added "class" identity to the main analytical identities that academics had used of "race" and "gender". According to Hancock (2007: 63-64), intersectionality is "both a normative theoretical argument and an approach to conducting empirical research" that can explain the interaction of different forms of unequal identities such as race, gender, and class. For the issue of class, Hancock (2007: 72) discusses the identity of class in intersectionality not as only one-dimension issue, but as a "fuzzy" concept. For Hancock, the concept of class not only includes economic income indicators, for example, but also the background of a person in terms of education and the "cultural capital" that people acquire through their families and background. Therefore, by both educational and economic situation, she points out that the socioeconomical profile of individuals can be referred to as their "class" identity.

Again, Hancock (2007: 64) points to three main types of approaches for the study of inequalities through considering personal identities as socially constructed: a unitary approach that explains one identity as central; multiple approaches that explain identity from multiple identities but regards them as more or less static with little or no interactions among different identities within and among individuals, and an intersectional approach that explains multiple identities through the dynamic interactions among both individual and institutional

levels. Differently from the first two approaches, intersectionality is an approach to conducting research, and not primarily about a content specialization. Therefore, intersectional approaches need to be anchored both in a theoretical framework and in forms of empirical methodology.

Elaborating on this is the work of Hankivsky (2014), who in her research (2014: 8-12) elaborated on the “Principles of Intersectionality”. These are intersecting categories of identities, multi-level analysis, power as an effective issue, reflexivity as analysis of the effects of power, equality, and social justice. On the other hand, there is one more principle that she added to intersectionality theory: time and space. According to this principle, since time and space are not static but are changeable through social interactions and social constructions, therefore individuals’ identity positions and social locations are affected by the times and the spaces that they live in.

The last main approach I would like to cover towards intersectionality is Collins and Bilge (2016). Similar to other approaches reviewed here, they mentioned intersectionality as a form of power relations that occur at the intersections of personal identities such as race, gender, class, ethnicity, affecting social interactions and patterns of inequality. On the other hand, to use intersectionality as an analytical tool, they distinguish different types of power (Collins and Bilge 2016), through what Collins (2017: 19) calls the “domains-of-power framework”. According to this term, there are four different domains of power to be analyzed: structural, disciplinary, cultural, and interpersonal. Structural domain of power explains the level of inequalities on society by social institutions such as economy, policies and religion. This becomes disciplinary domain of power when people obey or challenge the effects of these institutions. Cultural domain of power explains the effect of cultural and social constructions and practices has effect on power relations. Interpersonal domain of power explains the experiences between individuals in society with the effects of cultural, structural, and disciplinary domains of power (Collins and Bilge 2016; Collins 2017: 26).

2.2.2 The Lens of Intersectionality for Relevant Concepts in this Study

By the concept of being a refugee, since there is no acquisition of basic rights that citizens and migrants have by their legal status, Syrian refugees in Turkey are in the risk of unequal situations, in the case that Turkish authorities do not implement refugee protection procedure. These unequal situations includes labor vulnerability, since there could be a lack of minimum legal standards to protect the labor rights of refugees. And since the masculinity is a social construct that gives males the responsibilities, masculinely gendered character of Syrians’ workplace and economic provision duty can give a compulsory acceptance of labor vulnerability, to be accepted socio-culturally.

To look at the issue of Syrian male refugee textile workers from different angles and interactions of relevant concepts, this study includes the lens of intersectionality. The lens of intersectionality is going to be used by legal status of being a refugee, labor vulnerability, and cultural masculinity for Syrian male refugee textile workers to analyze the inequalities by the existing link between these concepts in textile sector.

Chapter 3: Being a refugee textile worker

3.1 Introduction

This chapter has two main sections. First section 3.2 gives an overview related to the main effects of Turkish legal arrangements on Syrian refugee textile workers, by having or not having working permit, insurance and contract. Second section 3.3 is more detailed, by indirect results of Turkish legal arrangements, about Syrian refugee textile workers' working conditions from the perspective of labor vulnerability.

Here in both of these sections, the intersectionality approach will be used by the intersection of nationality, legal status and class of Syrian refugee textile workers. Here, the intersectionality lens is going to be engaged with intercategory approach of McCall, since these identities that are going to be analyzed, do not have any priorities between themselves. Also, the intersectionality lens is going to be engaged with structural and disciplinary domains of power of Collins and Bilge. The purpose is to indicate the power relations that come from institutions to individuals by structural domain, and the reactions to this power relation from individuals by disciplinary domain of power.

3.2 The Effects of Turkish Policies

3.2.1 Working without Insurance and Contract

In parallel to political records that shows most of Syrian refugees who engage with labor work without work permit and therefore, insurance and contract, most of the interviewees also work in the same condition (9 out of 12 interviewees in this research do not have work permit and therefore, insurance and contract in their work). Interestingly, a common narrative is found that workers who do not have work permit, are actually more chosen for textile work. As also academically mentioned (Del Carpio and Wagner 2015: 21, Korkmaz 2017a: 8, Siviş 2020: 8), the reason is to get more production by longer working hours and heavier workload, and to get more benefit by less wages for bosses, without legal restrictions. Since textile work is open to labor vulnerability by unrecorded and low skilled labor force, this majority can find jobs easier, but have harder working conditions than other works that are done by people who have work permit and high skilled labor.

“Turkish workers work with insurance. So, their working conditions are in an order. Their future is guaranteed. But it is not for me. In any of the jobs that I worked, any boss asked me if I want insurance. Instead, they preferred me to be without working permit, and so, without insurance and contract. They also prefer that I shall not be skilled. Because, when you do not have other opportunities by work permit and skill, you become more open to their working conditions. You do not have any other choice. There is nothing that protects you.” (M, a 26 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul)

The intersection of class as socio-economic and educational background, and legal status of unrecorded Syrian refugee textile workers has both positive and negative effects on the labor. At first sight, it is seen that being Syrian refugee and without work permit, and having low skilled labor has a positive effect on ability to find job, due to the individual risk approach that explains increased demand by global competition in a sector. However, there is no refugee protection as restrictions for standardization of refugee labor by work permit. And as the structural domain of power, Turkish authorities do not implement labor restrictions or standardization by work permit to Syrian refugees who have low skilled labor. Nevertheless, as disciplinary power, unrecorded Syrian refugee workers are aware of their situation that intersects with their class and legal status. However, there is a labor vulnerability of workers lacking statutory rights as being an “outsider” to reach a standard for their work. Thus, they enforcedly accepted their situation on this intersectional inequality.

Actually, legal arrangements were made for Syrian workers to have a work permit. Bosses can easily apply for work permit of their Syrian employees (İçduygu and Diker 2017: 21) after six months of obtaining temporary protection status (Aslantürk and Tunç 2018: 161). However, there is a lack of information for rights of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Some interviewees are convinced that not having work permit and insurance with contract by work permit is more advantageous or useless, by their bosses. This convinces are diverse: saying that work permit is totally illegal for Syrian refugees in Turkey, and they could earn more money without work permit and insurance, or saying that work permit and insurance will not matter since they will turn back to Syria one day. This shows that applying for work permit and giving insurance for Syrian refugee textile workers is not preferred for bosses, to get higher benefit.

“I do not have work permit and insurance. But I do not need them. Now I am 45 years old, what will I do with insurance? I have never had insurance in my life. I learned that by my boss that I may not be officially retired at this age, and there is nothing else that insurance could give to me. I do not have a contract. It was said by my boss that having a work contract is not legal for refugees. But my boss said if I work hard, I can work here as much as I want. And I started to work here in 2014. Six years showed that I am permanent.” (H, a 45 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul)

“My boss told me that if I get insurance, the government cuts some amount of money for retirement. It will not work for anything else. So, it is useless. And I need that amount of money, too. Also, what if I cannot be retired in Turkey? Nobody knows if we will stay here forever or when we will turn back to Syria. What will happen to that money that government takes every month? So, he suggested me to continue like this, instead of applying to work permit.” (R, a 25 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of class as socio-economical background by normalization of unrecorded work as subjectivity of labor vulnerability, legal status that emphasizes their possibility of temporariness, and lack of information, creates a systematic obstacle of access to social protection of work contract and insurance. And as structural domain of power, Turkish authorities do not give clear information about possibility of standardizing restrictions and protection on refugee labor by work permit as long as their working period in Turkey. Nevertheless, as disciplinary domain of power, unrecorded Syrian refugee textile workers are

unable to access their statutory rights, due to lack of awareness. Thus, they unintentionally internalize their situation on this inequality.

An interesting output by unrecorded Syrian workers is the feeling of difference for acceptance of working conditions between Syrian and Turkish workers. The reason of being more chosen for textile work with comparison to Turkish workers, is the discordant expectations of Turkish workers and bosses. Bosses give too hard work for long hours and little wages (Del Carpio and Wagner 2015: 20). Turks usually do not accept extreme fast and hard work for small amounts of money, and unrecorded work. Thus, bosses can give unrecorded job to Syrian refugees instead, who are in the need of work to survive (Kayaoğlu-Yılmaz 2020: 590, Siviş 2020: 8-9). Parallely, this research received very similar explanations by the interviewees, even without directly asking.

“Here, there is no Turkish worker. I heard that there were some Turkish workers before us. But they quitted the job, because the boss wanted harder work, and Turkish workers did not want that. And now, as I see, Turks do not work in textile much, because it is very busy and hard work. But for me, job is job. Like other Syrians here, I do not mind to work harder. I take care of my family with my wage, so, everything is fine.” (W, a 33 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul)

The intersection of socio-economic background as class of low skilled labor that includes normalization of hard work, and legal status of not obtaining work permit and insurance has negativity on unrecorded Syrian refugees' working conditions as “outsiders” of Turkey. As structural domain of power, Turkish authorities do not give the opportunity of refugee protection and standardizing restrictions on labor by work permit to all Syrian refugees in Turkey. And as disciplinary domain of power, Syrian textile workers tend to accept and internalize the unequal conditions due to subjectivity of labor vulnerability by sociological aspect of relativity.

3.2.2 Still Struggling: Working with Insurance and Contract

Applying for work permit of Syrian refugees in Turkey is usually for highly skilled workers with higher educative and/or professional level (İçduygu and Şimşek 2016: 64). In the interviewees, 3 people out of 12 interviewees work with work permit. They are educationally and professionally more qualified. Their working conditions are better. At first sight, it could be understood as they have equal rights with Turkish workers. However, they are still struggling due to legal procedures for Syrian refugees in workplaces. The procedures such as only one Syrian worker for at least ten Turkish workers in a workplace (Aslantürk and Tunç 2018: 162), and being in need of paying a standardized minimum wage and other labor costs that many workplaces do not want to implement (Sebestyen et al. 2018: 77) are engaged with current struggle. Therefore, Syrian workers who have work permit are not chosen for many jobs. Also, these people of a class with high skilled labor with comparison to unrecorded Syrian workers, tend not to accept works that do not have minimum standards of labor rights, even if they can easily find opportunities. There is a feeling of not-deserving these jobs. As mentioned by Baban et al. (2017: 51-52) due to these limitations, they would like to have Turkish citizenship to be able to find a job equally.

“If I can be a Turkish citizen, I will be very happy. Because, my working possibilities becomes lesser due to some difficult procedures. I want to work freely. For example, I am the only Syrian worker in the factory, but if some of Turkish workers leave job and the number of Turkish workers becomes less than ten people, I have to be fired from this job. This limits my possibilities in cases of losing job. I do not want to accept unrecorded work since I have a profession. I want to work in milder conditions.” (M, 26 years old recorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of legal status and class as socio-economic and educational background has both positive and negative effects on their working conditions. At first sight, they are in the class with high skilled labor, that leads to be more in demand for a labor market. This is chapleted by having work permit and being legally more “insider”. The intersection of these issues is seen as having standardized work. However, there is the intersection of procedures in legal status, and worker expectations of a standardized work due to socio-economic background as class. As structural domain of power, Turkish government gives work permit. However, work permit gives legal limitations as the lack of enforcement of the rights, for recorded workers. And as disciplinary domain of power, Syrian recorded textile workers are clearly aware to not being able to find a job easy with refugee protection and standardizations on labor. Their only tool to deal with inequality is their hope to be a Turkish citizen in future.

3.3 Syrian Refugees’ Working Conditions

3.3.1 Working Time

Due to no standardization of work for unrecorded Syrian refugee textile workers, there is very long working time. (Kayaoğlu-Yılmaz 2020: 590, Erol et al. 2017: 58-59) Almost all unrecorded Syrian refugee textile workers work significantly more than 45 hours every week that is legal limit in Turkey (Pinar et al. 2019: 35). Similarly, in the cases of this research, working hours are very long for unrecorded workers. They usually work from 8 in the morning to 7 in the evening. In a few cases, finishing hours can be 6 or 6:30 in the evening, but they do not work less than ten hours in a day. Working days are 6 days a week in almost every cases of unrecorded workers. Saturdays can be half days in some cases, but there are many cases that they work full day on Saturday, too. For more than half of the unrecorded workers, holidays are very short and annual leave does not exist. Others usually have only one-week annual leave when there is not much work, and without wage.

The situation is better for recorded workers. They work 9 to 6, but they say they could find that job after being able to get a work permit. Holidays are good and protected by contract. However, in the cases of not being able to find a full-time recorded job, recorded workers may use their all free days for short term jobs. Despite having a standardized expectation on working conditions, they may engage with informal work for a short time. This continues until they find a full-time job, to be able to provide economic sufficiency.

“I start to work at 8 in the morning, finish at 7 in the evening. I have holiday every Sunday. I do not have much holidays, only a week every year if there

is not much work to do. But it is enough for me. I need to earn money. I know that Turkish citizens can work in better conditions with less hours and more holidays, and for more money since Turkish government protects them, but I have a gratitude that I could find this job and earn money Alhamdulillah (Muslim praise to God).” (M, 32 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

“My part-time job is three days a week. It starts at 9, and finishes at 6. I could not find a full-time job yet. But I do some daily jobs in textile in the other four days of the week. So, I cannot say that I have a holiday until I find a full-time job. Since I work with insurance and contract, I have annual leave for two weeks. But I seek short-term jobs for these days to earn more money, because it is not enough.” (S, 34 years old recorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of legal status and class as socio-economic background has negative effect on working hours, both for unrecorded and recorded workers, but differently from each other. Unrecorded low skilled workers face no refugee protection and standardization on labor as legal status. And they have subjectivity on labor vulnerability due to their socio-economic background with harder working conditions in their class. The intersection of these two issues create an acceptance on labor vulnerability by lacking statutory right of limits of working hours and days.

However, recorded high skilled workers face not being able to find a job that is economically sufficient by full-time work. And they have to work in other short-term jobs until they find a full-time job. Thus, in those periods, they do not have much free time, due to having work permit and not having acceptance on worse working conditions for a long time due to their class. And these periods are a result of legal lack of enforcements of the right of recorded workers, by procedures on work permit.

As structural domain of power, Turkish government creates both non-registration of low skilled Syrian workers and implementation of procedures to working possibility of high skilled Syrian workers at the same time. And both cases are the lack of refugee protection and standardization on labor by law. As disciplinary domain of power, even both parts of workers are aware of the inequalities, unrecorded workers accept their situation due to lacking of statutory rights, and recorded workers accept their situation due to lack of enforcement of the rights in relevant law.

3.3.2 Economic Situations

In textile work, since there is not a stable demand for production, textile ateliers mostly hire unrecorded workers for very short term of production, to save money. Thus, Syrian workers mostly engage with unstable work and wage (Danış 2016: 524-525; Korkmaz 2019: 46). Similarly, most of the interviewees who are unrecorded workers do not have a stable economic situation due to only short-term demand of being fired for increased levels of production demand by garment shops. At that point, short term employment is useful when workers are in need of money. Nevertheless, the expectations of work in their current workplace are as much as possible. Even if there are a few cases that work in the same

place since their arrival to Turkey, their expectation is also the same. Because, finding a long-term job is not common, and everything can change if there is no work.

“I work in this job for two years. Before this job, I was working in production in textile work in other factories for three years. But it was too hard to find a long-term job. When they do not need you, you lose your work. So, I had economic problems during those first three years. I did whatever I found to make my family survive. The money that I have been earning in Turkey is enough for all expenses, but many times, I do it with struggle. So, I expect to work in this job as long as possible.” (A, 30 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul)

Also, for unrecorded workers, finding a long-term job is not the end of economic unbalance. Here, the reason is, the bosses do not fire their workers for their future production. However, when there is no or low level of demand for production, they stop or decrease production and wage payment until demand increases significantly (Danış 2016: 575). For that reason, there are some important examples of unrecorded workers, that even if they stay in a job for a relatively long term, when there is not much work or no work at all, because of no or very little demand of garment shops, they cannot work, and cannot earn money. Therefore, their economic stability can be very low, and they suffer from not being able to pay their basic expenses such as rent, bills, and food.

“Sometimes wage payments are delayed a little bit. Especially when there is not much work to do. And now, I need to pay rent, I need to take care of the needs of my children. It is impossible to keep money to buy a house here, with my wage. The wage is not sufficient sometimes when there is a cut. But somehow, I do my monetary arrangements with small savings and short-term jobs, and I make my family live economically.” (M, 32 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersectionality happens between socio-economic background of low skilled labor as class, and legal status by working without work permit. If they cannot find a longer-term job, or cannot continue to production in their long-term job, they face economic problems due to non-existence of work permit. As structural domain of power, Turkish authorities do not implement refugee protection on standardizing registrations of labor of all Syrian workers, creates economic instability. And as disciplinary domain of power, unrecorded Syrian textile workers accept their situation due to lacking statutory rights and lacking access to social protection programs.

For recorded workers, having tough economic situation is not very different from unrecorded workers. However, the reason that creates unbalanced economic situation lead to a different story. As mentioned by Güner (2018: 33-34) the procedures that come by work permit such as quota and standardization of working conditions makes the possibility to find a job significantly harder for recorded workers. Therefore, recorded workers also would like to continue to their current job as much as possible. Also, they are afraid not to be able to find another job, since bosses usually prefer people without work permit, and these jobs are mostly with worse conditions and less wages than their current jobs.

“I cannot save money. But it looks impossible to find a better job, because of procedures. Two weeks later, I am getting married. Things will be even harder for me because I will need to take care about my wife, and future

children. I will also need to take care about my parents. So, I feel a bit nervous about that now. But what can I do? I need to continue in this job as long as possible. I hope there will not be employee withdrawal of Turkish workers. If it happens, I do not know what to do.” (M, 26 years old registered Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of class and legal status has negative effect on economic situation of recorded Syrian refugee textile workers. Because of the lack of refugee protection on labor by authorities, they also face economic struggles and risk of losing job. As an intersection, their high-skilled labor as socio-economic background that creates their class, clinch the situation that comes by legal status. As structural domain of power, Turkish authorities creates the lack of enforcement of the rights of workers by procedures on work permit. And as disciplinary domain of power, recorded Syrian refugee textile workers enforcedly accept the situation. This is related to individual risk approach that explains economic interests of bosses who choose workers without work permit, for more benefit in global economic competition on textile sector.

Nevertheless, as a similar issue of unrecorded and recorded workers, the question of equal pay for equal work can be given. Both recorded and unrecorded Syrian textile workers get dramatically less wage than a Turkish worker regardless if they have work permit or not, just because they are Syrian refugees and they are in need of their current job (Korkmaz 2017: 8, Kahveci 2019: 109). Similarly, interviewees complained about the same issue and explained their wish to have wage equality for all workers. Nonetheless, one of the two main reasons of this situation can also be divided into two types: the reason of unrecorded workers and the reason of recorded workers. The reason of unrecorded workers is no standardization of their unrecorded textile work. And the reason of recorded workers is no standardization of equal payment and limits to find another job.

“Now I earn relatively better with comparison to my past jobs, until I find this atelier. When your work is unrecorded, there is nothing as a minimum wage. You only need to work in relatively better atelier for better conditions. So, I can say that it depends on the condition of atelier. Because, when you do not have work permit, insurance and contract, there is nothing that can protect you. You do not have the same opportunity on working conditions with the citizens of Turkey.” (Z, 35 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul)

“I am not actually OK with my work. I am OK with mild working conditions, and my work is the same with Turkish workers. However, us Syrians have almost half of the wage with comparison to same workers when they are Turkish. For example, I do the same job with Turkish workers in my workplace, but for example if they get 5 thousand liras, I get 3000 thousand liras (almost minimum wage of Turkey which is 2943 liras (Turkish Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services: 1)). But I know that this is very common, so, changing workplace is useless.” (Y, 32 years old recorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of class and legal status has a negative effect on economic situation of both unrecorded and recorded Syrian refugee textile workers. For unrecorded workers, the intersection happens by the lacking access to social protection as work permit and insurance, and having low skilled labor by socio-

economic background as class. This intersection creates the situation of working for less money and economic instability. For recorded workers, the intersection happens by the lack of refugee protection for wage equality as legal status and having high skilled labor by socio-economic background as class. As structural domain of power, Turkish authorities create the lack of refugee protection comes from unclear extent of related law in wage equality for the same work. And as disciplinary domain of power, both parts have feeling of “being have to”, due to the lack of statutory rights for minimum standards of labor.

3.3.3 Benefits and Healthcare

For benefits, the situation is divided into two, in parallel to previous issues: the case of unrecorded workers, and the case of recorded workers. For recorded workers, since they have insurance and contract, they are able to enjoy benefits by their work, equally with Turkish citizen recorded workers, such as payments of compensation and lead. However, for unrecorded workers, since there is nothing to standardize the benefits, they cannot enjoy the benefits as result of their work (Şimşek 2018: 546, Nimer and Rottmann 2020: 6, Güner 2018: 38). Nevertheless, the national hospitals of Turkey and remedies are free for all Syrian refugees (Mülteci Hakları Merkezi 2017: 3). Thus, both types of workers usually do not have problem with getting permission for the doctor at work. As another difference, after unrecorded workers turn back to job, they need to work very hard to compensate the left work in working hours when they turn back to work. For recorded workers, turning back to work process goes significantly milder.

“Here in Turkey, the hospitals are free for Syrian people, thankfully. I can go to doctor when I am sick. For example, I have a sickness related to haematology. My boss knows about that, and he is an understanding person. He lets me to go. Of course, I finish my undone work after I turn back to work, I need to be even faster, but I deal with it.” (A, 32 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of legal status and class creates inequality for unrecorded workers. They are not able to have access to social protection as work permit and statutory rights as minimum labor standards. And they cannot find jobs with better conditions due to having low skilled labor as their class. By the intersection of these two issues, they are unable to access their statutory rights as benefits. As structural domain of power, Turkish government does not provide refugee protection on labor of unrecorded majority of Syrian refugee workers except making hospitals free, is in the centre of this inequality. And as disciplinary domain of power, unrecorded Syrian refugee textile workers accept the situation by their socio-economic background as class, due to subjectivity of labor vulnerability.

3.3.4 Workload

Similar to other labor conditions of Syrian textile workers, their workload depends on having or not having work permit, and therefore insurance and contract. In parallel to be able to be chosen for textile work with the aim of more

benefit for bosses, more chosen Syrian textile workers who do not have work permit, work significantly harder and faster than registered Syrian textile workers. Here, the main point is, the way for more benefit can be done by heavier workload, and heavier workload can be done without the control of Turkish authorities. Thus, being an unrecorded worker is more desirable for bosses (Şimşek 2018: 546; Korkmaz 2017a: 8; İçduygu and Diker 2017: 24; Nimer and Rottmann 2020: 5).

“For the first three years, I worked in different parts of textile. But the working conditions were very bad. They were for only short terms, if there is no demand for products, there is no work for you, and if there is no work, there is no money for you. In this condition, how can I pay the rent, the bills, how can I bring food to home? When there are demands, working hours were too much, and the money was too little. I became very exhausted until I find this atelier.” (M, 26 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

A few people in the interviewees who work with work permit and therefore with insurance and contract, can work in milder conditions. Here, the reason is, the possibility of being audited by relevant Turkish authorities. Therefore, when bosses hire a Syrian worker who has work permit, they know that they have to obey the national legal rules of working conditions in workplaces, just like other people who are recorded workers: workers who are Turkish citizens and who obtain other nationalities. For that reason, if a Syrian worker can find a work, their workload will be milder and more or less similar with Turkish citizen workers who do the same job.

“In my factory, everybody is Turkish except me. We work all together in a good condition, because our tasks are definite and has a standard, before we start to work with contract. So, in my workplace, I feel like we are all the same. I have not seen a difference in workload.” (S, 34 years old recorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection happens between legal status of lacking statutory rights due to the lack of work permit, and subjectivity of labor vulnerability as a result of their socio-economic background as their class, for unrecorded workers. By this intersection, they have worse conditions and heavier workload. As structural domain of power, Turkish government does not provide refugee protection on labor by work permit for the class with lower skilled labor. And as disciplinary domain of power, the socio-economic background as class of unrecorded Syrian textile workers clinch the inequality by acceptance of worse conditions due to class background and subjectivity of labor vulnerability.

3.3.5 The issue of COVID-19

Turkey that has mostly Syrian refugee workers in manufacturing that obtains the majority of textile sector, has a highly negative impact of COVID-19 due to lay down and wage cut processes due to loss of production for Syrian refugee workers (Dempster et al. 2020: 12). And since there is no protection for labor of unrecorded workers, Syrian workers were significantly more effected with comparison to Turkish workers (Akyıldız 2020: 4). Due to increase in pandemic and health risk, production of garment decreased or stopped in ateliers and factories for a long time. This situation became the reality of unrecorded workers, since the right of work of recorded workers is protected. Actually, the bosses mostly

did not fire their unrecorded workers. However, unrecorded Syrian textile workers could not work at least for a month, in some cases, they could not work for three or four months, and there is even one case who lost his job. Thus, they face the harder version of economic unbalance when there is a lack of demand for production. Workers who could not work for a shorter period figured it out relatively easier. Nonetheless, people who cannot work for longer period, have deeper economic problems that make them helpless day by day.

“I had been working in shoe production in an atelier. But now I’m fired from my last job, for the reason of Coronavirus. There is no demand for products by selling shops for a few months. Now, I am searching for a new job, but since the sector is more or less similar, I cannot find anything. I need to send money to Syria, to my parents. But I do not know what do to in this condition.” (M, 22 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul)

“There is no job due to Coronavirus. Thus, I am at home in the last three months. I cannot get any wage in this period, because I do not work. Me with other Syrian workers in my atelier are waiting for the end of the virus to earn money. I could not find another job; this is my only problem for now. I can definitely say that Corona hit us, our work, our economy in family. I wish I could continue to my job without virus. Like my co-workers in atelier, we are very anxious about our economic situation. If this situation continues for more months, we may not bear the expenses” (A, 32 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of the lacking access to social protection as work permit and insurance as legal status, and having low skilled labor by socio-economic background class shows labor vulnerability of unrecorded Syrian textile workers. Due to the intersection of the lack of protective measures for most of Syrian workers on legal sphere, and being in less demand for higher level work due to low skilled labor as their class, their labor rights are not protected. As structural domain of power, Turkish government does not provide refugee protection for statutory rights by work permit for all. This leads the economic struggle of unrecorded Syrian textile workers during COVID-19 pandemic. And as disciplinary domain of power, unrecorded Syrian refugee textile workers enforcedly accept the situation due to lacking access to social protection.

3.3.6 Representativity and Social Protection

In Turkey, because of the effect of global competition of production especially in more available sectors such as textile, there is not a significant representativity of workers. This has negative effect on Syrian textile workers, since they are seen as the outsiders by mostly being unrecorded workers (Danış 2016: 577-578). Also, since most of them come from rural areas, they are unfamiliar and far from the concepts of the industrial actions (Korkmaz 2017a: 8). And after interviews, I realized that there is no sign of representation and social protection related to them and/or their work in textile sector. They do not have any solidarity with other workers in the same situation. They all seem very positive about Syrian textile workers in Turkey, but there is no action about togetherness. Differently from other issues, this is due to their direct engagement with having economic

provision role for their family first. This brings the question of the role of culture.

“There is no-one from syndicates or associations who protects and represents us as Syrian textile workers. Nobody have contacted me or others I know from my workplace, with this purpose. I think we are all independent here, we just focus on our duties in our work. For example, I even do not know other Syrian textile workers except this job. I do not know them, but I feel like I share the same path and have a feeling of companion with them. I can take care of my family now, and nothing else needed.” (H, 45 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul)

In parallel to the previous output from the interviewees, they also specifically declared that they do not need any representative for their labor rights. They even do not think that it would be useful for their case. They accept the current situation because of the lack of knowledge and being alone. As being alone, they mostly say “they have no other option” and “it is enough for them to take care about their families”, so, it is fine to be on their way alone. As lack of knowledge, they have no network even if they actually are a big society. Their expectations are firstly based-on provision of economic survival in a new-coming country, instead of being part of a group which seems not useful for their main aim in Turkey.

“I have seen economic difficulties due to not being able to work sometimes. But I am grateful to Turkey. They accepted us here and we are able to work, even if there are some problems sometimes. I have a lot more peaceful life here, with comparison to the war time in Syria. I go to work and turn back to home, nothing else. I do not think that we need representation or protection by other associations in our case, since Turkey already gave us the opportunity to live here. I feel very happy to take care of my children and wife, anything else matters for me.” (A, 32 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of social background and legal status shows a lack of mechanism to protect both recorded and unrecorded Syrian refugee textile workers for labor vulnerability. Due to their cultural codes that gives economic provider role to Syrian males, all workers feel economically responsible for their families. The intersection of their legal status as being refugee in Turkey and their cultural codes, they stay passive about representation and do not believe that representation may work. As structural domain of power, Turkish government does not provide refugee protection on standardization of labor representation for any Syrian refugees. This leads to labor vulnerability by being “outsider” without representation, even in the case of having work permit. As disciplinary domain of power, intersection of cultural need of the current job and being “outsider”, they accept their situation on representation.

3.4 Conclusion

Being a Syrian refugee textile worker in Northwestern Turkey is changed by the intersection of class and legal status. Class of workers who have lower skilled

labor is intersected with being an “outsider” by working without work permit, insurance, contract, and therefore standardization of labor by access to social protection. And class of workers who have higher skilled labor is intersected with working with work permit, but still struggle of equal work such as payment and possibility of finding job, due to the lack of enforcement of labor rights. Here, the lenses of intersectionality give labor vulnerabilities of Syrian textile workers, differently but to both classes. Here, the reason of labor vulnerability is Turkish authorities that does not implement needed legal arrangements for labor rights of Syrian workers, regardless of their class. And since both classes in Syrian workers in Turkey feel in need of their current job, they tend to internalize the current situation of being without statutory rights and social protection, or lack of enforcement of rights.

Chapter 4: Masculinity for Labor Vulnerability and Resilience

4.1 Introduction

Even if the interviewees explained about inequalities and matters of vulnerability for their labor in textile work in Northeastern Turkey, almost all of them declared some interesting explanations that they are very content about their situation of labor, due to “being able to economically take care of their families as son, father, and husband”. Since only male workers could be found as interviewees, these explanations pushed me to dig more into the understanding of masculinity, to explain their resilience for labor vulnerability.

In this chapter, since the identity of “masculinity” is seen as central issue that engages with other identities and positions, the intracategorical approach of intersectionality by McCall is used, by putting masculinity to the center. Also, since relevant narratives on interviews are mostly based-on cultural constructions, I will also use the lens of cultural domain of power in intersectionality by Collins and Bilge. And I realized that the arrival to Turkey and engagement with textile work of Syrian males has a story from Syria to Turkey and to textile ateliers/factories. Thus, the sections in this chapter will also engage with the position of time and space in intersectionality by Hankivsky.

4.2 Being a Man and Being a War Victim in Syria

4.2.1 Being a Male School-aged Son

For their male roles in Syria before they come to Turkey, young ones who were studying, had to leave their school and started to work because of economic problems they faced due to war. As it was mentioned (Save the Children 2014: 12; UNICEF 2015: 4), economic struggles of families as a result of conflict, made dropout from schools very prevalent. And this became reason of child marriage for daughters, and child labor mostly for sons. On interviews, youngsters mostly wish that they could study more, being able to have higher skilled labor and better working conditions. However, there has been some economic duties for them as male character of the family. They firstly quit their education and started to work in Syria. Their lack of education became the reason of being with low skilled labor. However, after some years, working in Syria became not possible because of war. They decided to come to Turkey for their survival.

“My education level is in secondary school. I wanted to continue to study, but I could not. Because me and my brothers needed to work for the survival of my family. Education and work could not go at the same time for me: more time needed both for education and work. And I had to choose work.” (M, 22 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul)

“I could continue to school until secondary school, war in Syria stopped my education. At that point, I had to earn money for my family as eldest son. I was working in plastic chair production in a factory in Syria before I come here. Then I became jobless in that time due to war. I came to Turkey to take care about my family.” (M, 26 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of cultural hegemonic masculinity with being school-aged family member and time and space of war, becomes the reason of labor vulnerability for this group. Due to not being able to continue to higher education, these people joined to the working class with low skilled labor. And their class became the starting point to be unrecorded and “outsider” on labor in Turkey, who do not have any refugee protection. As cultural domain of power, the cultural code of hegemonic masculinity for males who could work, and pushes women away from working space is in the centre of struggle for leaving school and finding work to earn money for school age adolescents in Syria, affected their class and the level of labor vulnerability.

4.1.2 Being a Working-Age Man

Relatively older ones were already working in Syria before and during war. Therefore, they firstly tried to keep their work and economic sufficiency for their families. However, as it was mentioned (Tokmajyan 2016: 5; Gobat and Kostial 2016: 8), during war, economic activities started to be significantly decreased and millions of people started to be poor or unemployed. Therefore, the workers started to be not being able to earn enough money for economic sufficiency. As being male character, they were feeling responsible about economic issues of their families. For that reason, when they could not work, they decided to move to Turkey to do their economic responsibilities for their families. For that reason, apart from war, both type of workers with high and low skilled labor, moved to Turkey to be able to do their masculinity roles and duties for their families economically, no matter how they start to work. Only, males with high skilled labor were looking at this process without any labor right as a short-term issue.

“I came here to take care about my family economically. Of course, I knew that I would have struggle on job until I get my work permit. But I thought that I will get my work permit, and will work in better jobs after a short time.” (S, 34 years old recorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

“Before I came here, I had a sneaker shop of my own. But I could not continue to job during war, and I needed to earn money for survival of my family. Also, my oldest kid had a traffic accident when he was a small boy, a truck hit him in Syria. He had health issues on his right foot. He had a long time of recovery. Apart from war, it was also the reason that we came here. Here in Turkey, the hospitals are free for Syrian people, thankfully. But I also needed to earn money in his recovery process. Gratefully he is fine now, Alhamdulillah (Muslim praise to God).” (A, 32 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of cultural hegemonic masculinity with being working-aged man and time and space of war, becomes the reason of vulnerability also for this targeted group. Since masculinity role of economic provision as cultural domain

of power was the most crucial issue for themselves with the intersection of being on working age and being in the situation of war in Syria, they tried to be able to continue to their masculinity role, regardless of harder working and economic conditions due to war. However, the problems on working conditions due to war, increased the subjectivity and tendency of acceptance bad working conditions. For that reason, they moved to Turkey and became the “outsider” as labor by being a refugee. The situation was similar for those with high skilled labor. However, they were aware of shortness of their working period without work permit, statutory rights, and social protection.

4.3 Masculinity and Being a Syrian Refugee in Turkey

4.3.1 Masculinity and Openness to Labor Vulnerability

When Syrian refugees came and started to live in Turkey, several researches showed that Syrian women usually do not work outside, they stay inside of their houses instead. When they come to Turkey, Syrian women mostly decide to work when only there is an exceptional case that economic provider men in their family cannot bring money to home. The reason is showed in those researches as gender roles for women and men of societal order that they come from, regardless to different ethnicities, that is called as representation of hegemonic masculinity that gives work and economic force to men as provider (Şahankaya-Adar 2018: 26; Arslan 2019: 74-75; Korkmaz 2017b: 66). This can be understood by looking at low working rates of women of other Middle Eastern and North African countries that have common cultural background (Pinedo 2020: 7). Despite the explanations that women may work in extraordinary situations when there are no men to provide money, in this research, there is no evidence of woman worker.

“Actually, in our society, women mostly do households, and men work in jobs. Our women do not work as much as Turkish women do here. It is a task division of Syrians, and I can say that it is more or less similar for most people from Syria. That’s the reason that you can see that almost all Syrian workers are men, instead of women. Women take care about children and elderly at home. Syrian women only work if there is an extreme need for money, and if there are no men to provide it.” (M, 22 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul).

And when Syrian male workers first arrived to Turkey, they needed to be able to achieve their own main goal by moving to a new country: being able to be sufficient for their masculinity duties of economic provision for their families. And to make this happen, they immediately started to try to do whatever they can about their duties, without hesitation to find a job with better conditions (Pinedo 2020: 7). Therefore, their labor has been open to vulnerability. However, the interviewees declared that there was no other option; working was their most important responsibility at that time, and this opinion creates their resilience for the all possibilities of vulnerability. They tried to find a job as soon as possible, regardless of its conditions. Because, there are usually more than 5 people to take care of, including the interviewees’ own basic needs to survive, and their cultural codes were clearly giving this role to the not-very-old males only.

“When I came here, I needed to find a job as soon as possible. First, I searched job in my sector, but I realized that it was not so possible without citizenship of Turkey. I needed to find something quick. And since textile sector is very prevalent here, I started to seek for job in this sector. It did not matter if it is a part-time or full-time, short-term or long-term job. The only thing I knew was, as a husband, father, and a son, I needed to earn money as soon as possible.” (S, 34 years old recorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of cultural hegemonic masculinity, with being a refugee, and time and space of moving period to Turkey, becomes the reason of labor vulnerability for Syrian male who try to engage with work. Masculinity role of economic provision as cultural domain of power was the most crucial issue for themselves. Thus, even if their legal status was being an “outsider” by no refugee protection on labor, they tried to find a job as soon as possible. This situation increased their subjectivity on labor vulnerability. The subjectivity has been high for those who have low skilled labor, and became higher by resilience with masculinity roles. Nevertheless, it became higher also for those with high skill labor until they get work permit, due to the resilience they have with masculinity roles. Thus, both parts remained very open to labor vulnerability of not having rights or not being able to have a job.

4.3.2 Masculinity and Being a Son

There also remains a question of being a male child, since the workers also have the effect of role of being son as economic provider for parents by hegemonic masculinity. In this sense, regardless if their parents are in Syria or with them in Turkey, even if they are married with children, they are responsible to take care of their parents and families economically at the same time, because of being a male child. For that reason, the duty becomes harder and more crucial (Göktuna-Yaylacı and Çarpar 2019: 15). On interviews, same outputs are gained. In the all cases, parents were in Turkey or Syria. And interviewees are taking care of their parents economically if they are in Turkey. Or they send money to Syria if parents stay there. Thus, working and earning money is the duty of working-age men when there is no exceptional situation, and their fathers who have son(s) in working age, the economic duty of masculinity includes their parents. Thus, they accept worse conditions, and this creates the resilience to their labor vulnerability.

“My parents came to Turkey and stayed with me for three years when I first came here, but they turned back to Syria after three years. Because my economic was not enough to live all together here. Now they live in our family house in Syria, and I support them by my wage, I send money to Syria every month, I’m trying to spend money as less as possible here.” (Y, 32 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

“We came from Syria to here 7 years ago as whole family; My parents, my small siblings, and me. When we first arrived here, I started to search for a job to work as soon as possible. The sector was not so important, but I realized that most of the options are related to textile work. I did not have the possibility to wait for a better job. Shortly after I come to Turkey, I got

married and have two kids. My parents have been with me after I get married. I needed to take care about my family. At that point, job and conditions is not important but earning money is.” (R, 25 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

For all these reasons of Syrian male workers and current circumstances of work in Turkey, there are two different cases for the interviewees, both with the aim of realize their crucial economic duties that comes by their masculinity roles as soon as possible. First group found short-term, unstable jobs until they find a relatively better and long-term job. Their masculinity role that includes parents pushed them to the outside of their house was their source of resilience for worse working conditions. Second group found a job and continued there when it can be a long-term job regardless of the bad conditions at work they face, and similarly, their masculinity role pushed them for resilience of instable conditions that could be related to labor vulnerability. Here, class did not matter due to not having work permit for anyone until six months later of having the status of temporary protection, for those who could get it. However, in both cases, they did not have an option to wait for another job, because of the pressure of the main responsibility for their families that includes a big group for a single person to economically take care.

“Here I started to do textile job which is different from my occupation. I did short-term works and changed workplaces. But this was the only option before getting my work permit. I needed to earn money for my wife, son, and parents as soon as possible.” (S, 34 years old recorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

“I have three children. I live here with my wife, children, and parents. I am the only person who works in my family. I take care of my wife, children, and parents by my working. I work in the same atelier for five years, I started just after I came to Turkey, when I was searching for a job immediately. And I did not change my workplace, because when you do not have much options as the person who should work, earn money and take care for his family, you would not want to lose what you have.” (M, 32 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Bursa)

The intersection of cultural hegemonic masculinity that includes the provider role, with being a refugee, and time and space of moving period to Turkey, is the reason of labor vulnerability for Syrian males. Masculinity role of economic provision for many people in family was their most crucial issue as cultural domain of power. By the intersection of this power of masculinity roles with their legal status that does not give any refugee protection on labor to anyone at first, and existence in a new country, they tried to find a job as soon as possible. However, the issue is divided by legal status after six months. Workers who have high skilled labor gained work permit, statutory rights, non-statutory benefits, and social protection when there is no limitation by procedures. This could not happen for workers with low skilled labor, because of not having work permit. However, even both classes have labor vulnerabilities, cultural domain of power as masculinity role, created a resilience for bad conditions.

4.4 Masculinity of Syrian refugee textile workers

Syrian workers who mostly engage with sectors that are open to exploitation in Turkey are usually grateful and happy about their work, since they are able to provide money for their families, even if they face labor vulnerabilities (Nielsen 2016: 102-103). This can be explained by hegemonic masculinity role that being an “ideal man” for Syrian refugees in Turkey only by being active in workforce. And being in Turkey gives possibility of providing the role of hegemonic masculinity by work (Göktuna-Yaylacı and Çarpar 2019: 14-15). Since textile sector has been the easiest way for Syrian refugees when they firstly arrived, to find a work and earn money as soon as possible, due to the high level of possibility of unrecorded work, many Syrians engaged with textile sector (Erdoğan 2018: 845-846). Parallely, during the interviews, even if the interviewees explained negative things about their working conditions in textile sector, they were very positive about being a Syrian refugee textile worker in Turkey. And this positivity does not change by the intersectionality of class and legal status of work permit. When the reasons are looked, the answers were gained that this is mostly based on their opinions that they fulfill the expectations of gender roles that they are economic provider. Thus, they have resilience about their current labor vulnerability.

“I love Turkey, I live a normal life here after war in my country. So, I’m grateful that I could come and work here. I have nothing bad to say about Turkey. Here, I take care of my family, and send money to my parents to Syria. I could not do that even if I was working for many years in textile sector and in the same factory. The production was finished. Almost no men could continue to work. That is why I came here with my family. As a father and husband, I needed to take care about my family here, which is my duty. Now, I work, and I do what I should do for my family. It would be impossible without Turkey.” (Z, 35 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul)

When I ask if there is a difference between Turkish and Syrian textile workers, even if they explained about some inequalities between Turkish and Syrian textile workers, they usually declared that they do not have any. When I asked the reason, they usually say that both of parts are trying to do their responsibilities for their families, and both parts succeeded about that by finding a work and earning money. Therefore, their opinion of equality and struggle is based on being able to do their duty as a man, and Turkey gives this opportunity to both parts, it is not important if it is in an equal or injustice way. And since this is made possible by textile sector, they have resilience of labor vulnerabilities in their working conditions in textile ateliers and factories.

“I do not see any difference between us and Turkish workers. I work and earn my money like them, I feed my family like them. We belong to our duties for our families like them. I am very thankful about that to Turkey. They opened the borders, gave the opportunity to work here and provide money to our families, just like their citizens. We work, and they work. So, where is a difference? I think we are all the same.” (H, 45 years old unrecorded Syrian textile worker in Istanbul)

The intersection of cultural hegemonic masculinity that includes the provider role, with being refugee, and time and space of living period in Turkey,

becomes the reason of labor vulnerability for Syrian males who engage with textile sector due to more opportunities. When masculinity role of economic provision was their most crucial issue as cultural domain of power, in the beginning, textile sector gave the opportunity to earn money for all. The intersection of being in need of earning money by hegemonic masculinity as cultural domain of power, and not having refugee protection measures on labor, created a strong vulnerability. This vulnerability was the lack of statutory rights for minimum standards of labor and lacking access to social protection by insurance and contract, for all in the first six months. And it evolved to lack of enforcement of labor rights by procedures for higher skilled class with work permit. However, cultural domain of power that is hegemonic masculinity, pushes all workers to accept their situation, and there occurs the resilience.

4.5 Conclusion

The process of arrival to Turkey and engagement with textile work, apart from the main reason of safety, is mostly based-on cultural roles of masculinity that engages with economic provision for families. In Syria, younger ones had to leave school to work in risky conditions and joined to low skilled labor. Both the young and older ones could not work, and due to their duty of economic provision by hegemonic masculinity, they arrived to Turkey to work. However, regardless to their class, both parts had subjectivity of labor vulnerability, due to war period in Syria, and their duty of economic provision. Therefore, in their first arrival, they all suffered from the lack of statutory rights and social protection. However, classes were divided after six months of arrival, as continuation of previous vulnerabilities without work permit by the class with lower skilled labor, and lack of enforcement of labor rights with procedures on work permit by the class with higher skilled labor. Nevertheless, hegemonic masculinity role of economic provision gives the resilience for workers of both classes.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In concluding this research, I would like to return to intersectionality approach as a tool for analysis of inequality and struggle of a targeted group. As Audre Lorde mentions, “There is no such a thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives” (Lorde 2012: 138). And since this research aimed to analyze an issue relevant to labor vulnerability and its resilience at the same time, looking at one identity or situation would not be enough to understand the struggle that Syrian refugee textile workers face in Northwestern Turkey.

The struggle of the targeted group that is Syrian male refugee textile workers in Northwestern Turkey, started with the civil war in 2011 in Syria. For that reason, their story from Syria to Turkey, and to textile work in Turkey matters to understand the struggle with its all different angles. And to do this analysis of intersectionality to understand the issue, this research looks from different angles of the issues: being a refugee, cultural masculinity, and labor vulnerability, by using the concepts of legal status, class, and cultural hegemonic masculinity.

The intersection was made as an intercategorical approach by McCall (2005) that analyzes the intersection of identities equally to each other. By this intersection, it is clearly seen that Syrian refugee textile workers have two different issue in struggle. The majority of the workers who have low skilled labor and harder working conditions as experience, do not have work permit as statutory rights, and thus, they work in harder conditions of working hours, workload, and wages. On the other hand, the workers who have high skilled labor and milder conditions before, get work permit, and thus, their working conditions are milder. However, the legal procedures that come by work permit as lack of enforcement of labor rights, limits the possibilities to find a recorded job. Besides, the intersection of this legal status with their class as their milder working background with higher skilled labor, these workers do not accept unrecorded and harder working conditions.

Meanwhile, the other intersectionality lens that is used by this research, is the approach of “domains of power” by Collins and Bilge (2016). For the intersection of legal status and class, the approach of structural domain of power that shows the political and legal source of inequality, and the approach of disciplinary domain of power that shows the reaction of targeted group, is used. As structural domain of power, Turkish political authorities that do not implement legal arrangements for the refugee protection on labor, is seen as the source of the intersectional struggle. This attitude of Turkish authorities affects workers with low skilled labor by not giving statutory rights by work permit and, and workers with high skilled labor with restrictive legal procedures on work permit. And as disciplinary domain of power, both types of workers have acceptance for their situation, due to the intersection of legal status of being refugee and “outsider” of the country, and cultural understanding of being in need of work.

Nevertheless, even if there are obvious labor vulnerabilities for all workers, they also declare very positive opinions about being a Syrian refugee textile worker in Turkey. In this sense, this research continued by analysis of its reason. Since interviews gave the output of cultural understanding of hegemonic masculinity by the narratives from Syria to textile work in Turkey, the research continued with three different lenses of intersectionality: intracategorical approach of

McCall (2005) that puts one identity to the center and intersects other identities to the main identity, cultural domain of power by Collins and Bilge (2016) that explains the role and effect of culture on inequality, and the concept of time and space by Hankivsky (2014) that explains the specific situation relevant to inequality by its time period and place.

According to intracategorical approach of intersectionality of cultural hegemonic masculinity, with the period of civil war in Syria and process of being a textile worker in Turkey as time and space, males felt responsible about provision of money in the process of war. And when economic activities significantly decreased in Syria, they moved to Turkey to be economically active and personally safe. When they arrive to Turkey, since any of them firstly did not have statutory rights by a work permit, insurance and contract, and all of them were in need of a job due to their masculinity role, they mostly engaged with a few sectors that have more possibilities. And textile work was one of them. Only, the labor vulnerability of the class with high skilled labor evolved by procedures that lacks the enforcement of labor rights and equality. And cultural domain of power explains the effect of cultural hegemonic masculinity role as internalizing effect of inequality: despite having significant vulnerabilities on textile work, they mostly feel fine to be able to work. And this creates resilience.

The workers have different stories of labor vulnerability. However, their way of resilience to their unequal situation in textile sector comes from a similar issue for all of them: their economic duties for their families which come from their hegemonic masculinity roles that push them outside, and hold women of their families inside of their houses.

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