WORK AND MIGRATION: CASE STUDIES FROM AROUND THE WORLD

Editors:

Fethiye Tilbe and Elli Heikkilä

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Work and Migration: Case Studies from around the World

Edited by Fethiye Tilbe and Elli Heikkilä

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ABOUT AUTHORS

Fethiye Tilbe, PhD, is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Labour Economics and Industrial Relations and is the Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences at Tekirdag Namik Kemal University in Turkey. Tilbe holds a PhD in Labour Economics from the Marmara University in Turkey. She was a visiting research fellow at Regent's Centre for Transnational Studies, Regent's University London at the time doctoral research was carried out between 2014-2015. Her research on remittance sending behaviour of irregular Turkish immigrants in London was funded by a grant from Turkish Scientific Research Council (TUBITAK). Her recent research focuses on migration, labour market and remittances. Tilbe is the co-editor of several journals including *Remittances Review* and *Göç Dergisi*. She is also the co-author of a book, titled *Little Turkey in Great Britain*. She has been the Scientific and Organisation Committee Member of *The Migration Conference* series since 2015.

Elli Heikkilä, PhD, is Associate Professor and the Research Director of the Migration Institute of Finland. Her licentiate thesis (1986) and dissertation (1989) dealt with migration and regional development. Population ageing was the topic of her postdoctoral research (1993). She has participated in many national and international projects including migration, labour markets, multicultural marriages, Finnish emigrants, international degree students, refugee youth and unaccompanied refugee minors, and urbanisation. The most recent publication of immigrants and labour markets, written together with Nafisa Yeasmin, is published in *Handbook of Culture and Migration* edited by Jeffrey H. Cohen and Ibrahim Sirkeci (2021). Heikkilä was the member of steering committees of the International Geographical Union, Commission of Population Geography and Commission of Population Vulnerability. She is a co-editor of the international journal of Migration Letters. She is Associate Professor, specialized in population geography, to the University of Oulu, and the University of Turku in Finland.

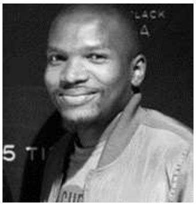
Basem Mahmud, Ph.D. in sociology from Free University Berlin. His dissertation was entitled 'A Grounded Theory Approach to Understanding Emotions and Belonging in Forced Migration'. Currently, he is a Marie Sklodowska Curie Fellow at the University of Granada, and visiting researcher at the Migration Research Center (MiReKoc) at Koç University in Istanbul where he is conducting research about refugees in the global economy.

Olgu Karan, PhD, is an Assistant Professor at Sociology Department at Başkent University, Turkey. He has received her Ph.D from London Metropolitan University, UK. He is the author of the book Economic Survival Strategies of Turkish Migrants in London. His research interests include migration, labour sociology, leisure studies and masculinity studies.

Adi Binhas, PhD, is Senior Lecturer and researcher in the fields of immigration policy, the Ethiopian community in Israel, multiculturalism, and education systems' policies and perceptions of immigrants. Has served as Head of the Social Studies and Civics Department, and Head of the Public Administration & Policy Department. She is currently Head of the MAOF Honors Program for social justice in education at Beit Berl Academic College (BBC) in Israel. In recent years, has published in: Israel Affairs, International Migration, Policy Studies, and Comparative Sociology. She is a member of the BBC team of H2020 CHANGE project (Grant Agreement ID: 787177).

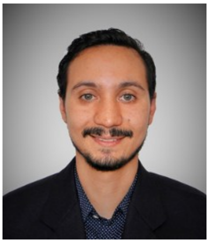
Hana Himi, PhD, is Senior Lecturer, Presidential Advisor for Gender Equity and Commissioner for the Prevention of Sexual Harassment in Beit Berl Academic College (BBC). She holds a BA degree in Social Work from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, MA and PhD. degrees in Criminology from Bar-Ilan University and a Graduate Certificate in Psychotherapy from Haifa University – Faculty of Social Work and Health Studies. Along her academic career she is Director of the Clinical Unit of NATAL – Israel Trauma and Resiliency Center (NGO) and a psychotherapist. She is BBC coordinator and Transfer Agent in the H2020 project CHANGE (Grant Agreement ID: 787177).

Harika Suklun, PhD, received her PhD in Management in 2014, from Sullivan University, USA, and MBA in 2000, from Western Kentucky, USA. She has been working as an Assistant Professor at Abdullah Gul University in Kayseri and serving as Department Chair since 2017. She is also the Coordinator for the office of prospective students and the Student Dean. Her works were published in different international and national journals, and she is a co-author of a couple of book chapters and the author of a book. Her research interests include immigration, women studies organizational behavior, strategic management, and group and organizational communication.



Sikanyiso Masuku, PhD, is a graduate with a D.Phil. in Conflict Transformation and Peace Studies from the University of KwaZulu Natal where he also lectured. He is currently a Research Fellow in the Institute for Democracy Citizenship and Public Policy in Africa (University of Cape Town). Dr Masuku`s work has mainly focused on inequality (broadly defined), political economy and social protection. He also has strong research interests in human mobility and migration.

Sizo Nkala, PhD, obtained his PhD in Political Science from the University of KwaZulu Natal. He also served as a lecturer at the same institution teaching various courses on global politics, African politics, international relations and ethics. He is currently a Research Fellow at the Centre for Africa-China Studies, University of Johannesburg. His research interests include China-Africa relations, African political economy, party politics and immigration.



Renan Gadoni Canaan is a young Brazilian leader who devotes his time to understanding scientific and technological policies around the world. He was a visiting researcher at the Political Science department at Carleton University, where he studied global talent mobility, with a particular focus in the STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) fields. In 2015, he was named an Emerging Leader in the Americas by the Canadian government (ELAP program) and in 2019 he was awarded a Chancellor's International Scholarship to join the Science and Technology Policies Program at the University of Sussex.

Esien Eddy Bruno is a researcher and teaching fellow at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Public and Social Policy, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic. His research interest includes labour markets active policies, migration and ethnic studies, governance, labour economics, industrial relations, comparative institutions, and public and social policy analysis, etc. He is honorary president of Hilfsverein Baileke (HIBA) Foundation as well as active member at the Society for the Study of Ethnic Relations and International Migration in Finland, Austrian Political Science Association, Österreichische Gesellschaft für Soziologie, and Berufsverband der SoziologInnen Österreich, Austria. (Twitter: @eddyhiba / Research Gate: Esien Eddy Bruno/ ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4634-1452)

Parkpoom Kuanvinit is a PhD student at the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences (GHSS), Hiroshima University. Born and raised in Bangkok, Thailand, he is interested in improving the poor's living conditions. He joined the International Organization for Migration (IOM) from 2014–2018 to provide employment opportunities in Israel to Thai agricultural migrants. This article is primarily influenced by his work experience.

Prakash Arunasalam is a PhD candidate at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. Presently, Prakash is completing his doctoral thesis in migration.

Thirunaukarasu Subramaniam, PhD, is an Associate Professor at the Department of Southeast Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. Thiru's research interest is on labour issues in Southeast Asia.

FORCED MIGRANT'S SENSE OF PLACE: THE CASE OF SYRIAN REFUGEE-WORKERS IN ISTANBUL, TURKEY[1]

Basem Mahmud

Introduction

The issue of the integration of migrants has long been at the heart of public debates taking place in the societies of the Global North. Many of the refugees who move to these societies start their journey by first entering (often illegally) a neighboring country in the Global South, after which they tend to move to another country with better conditions. A good example is the case of those refugees who go to Indonesia and then to Australia or those who go to Turkey or Libya to arrive at a European country. This leads to more negotiations and collaborations among the states of the Global North and Global South. However, in these negotiations, the voices and lives of refugees are not considered; in the best cases, their rights and interests are acknowledged only "nominally". This is because Global North states seek to stop the flow at any cost.

In contrast, the Global South states (mostly governed by authoritarian regimes) are interested in acquiring funds or other political benefits (see Sørensen et al., 2017). Furthermore, research about refugees is almost always done with a structural approach that does not consider refugees' and asylum seekers' subjectivities. Moreover, there is little research on forced migrants in the Global South because of power relations in academic production; Global North institutions dominate the field and its interests and agenda.[2] Therefore, more research is needed about refugees' integration into societies of the Global South based on their perspectives.

This research studies refugee integration in one city of the Global South (Istanbul) by focusing on refugees' sense of place. It is divided into four parts; first, it reviews the available literature and explains the grounded theory developed in my previous research conducted among Syrian refugees and asylum seekers in Berlin. The second describes the methodology used in the present research. The third, which is the largest part, presents the findings.

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[1] This paper is based on research funded by the European Union's Horizon, 2020 research and innovation program, Marie Sklodowska-Curie Actions, under Grant 841144 (Project FMGESI).

[2] A recent research study about *publishing in Refugee Survey Quarterly (RSQ) journal, the* researchers concluded the following: "Although 85% of the world's 79.5 million forced migrants reside in the Global South, almost all of the authors of articles in the RSQ over the past 10 years (89%) were affiliated to Global North institutions. This can have implications for the content of the research, with only 27% of the articles focused on forced displacement in the Global South, a figure which might change significantly if the journal had more articles by Global South authors" (McNally et al., 2020).

Background and state of the art

Since the 1980s, many Western companies have relocated to developing countries in search of more favorable conditions of production (i.e., increased and accelerated production at lower costs). In addition to technology and the reduced cost of transportation, inequality, and differing levels of development among countries have enabled these firms to operate on a transnational level. Industrial relocation clearly has had an effect on migration movements, reorganizing the place(s) where these firms are located and thus where workers searching for better opportunities move with the expectation of finding better jobs. On the other hand, countries compete to attract more foreign investment and situate their national economy globally, providing "legal security to investment, guaranteeing profits without social-labor conflicts" (Soriano Miras, 2019). Many researchers have analyzed the impact of this process on workers' situations (see Benería & Santiago, 2001; Chand, 2012). Some have analyzed this impact by focusing on the lives of migrant workers, who found themselves in a precarious situation when "frustrated expectations re-emerge and therefore external migration appears as a way out."(Soriano Miras, 2019). Other studies have tried to show another side; that the impact on the economy is very limited or even positive. To do this, they show how the formal economy is not affected, or sometimes positively affected (Akgündüz et al., 2018; Del Carpio & Wagner, 2015; Fakih & Ibrahim, 2015). Another route is to analyze the contributions of highly-skilled or educated refugee entrepreneurs (Bizri, 2017; Psoinos, 2007; Sayre et al., 2016; Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006). The result is that the situation of the refugee-worker in the global economy remains neglected. Therefore, their integration into these societies should be addressed differently from their countrymen who have greater access to facilities due to their social, cultural, or economic capital.

To assess the extent of integration we must first be clear on what integration requires. In the literature, there are different definitions of integration which generally revolve around the following dimensions: access to employment, housing, education, and health; social connection with various groups, language and cultural knowledge, safety and stability, rights and citizenship (Ager & Strang, 2008). Based on these dimensions, we can determine four domains; (1) Structural (related to the relationships with the state institutions), (2) Social (about social relations), (3) Cultural (language and cultural knowledge), and (4) Psychological; concerning emotional bonds with the new place and a feeling of inclusion in it (see Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Brunarska, 2020). Most research about integration in forced migration focuses on the first three domains. That is because when researchers study refugees' emotions, they do it based on therapeutic or pathologic approaches (cf Albrecht, 2016). Furthermore, social scientists tend to focus on social relations, while neglecting the spatial dimension. Kely and Chick (2007) found that the meanings attached to place (in the context of leisure activities) were based on memory, experience, and social relations. The physical attributes of the place were less significant: "Informants' perceptions of place and associated meanings were for the most part driven by what they did in the setting and with whom" (Kyle & Chick, 2007, p. 215). However, the relevance of this physical attribution may differ depending on the context, as another study shows: researchers compared both tourists' and locals' relations with the place and found that the local's sense of place is primarily shaped by aspects of everyday life (occupation, property, and most importantly, social relationships), and strongly associated with memories of childhood and youth. The tourist's sense of the place, however, is primarily shaped by the aesthetics and characteristics of the place experienced in their leisure-activity context (Kianicka et al., 2006). Therefore, the question arises, *how do refugees and asylum seekers construct their sense of place?*

Sense of place or place-attachment could be described as "the affective link that people establish with specific settings, where they tend to remain and where they feel comfortable and safe" (Hernández et al., 2007, p. 310). Therefore, this affective link is crucial for their well-being and behavior, affecting their practices of belonging and homemaking (Adams et al., 2018; Corcoran, 2002; Stedman, 2002). Moreover, although many researchers found that sense of place is essential for integration (Du & Li, 2010; Lin et al., 2020; Qian et al., 2011), little research has been done to understand it in the context of forced migration. When research considers place-attachment, they do so on a smaller scale (e.g. a neighborhood). Exploring refugees' place-attachment to their host city might be a better scale to consider social integration (Lin et al., 2020).

Consequently, I argue that understanding forced migrant´s sense of place will not only fill a gap in the literature about the affective dimension of integration, but it also could be the most appropriate way to understand the situation of refugees as they move from one place to another until arriving at a final destination. Therefore, the question is, *how do they decide to move or stay in a particular place, and what kind of relationships do they maintain with these places?*

Many researchers (mostly geographers) distinguish between place and "placelessness" or "non-place", in the words of Marc Augé. For Augé, place can be defined as relational, historical, or concerned with identity. Spaces that cannot be described with these terms are non-places (Augé, 1995, pp. 77–78). By this definition, a bus station, square, port, or street are non-places. However, during my Ph.D. research (Funded by the German Academic Exchange Service – DAAD), I found that all of these "non-places" may become places from the forced migrant's perspective. In my research, I used constructivist grounded theory to develop a theory based on the empirical data that I produced.[3] This theory explains the interaction between emotions and belonging (understood as feeling at home) in forced migration: The hope of starting a new life in a place and its elements (dignity/recognition, empathic emotions, legal status, and material satisfaction) determine refugees and asylum seekers' relationship with the place; non-places are those in which refugees and asylum seekers do not find any of these elements. When a place provides them only with the affective elements (dignity-recognition and empathic emotions), I describe this relationship as temporary in the sense that they cannot remain in the place for a long time. When the place provides them only with the instrumental elements (material satisfaction and legal status), I describe this relationship as rational-conditional. Feeling at home in a specific place emerges only when they find both the affective and instrumental elements in a given place. Once they are in such a place, the role of further emotions – social reciprocity, durable safety, and gratitude – become very significant in enhancing practices of home-building and subjective well-being; another two concepts which are indispensable for feeling at home. Therefore, while the tourist's relationship with a place is based on its physical attractiveness and the activities undertaken there, and the local's relationship with the place is based on memory, I argue that the forced migrant's relationship with the place is constructed based on the hope that s/he perceives, as Figure 1 demonstrates. Based on this idea and focusing on the case of the Syrian refugee workers in the textile industry in Istanbul, I will examine the relationship that refugees in a Global South society (Istanbul) maintain with the places where they live and work.

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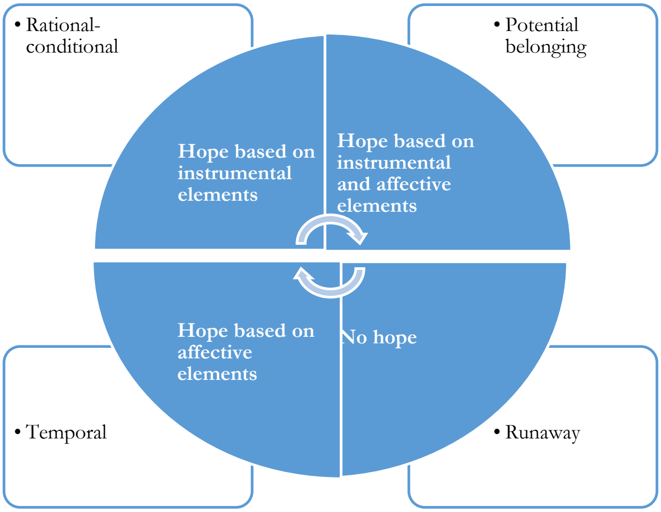
[3] I conducted 33 semi-structured in-depth interviews with 22 men and 11 women between 2015–2017. All of them are Syrian refugees and asylum seekers who live in Berlin who fled Syria after the uprising around March, 15th 2011.

Figure 1. Forced migrant's relationship with a place.


• Rational-conditional
• Potential belonging
Hope based on instrumental elements
Hope based on instrumental and affective elements
Hope based on affective elements
No hope
• Temporal
• Runaway

Despite some periods of crisis (Yendi & Çetin, 2012), since the 1980s Turkey's exportation has increased, making it one of the most important export countries (Ertugrul & Selcuk, 2001); its clothing industry significantly increased its exports from 777 million dollars in 1980 to 9.9 billion dollars in 1999 (Garrido Sotomayor, 2017). Among the world's textile-exporting countries, Turkey ranks eighth, and third among those supplying to Europe (Alkaya & Demirer, 2014). Most of the companies have been located in Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, Denizli, Gaziantep, and Kahramanmarash (Marco Lau et al., 2012). Indeed, Istanbul became one of the most important destinations for migrants searching for work in the new economic system since 1950 (Guven, 2017). Its population grew significantly around the time it started to adopt proactive industrial relocation policies and later became one of the most important destinations for industrial relocation (OECD, 2008). In Istanbul, there is a significant amount of child labor and a weak social security system. The situation of the female workforce is even worse, and their participation in the total labor force is relatively low. Women in urban areas suffer from the under-participation trap; they are most likely to work in informal labor and housework (cooking, weaving, cleaning, childcare etc.) where the wage is very low. As a result, many of them stay at home. In addition, these women tend to invest less in girls' education, believing that girls' chances of participating in the labor market later in life are low. In this way, the cycle continues (Anderson, 2016, p. 15; Kabasakal et al., 2017, p. 229; Taymaz, 2010). As a whole, therefore, a high number of men and women of working age remain without coverage from the social security system (Günaydın, 2017). In a study aimed at evaluating the quality of workers' lives in a textile company in Turkey, which surveyed 87 workers, researchers found various negative indicators, especially the "Physical and Psychological", "Occupational Health" and "Organization, Motivation and Performance" (Koruca et al., 2011). Under these working conditions, refugees arrived with expectations of starting a new life after fleeing a war, many of whom leaving behind loved ones, who were either killed or detained.

Turkey currently hosts around 3.6 million displaced Syrians, of whom 98% live in urban areas (outside camps). By November 2019, 552,080 Syrians were registered in Istanbul (Directorate General of Migration Management, n.d.). Most of them work in the informal economy because of the restrictions on their access to the labor market.4 They have faced distinct challenges in Istanbul because of their specific status as a "guest" or a person with a "temporary protection residence permit." In addition to the difficult working conditions, this has also led to tensions with the local working-class (Europe Report N°248, 2018). Recent research about those who work in the textile industry shows that they often accept jobs with conditions which locals no longer accept, and are usually paid lower wages in comparison with locals (Kayaoglu, 2020). Therefore, studying their working conditions is essential to better planning for integration and understanding their decision to stay or move to another country.

Methodology

To understand the integration of the refugee workers in a Global South society, I analyzed data collected in Istanbul over the course of an ongoing project entitled *Refugees in the Global Economy: Situation, Role, and Implications: The case of Syrian refugee workers in the export industry in Istanbul.* This project aims to study the situation of refugee workers in the global economy and its implications for their everyday lives. It is a qualitative research based on semi-structured in-depth interviews. So far, I have conducted 60 interviews (12 women, 10 minors, and 38 men). All of them are Syrian refugee workers in the textile industry in Istanbul. Questions were open-ended, and broadly focused on their lives both in the place of work and outside it. This reflects the symbolic interactionist approach, which seeks to learn about participants' views concerning their own experiences. I tried

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[4] For example, the number of Syrians in a firm (working legally) cannot be more than 10% of the total number of native workforce. The number of Syrians with a work permit by April 2020, is only 34,573 (Kayaoglu, 2020).

to keep the interviews informal and conversational at all times, as Charmaz (2006, p. 29) suggests. Therefore, I did not even consult the guide until I felt that all of my questions had been answered. I then briefly reviewed the guide while notifying the interviewee that we had almost finished but that I needed to be sure that we had discussed all of the relevant points. Furthermore, I tried to make the questions "sufficiently general to cover a wide range of experiences and narrow enough to elicit and explore the participant's specific experience" (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012, p. 351). One of the most important questions used to develop this research was the following: *do you think Istanbul could be the place where you say; here I will stay forever? Why? What would it need in order to become this place?* In order to protect the privacy of the participants, all names mentioned in this paper are pseudonyms.

Findings

During the data analysis, I coded and classified the data under the four categories or dimensions of the new-life hope in a place; legal status, material satisfaction, empathic emotions, and dignity recognition.

Legal status

Here I refer to the status that a person has in a specific country as defined by law. It is defined and categorized in terms of legal rights and duties which differ according to whether a person is a citizen, granted temporary protection, undocumented, an asylum seeker, refugee, visitors/or tourist. The legal status is based on the idea that rights are determined differently for different segments of the population living in the national territory. Thus, it is about the contractual relationship between the state and the inhabitants (Butenschøn, 2015). Obtaining legal status is crucial because people cannot engage in any of the activities necessary for starting a new life without it. The first step occurs when the forced migrant arrives and applies for asylum. The moment when their application is accepted is critical because it is vital for their entire future (see Bernhard & Young, 2009). However, Syrians in Turkey are not recognized as refugees; they are "guests" under temporary protection status. This status gives them limited access to fundamental rights (access to health and education and social services). Still, they have limited and conditional access to employment and freedom of movement within Turkey.[5] In 2018, Turkish authorities stopped registering most of the newly-arrived Syrian asylum seekers in Istanbul as well as in nine provinces on or near the Syrian border. This suspension of registration has given rise to several problems for refugees who need to move to another city other than the one in which they registered. Many of the Syrian minors lose their right to enroll in schools, thus pushing them to look for work. Since the Syrian refugees' legal status in Istanbul is weak, it directly affects the other instrumental element; the material satisfaction. Muhammed, who is working in the informal market, describes this situation. Even though his situation is extreme (he is without any kind of legal status in Turkey), the situation of other workers who obtained temporary protection status does not considerably differ. The difference lies in their abilities to move freely in the city without being persecuted and in their access to health and social services.

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[5] In order to travel to another province they need a "travel permit" (yol izin belgesi), and to work formally they need a work permit, to which there are enormous bureaucratic barriers. The result is that only 15,000 have obtained the permits needed for formal employment and about 750,000–950,000 Syrians work in the informal sector (International Crisis Group, 2018).

> *Muhammad: [there is] a great deal of exploitation of human effort, of the person's psyche, and great exploitation of children in general, and of women. I mean in terms of rights, we do not have even the simplest rights. Today as a refugee sitting in a certain place, my presence is illegal, I do not get the salary that I should for the work that I do, and I do not have any insurance, neither health nor material nor financial. Just this!*

Material satisfaction

By material satisfaction, I refer to "housing and living conditions, with income's purchasing power, and with financial solvency" (Rojas, 2007). Refugee workers' salaries differ based on the kind of work they do, which is related to their experience. For example, an *ortacı* (runner – errand boy) who does not have a clearly-defined job task and is not allowed to learn a specific task in most cases, earns between 1,300–1,700 Turkish lira (around 140–185 euros) monthly. This is the work of most of the minors in this industry. Other workers who have more experience (usually as a tailor) earn between 2,000–4,000 Turkish lira (around 220–440 euros). These numbers are calculated based on an 11–12 hours of daily work. Due to a restrictive system of punishment, they may lose a significant portion of this amount; if they come late or are absent one hour, they sometimes lose the equivalent of a half-day of wages. To understand how this would affect material satisfaction, it would be useful to mention that Turkey's monthly minimum wage is 2,943 Turkish lira (around 325 euros), and to rent an apartment in a remote area in the city, one will need about 1000 Turkish lira including water and electricity (around 110 euros). The Syrians Barometer 2019 (Erdoğan, 2020) found that the area in which Syrians face most problems is "working conditions"; it ranked 1th out of 7 problems.[6] As becomes apparent in the words of Lina, the combination of low wages and long working-hours has a harsh effect on their subjective well-being in the place. In the case of families in which at least one minor is working, feelings of guilt were always present in the parents' narratives.

> *Me: Do you think that Istanbul could be the place where you live forever?*
>
> *Lina: No.*
>
> *Me: What would it need in order to become this place?*
>
> *Lina: Comfort, psychological comfort, the most important thing is*

---

[6] The order is as follows: (1) working conditions, (2) communication/language, (3) accommodation, (4) food, (5) discrimination, (6) health, (7) education. With the exception of communication, the main problems concern material satisfaction, followed by discrimination which has to do with dignity-recognition and empathic emotions.

> *psychological comfort, as our situation I mean frankly, I oppress my daughters, meaning that they know nothing about life, and they know nothing because they must work. I mean, it's my dream that my daughters study. I mean […] my only wish is that my daughters complete their studies, and that they succeed in their studies and their lives, I mean. I want the place that makes my daughters feel comfortable with their studies, and that they do not lose their future. As for work, it means having security in the job that they do. This is not ... I mean, at any moment, we can go back to Syria, at any moment they can expel us, no one knows. I mean, this is not a future for me or for my children, even for us in Syria. I mean, we do not have these factories in our region, so you cannot say that they could go to work there. These factories are in Aleppo and Damascus, but we are from Aljazeera.*

In this way, both of the instrumental elements of the new-life hope in Istanbul are weakened. Therefore, rational-conditional or the potential-belonging relationship with the city cannot stand among the refugee workers in the textile industry in Istanbul. In the following, I examine the affective elements.

Empathic emotions

Here I refer to empathic emotions such as empathy, tenderness, sympathy, compassion, and soft-heartedness as "other-oriented emotions elicited by and congruent with the perceived welfare of someone in need" (Lishner et al., 2011, p. 614). These emotions are evoked by putting oneself in the place of the other (cf. Shott, 1979). Empathic emotions are fundamental for the perception of justice in society (Hoffman, 1989) and are therefore essential for the individual's engagement with the environment in which they live, and thus for their well-being and adaption (Dalbert, 2009; Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Miller, 1978). Researchers argue that empathy could be used to improve intergroup relations (Batson & Ahmad, 2009).

Feeling welcome and safe are both essential for the forced migrant's well-being. People may feel partially safe as soon as they put their feet on a territory in which there is no longer the possibility of attack or threat from the very forces from which they fled. However, this is not enough to feel a durable safety and welcome; the perception of empathic emotions (among the other elements of the new-life hope) in the new place is essential. When these emotions do not exist, the initial feelings of safety in the place cannot persist, even if the forced migrant has obtained legal status and economic support.

The political discourse of the Turkish government and its open-door policy during the first years after the Syrian uprising positively affected the perception of empathic emotions among Syrians in Turkey. However, the situation changed later as Nimer and Içduygu explain; "the solidarity of society towards Syrian refugees slowly faded, especially as the government progressively took steps to provide social services, employment rights and citizenship, and the public perceived Syrians as competing for the same resources." (Içduygu & Nimer, 2020). In a survey (2016) conducted by Kemerburgaz University and the

University of Kent about the perception of Turks in Istanbul toward Syrian refugees, researchers found that 72% of respondents said that they feel uncomfortable encountering refugees, and about 75% said that they do not feel any sympathy towards the Syrians. It seems that the media plays an essential role in negatively representing Syrian refugees (see Onay-Coker, 2019). I found Salam's words to reflect the essentiality of the empathic emotions for the relationship with the place. In her description of why she will not leave Istanbul, she remarks that people in her neighborhood "like us", and she feels that her daughter (who lives in Syria) is close to her.

> *Salam: I do not want to leave Istanbul, especially Istanbul, I mean, because the first time I came here I went to many areas and I liked all of them, even an area like this. I mean, a very clean area and its people like us. Go to another country? Why? I do not want to. Here I feel that I am close to Damascus, and I feel my daughter is close to me. I have the hope that my daughter could come to visit me. That is, when I look at Europe I become afraid that I would return to starting again from zero (nothing). (Silence) I become afraid because when I came to Turkey I suffered so much, it was tiring just to reach this stage, even though I don't feel that I have really arrived … but I live in stability.*

However, the absence of empathic emotions or even inimical orientation is reflected in most of the interviews I have conducted. Most participants complained about the lack or absence of any of these emotions as Razan's words show:

> *The rights of the worker. What does it mean? Unfortunately, here there are no rights especially if you are Syrian. It is well known that "Syrians go to work", unfortunately, our work generates problems between us and the Turks! My neighbor said because of you my son will lose his job? I said why because of us? What is our fault? You want to work and we want to work, even though we do not ask for insurance nor do we ask for anything more than work. We do not ask for a salary, we just want to pay our rent and pay our bills so that we do not depend on others. This is our request, nothing more.*

Dignity – recognition

Here, I refer to human dignity and social dignity. The first is "the inherent and inalienable value that belongs to every human being simply by virtue of being human" (Jacobson, 2007, p. 294) while the second – which is related to the first – is about recognition and is thus reflected in behavior, social interactions, and perception. It is "experienced, bestowed, or earned through interaction in social settings" (Jacobson, 2007, p. 294).

Perception of dignity influences the forced migrant's well-being in the place and can take different forms. Dignity is based on four main themes (Khatib & Armenian, 2010); (1) Autonomy, which includes independence, control, the ability to make one's own decisions, and functional capacity. (2) Worthiness, which is about feeling important and valuable to others. (3) Self-respect, which means respect for oneself and others. (4) Self-esteem, which concerns all qualities that help to maintain self-respect such as the role of preservation, continuity of self, legacy, and so on. This perception is constructed based on interactions both inside and outside the workplace. As I explained previously, however, since refugee workers spend most of their time in the workplace, those interactions are central for their perceptions of dignity; discrimination in salary or treatment, stereotypes, ignorance of their culture that most of these refugees believe to be similar to the Turkish one, and mockery of their language or accent. All of this has a severe negative effect on their perceptions of dignity-recognition. Most of the refugees whom I met mention this. However, it is also related to hierarchy: attacks on *ortacı* are common and repeated, whereas, in the tailor's case, it is relatively less common (see Fadi's words).

> *Fadi: In the workshop where I used to work, I mean, they look at you as if you do not see anything in your life. I mean, there are some things like this, asking you questions, for example…*
>
> *Me: For example.*
>
> *Fadi: Football is my hobby. I go to play, so they ask you if you have this in Syria? Ahh, we are from another planet so you ask me this question? In many things, they will be surprised when they know that we have it in Syria, do you have this in Syria? Yes we do, but the war obligated us to come here.*

Discussion

The new-life hope in a place approach – and its instrumental (legal status and material satisfaction) and affective elements (empathic emotions and dignity-recognition) – allows understanding the refugees' and asylum seekers' sense of place and, therefore, their integration in the new place. In Istanbul, the main challenge comes from the instrumental elements; extreme exploitation at work and uncertain legal status with limitations. Furthermore, the affective side is mostly unsatisfied. This is because of the high level of discrimination, stereotypes, and ignorance of the refugee's culture from the country of origin. However, it is sometimes satisfied due to the increased number of Syrian refugees in the city that facilitate finding work in a more familiar atmosphere.

Consequently, in Istanbul, the runaway or temporary relationships with place are dominant. Therefore, policy planning for the integration of refugees in Istanbul should focus on allocating more resources toward providing them with the necessary instrumental elements. Regarding the affective elements, "a dramatic change of policy in Turkey is desperately needed, one that allows for Syrians to work and encourages new thinking regarding Syrian people not as a burden but as potential. This will not solve the problems faced by Syrians in Turkey, in Europe, or elsewhere, but it will surely be a good beginning" (Chemin, 2016, p. 72).

As mentioned earlier, Turkish authorities' cessation of registering the majority of newly-arrived Syrian asylum seekers in Istanbul and nine provinces on or near the Syrian border since 2018 has led to various severe problems. As a result, many Syrian minors do not have the right to enroll in schools and are pushed to look for work. All of this has severe consequences for their physical and psychological development and, of course, their future work-prospects. This issue has a special importance in the case of minor refugee workers who were either born in Turkey, or left Syria at a very young age. Further research is required on how these minors attempt to build a life in Istanbul and develop a relationship with Istanbul. Indeed, when asked about the city, they do not refer to it as other refugees normally would. They describe it locally – *this is my city* – even though the state does not recognize them as such.

Ensuring material satisfaction is a complicated issue because it requires a change at the level of the national economy and a reorganization of both the formal and informal work sectors. Toward this end, it would be useful to facilitate the work permit process, to facilitate refugees' movement among the different provinces while searching for a job, raising awareness among employers about procedures for applying for a work permit, and providing assistance in doing so. Most of them do not know how, and therefore prefer to avoid it. The findings suggest a clash between the idea of temporary protection and the development of a feeling of belonging. Integration policies need to be questioned in terms of this contradiction; *how could we invite people to be integrated while at the same time never ceasing to remind them that they will soon go back to their home?*

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