

Migration and Precarity in Labour Market: Case of Cameroonian Migrants in Turkey

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Abstract

Migration has become more than ever an important issue on the media, political sphere and object of many academic works. The year 2015 was punctuated by a series of migration crisis, the UNFPA reported that 3.3 per cent of the world's population lived outside their country of origin. Currently, Turkey plays an important role in international migration. This paper is set to look at migration and precarity concepts in Turkish labour market. Previous researches focused on Africans in general migrating to Turkey but this research tackles the specific case of Cameroonians. The main purpose is to perceive the working condition of Cameroonian migrants workers in Istanbul. This article provides an insight on the rush of Cameroonian migrants to Turkey and contributes in understanding the precarious nature on the Turkish labor market. This involves the social, economic and legal framework of Cameroonian workers. It has been designed to investigate specific aspects such as their educational backgrounds, working conditions, ways of recruitment, professional inter-relations, legal status, challenges and vulnerability as foreign workers. The fieldwork took place from the 18th of March to 23rd, 2016. Through an empirical study 16 structured and semi structured interviews were conducted in various districts in Istanbul.

Keywords: Migration, Precarity, Cameroonian Migrants, Working Life, Turkey

Introduction

Migration has often been described as one of the oldest social phenomena and a very complicated global issue. Currently, it is the most challenging population issues facing Europe today. Economical, political, social factors cause a massive relocation of population from their origin countries to other places seeking for safety. In order to achieve this safety, most of these migrants find themselves in a very precarious situation where their option is either to endure or look for another destination with same or different objective. Migration has become more than ever an important issue on medias, political sphere and object of several academic topics. The year 2015 was punctuated by series of migration crisis, the UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) reported that 244 million people, or 3.3 per cent of the world's population, lived outside their country of origin. After the outbreak of the Syrian war, Turkey became the country hosting the most important number of Syrian migrants. Turkey became one of the most important country of international migration. It is no longer only the "sending country" where citizens moved from to Germany but actually became a receiving

and transit country for different other citizens coming from Asia, Africa. Since 2002, Turkey has redefined its foreign policy and has developed a new relation with Africa and Asian countries. Considering the assumption of the system word theory which states that the existence of relationship between two countries is one of the factors promoting human mobility, this could explain the raising of the sub-Saharan African migration to Turkey. Therefore, this article aims to handle migration and precarity concepts in Turkish labour market. To have a clear view on the precarious context in which migrants in Istanbul are working in. We analyzed this by taking the specific case of Cameroonians workers to have an insight of the situation. Some important points defined the fieldwork such as reasons of migration, accommodation in Turkey, employment conditions, discriminations face in daily life and in labor market. Thus, answering questions related to the main objectives of this present work such as: their working conditions, under what status they work, their recruitment and selection process and where they are mostly employed.

First and foremost, we approached the concepts of migration and precarity. We discussed theories that explain the migration phenomenon, have a historical background of precarity and its characteristics within the workplace. This part also enlightens us on the international relation between Turkey and Cameroon. Secondly, we explained the methodology adopted to collect data during our fieldwork before presenting the outcomes provided in the third part of our paper.

MIGRATION: Definition and theories

Migration has been a central part of human history, shaping and reshaping societies, cultures and economies (ILO, 2010: 39). Despite the consideration given to this phenomenon, scholars have not yet been able to agree on a common definition of migration that might be used for any field of research. Several authors in their researches defined migration according to specific context.

Sinha (2005:403-405) in his research presented different definitions given by scholars before concluding that the word 'migration' covers many nuances and complexities of meaning. He noticed definitions such as important components of population change, adaptation to perceived changes in environment, good example of relocation diffusion, spatial interaction, important element in the understanding of the geographical organization of human society, change of residence, a move from one geographic area to another. According to IOM (2004: 5), migration is the movement of a person or a group of persons, who wish to settle definitively or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin, from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border. Robin Cohen discerns a series of major migration periods (Koser, 2007: 2-3):

- During the forced transportation of slaves in the 18th and 19th centuries: between 1500 and 1860, about 12 million people are known to have left the shores of Africa destined for the Americas, and to a much lesser extent to Europe.
- Migration to the New World (1800s-1930): this phase is linked to the rise of the United States of America as industrial power workers when approximately 48 million people left Europe between 1800 and 1930 (Striking women, n.d).
- After the Second World War (late 1940s-1960s): during this period, labour was needed to sustain booming post-war economies in Europe, North America, and Australia (Koser, 2007). This contributed to the movement of between 1 and 2 million persons (IOM, 2004: 11).

- The post 1970s migration period: since the 1970s, transit, sending and destination countries has grown phenomenally. Except the rise of labour migration from poorer countries to the newly industrialized countries, this period of migration has distinctive features like the high rate of undocumented migration, feminization, immobility of migrants, student mobility (Standing, 2011:91-92).

Neoclassical economics, new economics of migration, segmented labor market and world-systems theory are the dominant usually theories raised when talking about the migration process.

Neoclassical migration stated that wage differences between regions are the main reason for labour migration (Jennissen, 2004: 33). In other words, individuals search for country where they can maximize their well-being (Castles and Miller, 2003:23). Nevertheless, this theory is considered by others as simplistic and incapable of explaining actual movements or predicting future ones (Castles and Miller, 2003: 24).

Thus, the new economics of migration emerged in the 1980s to offer a new level of analysis and different nature of migration causes (Kurekova, 2011:7). Stark and Bloom explained that decision to become a labour migrant cannot only be clarified at the level of individual workers, wider social entities like families and households- have to be taken into consideration (Castles and Miller, 2003: 24).

The dual/ segmented labour market argues that international migration is mainly caused by pull factors in the developed migrant-receiving countries. This approach divides the labour market into a primary and a secondary segment. Marek Okólski (2009:56) talking about the secondary or inferior section, explained that employers don't need qualified employees, provides low wages with unattractive terms of employment, and thus the employees should not be thinking about his reputation and social status. According to Bijak (2006) the segmentation of the labor market formed two categories of workers, local workers interested in attractive professions and migrants accepting the 3D professions which are dirty, dangerous, difficult jobs for aliens. Since local workers are protected by institution, migrant workforce become more flexible production factors.

The world systems theory states that, migration is a consequence of globalization. This approach emphasizes that the interaction between societies is an important determinant of social change within societies. Taking the example of international trade, Jennissen (2004:33) explains that trade between countries with a weaker economy and countries with a more advanced economy causes economic stagnation, resulting in lagging living conditions in the former. It is also known that the presence of many other links like history, culture, language between the origin and destination countries, influence migratory flows.

Broadly, economical, political and environmental raisons are given when answering the question "why do people migrate?". To be more precise some scholars explained that since the population growth is not simultaneous with national resources, this creates a pressure and then push people out of their marginal context, and become more fascinated by higher wages in industrialized countries (Skeldon et Al. referred by De Haas, 2008:9). Other factors like place utility, intervening opportunities and distance decay, communications and transportation revolution, migration networks, new rights and entitlements persuade people to move (National Geographic Expedition review 2005: 3).

Fabio Baggio classified migrants including many dimensional criteria such as the distance covered in terms of human geography, oceans, South-North countries, length of stay, skills, policy and legality, in term of motivating reasons (Baggio, n.d)

The effects of migration are obvious both on host and home countries, but also on migrant itself. IOM argued that the presence of migrant into a labor market contributed to the maintained relationship between two countries (2015: 4). On origin country, remittance usually is the main benefit evocated by scholars. Koser talks about new skills, experiences and contacts acquired in the host country when returning home (2007:41). In the 2015 World Migrants Report published, migrants are considered as city makers, builders of resilience, as agents of local development. Nevertheless, this migration lead to 'brain drain' in the home country, and thus increase the wage of workers staying home since the migration made skills rare and more valuable (Borjas, 2000: 14).

For the host country side, despite the de-qualification of migrants workforce and the intensification of their employment in the low skill segment, Koser stated that migration can be a way to fulfil the lack skills in high value jobs that local people are not competent (2007:10). In additional to this the World Bank report make us conclude that migrants do not only transfer home money they earn, but invested in the country where they work. Moreover, their participation in host cities is considerate by the IOM as an indispensable part of building stable and are considered as city-makers strengthening cities through the promotion of their history, culture, religion (2015:5). Coming to the negative effect on host countries, Coppel, Dumond and Visco (referred by Cat Moody, 2006) shortly identify four main types of economic effect. Reduction of wages and employment of natives, fiscal consequences since taxes they paid may not be equivalent to the costs of health and education that they receive and the impact on the population growth.

On the migrant as well, acquisition of new skills and experience in the labour market (Koser, 2007). We cannot also omit the fact that moving to other country help people to be more open minded. Beside this, migration also presents significant challenges for migrants like exploitation, abused; difficulty of integration (Koser, 2007) especially when both countries do not share same culture or language. Taking for instance the case of slaves who migrated by force on the 18th and 19th centuries, we can point out they lost root of identity and the need to recreate a new identity. Moving from known to unknown places can probably cause a culture shock which can be explained by the rejection by others, distaste, incomprehension, excessive curiosity, stress etc. We can also state the fact that people migrate in search of greener pastures for the sake of their kin and most of the time consider migration as an automatic success. On the other hand, migrant can be more frustrating when comparing the current circumstance and the expectation had before.

PRECARITY: Meaning and characteristics

After reading literature about labor market and contemporary life in light of precarity that characterizes it, we encounter several notions referring to this trend. Before developing this section, we see it necessary to define the related terms such as precariat, precarization.

These concepts "precariat", "precarity" and "precarization" have been outlined in different ways. Jørgensen (2015) designates precarity as the condition, precariat as the identity formation, and precarization as the processual aspects.

According to Standing (2011) ,precariat have various features among sociologists. French link precarious works in temporary or seasonal jobs. Italians describe it as casual employ with low incomes, Germans presented it as temporary and jobless workers without possibility of social integration. Finally, in Japan, precariat is synonymous to 'the working poor'. From these, he defines precariat as a job supply floating, mobile, insecure acting in the labour market. He

argues that people who belong to this class suffer from stagnation of their skill; workplace health and safety, unregulated working time and 'unsociable hours'.

The transition from the post war Keynesian policy toward neoliberalism brought profound change on the labor market. Neoliberalism brought precarity into the workplace, workers shift from a wealthy to an unhealthy work conditions. Several authors explained that this is the consequence of the weakness of the working class power and strengthening of those Standing considered as elites (Benach et Al., 2014). Thompson argues that, neoliberalism is considered as one of the most salient features of late 20th and early 21st century economic and social life which, through its desire of maximum capital, increased liberality and centrality to markets and marketing processes (2005:22).

Standing considers globalization and neoliberalism as the main cause of precarity but other scholars evoked the decline of welfare state, the slowdown in capital accumulation, the rise in unemployment, the decline in the availability, mondialisation and the economic crisis, the result of employment policies in our modern and global world (Benanav 2015, Charlie Post 2015, Maxwell 2011). For Kerry Maxwell (2011), precariat is the result of the current employment policies where employers become the administrators of the 'new' international labour markets. Thus, can freely decide to hire when the need arises and simply strike people off if work is not available, and do not feel obliged to pay anyone that is not working actually. Nevertheless, Jørgensen (2015) argues that neoliberalism effectively has spurred a new phase of precarization, but this do not make precarity a new phenomenon. Charlie Post (2015) explained this assumption, saying that, the condition of workers before the First World War in the 1890s was similar to the precarious works of the 21th centuries. Illustrating with skilled workers in Victorian England, he said most of them were working half the year, subject to long period of unemployment when a very minor section had full-time work.

We should say that features above presented by Charlie Post are the basics of what characterize the present workplace. Actually, precarity involves a reconfiguration of the labor market. New career paths are characterized by intermittent jobs held through the establishment of 'atypical' contracts (Lerouge,2009). This results into irregular/low income, insecurity, seek for professional identity, no future career path, high risks of ill health, limited social benefits and statutory entitlements.

The consequences of precarious work do not affect only workers but also the wider society. Mc Caffrey (2001) talked about the difficulty to share time among friends, family, plan for marriage, children, or purchasing home. The sociologist Arne Kalleberg (2009:2) wrote, insecure employment "has pervasive consequences not only for the nature of work, workplaces, and people's work experiences, but also for many non-work related individual (stress, education), social (family, community), and political (stability, democratization) outcomes."

Standing (2011: 60) argues that no one is spared from precarity because secure employees of nowadays fall into the section of precarious workers anytime. However, beyond the population groups, migrants are more likely to be victims of precarity. Hannah et Al., argue that many exploited migrants' lives are best characterized by a notion of hyper-precarity that emerges from the ongoing interplay of neoliberal labour markets and highly restrictive immigration regimes.

As the phenomenon of migration cannot be overlook, we found without surprise several researches from diverse field focusing on this subject. Most of the results stated that migrants mostly faced difficulties in the labor market. They are concentrate in vulnerable employs; their illegal status is often put forward as the reason of their inadequate conditions.

Nevertheless, Jayaweera and Bridget (2008:5) argue that those who are working legally may also be subjected to threats by employers, moreover, migrants on certain types of visa are restricted in the kind of work. Diverse factors contribute to precarity in the workplace and being a migrant exacerbates it.

Migrants are most likely to be victims of precarity because they are the most deprived members with limited bargaining power, seen as being harder workers, more loyal and reliable, prepared to work longer hours due to their lack of choice and the large volume of available labour at the low end of the labour market, including their low skill levels, lack of official language skills, being a migrant from a low-income country and their international student status (Benach et Al., 2014, Hannah et Al., 2015:583, Yuan, Cain and Spoonley 2014:36).

Cameroonian Migration and Cameroon-Turkey relationship

In Africa as a whole and Cameroon in particular, migration and mobility have always been part of population's life and culture. This is justified by the fact that migration is seen by many people as a strategy to fight unemployment and as a perpetual search for better living conditions (Zourkaleini and Al. 2013). Some political and socioeconomic phenomena such as colonization, forced labor, the 1900's conflicts have modified forms of mobility of individuals. During colonial (German, 1884-1919) and tutorship (French and English, 1919-1960) periods, infrastructures (port, road iron, plantations ...) have been developed to attract colonial migrations (Diesse, 2011). Two periods can be distinguished to perceive international migration in Cameroon: before the economic crisis and the post-crisis period.

From post-independence to pre-socioeconomic crisis, Cameroon experienced remarkable economic growth. Thus people were insensitive to migrate toward new destinations. Migration during this period was principally related to study purposes, hence its selective character. The emigration of Cameroonian skilled workers was partly limited by the requirement for those who studied abroad on government scholarships to return and work in the country for at least 10 years before leaving public administration (Zourkaleini and Al. 2013:2-3). Nevertheless, Evina and Mimche referred by Theophile Diesse (2011) emphasized that, this migration was limited only when it was about going out of the continent. However, mobility was effective to neighbor countries such as Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Central Africa Republic. Subsequently, Lulutala explained that migratory movement has been generalized and people could move for other reason such as seeking remunerative employment, family reunification, asylum (Kenne, 2011).

After the socioeconomic crisis, the country had to face the rise of unemployment and under-employment. Thus, security measures of migration flows in the country were developed. However, the negligence in the implementation and control of legal texts adopted have led to the progressive introduction and casting of migrants in the informal sector (Marie Mba and Al., 2011). Since the early 2000s, Cameroonians started moving to other African, Asia and the American countries for diverse reasons.

The 2007 population census estimated a total of 250,624 Cameroonians living outside the country. France with 38,530 migrants is the preferred destination of Cameroonians, followed by Gabon (30,216), Nigeria (16,980) and up to 300,000 Cameroonians lived in the Gulf of Guinea States between 2000 and 2004 (IOM, 2010). Characteristics of migrants are various, more than half of migrants are under 40 years, professional high skill, higher *level of education*. *Men are more likely to be subjected to migration*. Education,

employment and family reunification are the three main causes their migration (Marie Mba and Al, 2011:15). Poverty, economic crisis, high rate of population growth, large external debt, the inappropriate system between urbanization of cities and adjustment policies that do not suit to the national situation have been identified by the IOM as push factors (2010).

Currently, the relationship between Africa and Turkey is not longer only focalised on North African countries as during the Ottoman Empire. Turkey relationship with Africa in general has emerged since the AKP'S rise in 2002 (Enwere, 2014:65, Özkan, 2011:1). In this context, Turkish-Cameroon relationship also extended and focused on diverse fields like, political, economic and also educational. We can summarize this relationship by presenting some important actions that took place.

- Within the framework of "Opening Up Policy to Africa", Turkey opened an embassy in Cameroon in January 2010. The consulate of Cameroon has also been opened in Istanbul.

- Official visit of the President of the Republic of Turkey to Cameroon on March 2010 has initiated a new period in the relations between both countries. During this visit, the agreement on the mutual abolishment of visas for Holders of diplomatic, service and special passports of both countries, the "Memorandum of Understanding for the Establishment of Political Consultation Mechanism between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey and the Ministry of External Relations of the Republic of Cameroon" and the "Protocol Between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Cameroon on Technical, Scientific and Economic Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture" were signed (mfa, n.d).

- Considering engagements that took place, the official visit of Cameroonian President in March 2013 is considered as one of the period where relationship between the two nations have been more strengthened. During this visit, seven cooperation agreements were signed in diverse areas. Cameroon representative also participated in "Turkey-Cameroon Trade and Investment Forum" (mfa, n.d).

- In 2010 and 2011, Cameroonian ministers visited Turkey and agreements have been proposed for the establishment of the legal framework of trade relations.

- On the educational field, Cameroonians students are studying in Turkish university either benefiting from scholarships or studying on their own.

- The ratification of bilateral air transport agreement between both Government on October 2012 made possible direct flights between both countries.

The lack of official statistics and literature exploring the Cameroonian migrants is worthy notified not only in the Turkey context, but in general. Unfortunately, data about the statistic of Cameroonians in Turkey is unavailable. Thus, statistics communicate in the present research is given by the representative of Cameroonian Community in Turkey (CCT), who estimated the number around 1500.

Methodology

The field study conducted in Istanbul took place from March 18 to 23, 2016. A total of 17 interviews were conducted during the field study. Additionally, some information about other migrants was gathered. From those 17 interviews, we have been able to use 16 of them. For the first stage (from March 18 to 20), we gathered 14 face to face interviews in Yenikapı, Sefaköy, Beşyöl and Kürtköy. Back to Sakarya, we conducted the rest of interview through video conferencing and telephone. This second method was adopted because some participants who initially accepted a face to face interview could not show up and agreed to a *long-distance interview*. There was a key person who enabled us to access the migrants in

Yenikapı and conduct the interviews in a relaxed manner. In addition to the interviews, we had a possibility to go to the work place of some participants. According to their availability, we used structured and semi structured interviews. We had an interview guide with predetermined questions grouped into key topics. We were asking some participants questions with some variation to know more about their situation. On the other hand, we just asked a participant to explain for example "difficulties in his workplace" and he could approach the subject as he wanted. *Interviews were* conducted in English and French. With the permission of participants, we used a voice recorder. The length of time of the interview was between 20 min and 2 hours 53 min. We conducted some interviews in respondents' homes and some in their office. To analyze our data, we firstly transcribed all audio recorded interview into written form. The second step involves protecting the respondent confidentiality, then we codified participant names. For the third step, we listed interview by interview all point raised by each respondent and these points were grouped into major themes, which were used for descriptive analysis.

Cameroonian workers migrants in turkey

Apart from its characteristic of being the biggest metropolitan city in Turkey, or its geographical location, Istanbul is the most known city by international migrants. Commonly, social media went on talking about Turkey usually emphasized on Istanbul. From this observation, we can say undoubtedly that this makes Istanbul the privileged destination of Cameroonians. Media are important actors in their decision to *migrate*. Also, some individuals preferred countries where there are few Cameroonians, because they wanted to do something different from what others are already doing in others countries such as France and Germany- Our respondent said that Turkey is gradually becoming an open country (Int. J.).

"Turkey is a country full of opportunities, also I could not go to Germany, France as others because of the vast number of African already there, have become saturated, several go there for the same thing and I wanted something different " (Int. R.).

Socio-Economic Profiles of Migrants Interviewed

Socio-economic variables were available from recorded data, which included marital status, employment status before moving to Turkey, age, gender and educational attainment. During our investigation, women were less dispoable to participate, this limited our sample to 3 women among the 16 respondents. Interviewees' ages vary between 23-41 years. We came across five students, six were parents, one married. Most of the migrants do not have any family member living in Turkey. The vast majority of the migrants interviewed had high educational level, at least Bachelor degree. Nevertheless, one respondent among our sample affirmed that "I did not go to school" (Int. B.), which usually means the person didn't get high school diploma in Cameroon. Some had good work experience before travelling and are specialists in their professions. Respondents testified that: "I worked for 5 years in an Industrial Processing Company with a permanent contract as a Human Resources Manager" (Int. J.), another said : "I worked in a multinational company for 3 years where I handled three successive positions ... I was a young executive with a fixed-term contract" (Int. R.).

Apart from one of our interviewees who came from Tunisia all the rest came directly from Cameroon. It was the first time for more than half of them to get out of their country to another country or continent.

Amongst our interviewees, the one with the longest stay had been in Turkey for 9 years and the newcomer had been here for 3 months. It's interesting to state that Cameroonians started migrating to Turkey before the strengthening of the Cameroon and Turkish relationship. However, our data shows that 2014 is the year the number of migrants increased. This could lead us to say that, the visit of the Cameroonian President in 2013 made an impact on the migration growth rate.

Practices of Cameroonian migrants in Turkey

Most of the respondents contacted unknown persons or friends in Turkey to welcome them and to help them settle down on their arrival. Some of the migrants experienced difficulties when they arrived. Those who contacted unknown people were generally cheated. One interviewee explained that the person who welcomed him at the airport took 80 euros for the bus card which is less than 3 euros. Situations faced by newcomers are almost identical. They explained that some Cameroonians usually wait at the entrance of the airport. Even though they pretend not to be happy the newcomers are going to face hardship, they seem trying to orientate them on where to start from.

They generally find their first job after few days for those doing occasional jobs and a minimum of 5 months for those perceiving monthly work pay. The informal network among Cameroonian workers is the main way for getting a job. Usually, the recommender is either involved in the job currently or is leaving and wants to be replaced in his job. Furthermore, some through online sites like craigslist, kariyer.net and enterprise website upload their curriculum vitae.

Why do Cameroonians migrate to Turkey?

Two categories of people migrate from Cameroon to Turkey: the first group constitutes people who intend to transit and the second group people who intend to settle in Turkey.

Many interviewees revealed that the vast majority of the Cameroonian migrants who came to Turkey is for transit. They considered Turkey as the "Small Europe", as the easiest road to go to the "Great Europe". This is also one of the important reasons of the illegal status of some of them. While waiting in Turkey, waiting for the right "ferryman", to make them "swim"¹, they do not find necessary to have a residence permit. They save the money they have because its need will arise when reaching "Great Europe" cities. The waiting period could be more longer than expected.

We found out that schooling is a key reason for migration of our respondents. "Migrant student workers" we met really want to pursue their study. As Yuan, Cain and Spoonley (2014:36) stated, there is no doubt that financial hardship is the primordial reason pushing students to work. *This financial hardship is high* because most of our interviewees do not find it adequate to ask money from their family home, therefore, decide to actively seek employment.

Apart from those who would like to pursue their studies, we learnt that some Cameroonians applied student visa just to facilitate the entry into Turkey. Another interviewee said he came as an adventure before mentioning others factors such as learning a new language and impact of Turkey's economic. The last category decided to move for business and trade.

For those handling responsible positions in companies before migrating, we collected information about their past work experience and why they quit their jobs. Bad work

¹The term migrants used to talk about transit

relationship with the manager, insufficient salary, unemployment, the need to change work environment were evoked responses. Other reasons were: matter of circumstance; "I was going to Switzerland for one project but during the journey the project have been cancelled and since I wanted to leave Cameroon, I decided to stay in Turkey" (Int. I.), the flexible and accessible visa rules: "my plans were to go to Germany, France or UK, but it was difficulty to get their visa. Then I try to apply for Turkish visa and it was very easy and I said why not?" (Int. S.).

Cameroonian employment in Turkey

Every new comer after settling down, tries to start earning money. Usually it's a bit easy when there is someone guiding you. Cameroonians workers in Istanbul have different types of jobs such as survival jobs, dream jobs, entrepreneurship, ...

"Çabuk-çabuk": the survival job

Half of our interviewee started with jobs "çabuk-çabuk" jobs. "Çabuk çabuk" is defined by migrants as casual work without any written contract and with immediate remuneration at the end. The expression also *refers to* Turkish employers who regularly use it when they want work to be done quickly. Unfortunately, they spend lot of time and energy without enough *help for their* financial situation. Recruitment is generally done by recommendation. Migrants employed are contacted by employers when workforce is needed. One respondent explained that when facing the "resistance of reality" means difficulties and / or opportunities (new ideas, meeting right people) before reaching a goal, "çabuk-çabuk jobs" keep new comers *occupied and help them to have* some money. Among works included in this group, interviewees listed tasks like unloading trucks, cleaning storage in companies. Working hours is minimum 2 hours and days varies between few days and one month.

Fabric workers

We interviewed three fabric (textiles) workers. Two are still working and beside that are students and one was employed for 7 months before changing the sector. Their task included cloth finishing, classification of products by serial numbers, ironing, folding, packing, loading in transportation vehicles. They work at least 11 hours per day from Monday to Saturday. Employers define working hours according to students time table. Nevertheless, around 9 euros are deducted from the total salary and in case of absence, with a monthly pay between 233 and 249 euros and 9 euros for transport fees. One explained that they agreed to be paid every month, but he receives his wage every two months. Adding that if someone receives his paid successively, this simply means he will be fired in no time. We had the opportunity to visit one of our interviewee at his workplace, we identified around 20 others workers made up of Turkish, one Cameroonian and 3 Nigerians citizens. We found out that none of the 24 employees had a signed contract. Our third participant had been traumatized and said "it was hell; I don't even want to mention it...with a Master degree ... carrying bags" (Int. S). The factory where he worked recruit migrants specially. They were 15 from Georgia, Syria, Egypt, Cameroon and Nigeria. The factory itself was illegally setup, it was a branch of a large factory. He concluded saying that it was difficult to be there but learned a lot from this past experience before finding his current job as French teacher.

Teaching: the dream job of Cameroonian Migrant students in Istanbul

Teachers we meet were all students. Being employ as a teacher is the best our participants explained that the remuneration is higher than other the jobs. For this job, the minimum wage is 310 euros, work hours and days are suitable for their student status. None of our respondent had a work contract.

Our first respondent has been working there for 1 year, part-time, earns 31 euros per hour and works 3 to 4 days per week for a total of 8 hours. The second participant, since his arrival in Turkey works as English teacher in different cities. Actually he works 8 hours per day and 40 hours per week. He refused to talk about his earning but said he earned 435 euros during his first job in Kirklaleri. The last respondent among our teacher workers has been an English Speaking Coach in a Language and Training Center in Kürtköy for 5 months. He explained that it could have been possible for him to have a work contract if he was not a scholarship holder. He must provide 20 to 25 hours of work per week. He has a stable monthly wage of 622 euros.

Businessmen

We found a CEO of an *International Trade Limited Company*. He is a shareholder in several companies in Cameroon and when coming to Turkey aimed to open an import-export company. He opened the company three months after he arrived and employed some Cameroonian experimented workers. They are currently 6 people. The one responsible explained that respecting law is primordial.

There are some potential company employers who are unable to own a company with their name so they decide to operate using the name of a native employers.

We found opportunity to go to the first legal Cameroonian restaurant at Yenikapı. There are many others illegal restaurants and small businesses offering services to Africans. They said the procedure to obtain legal documents to open legal establishment is very complicated. We have been aware of the existence of further Cameroonian restaurants like Avcılar and Kurtulus localities.

Shopping orientation and tourist guide

Shopping orientation is when a person is taking foreign customers from Africa to different shops where prices are suitable and also to visit some places in Istanbul. The salary varies between 47 and 62 euros and is paid at the end of the day and vary according to clients, *quantities of products purchased* and time. Our respondent said she could normally start from 10:00 am until stores close.

Our second respondent worked in a tourist company which wanted employees with foreign languages skills. Our interviewee said that he was welcoming French and English speakers, helped them to settle in hotel and to visit some touristic places. He worked there for 2 weeks and few days and said that it was far better compared to the garment industry where he is now because he was receiving his paid at the end of the work. The remuneration was 31euros per day and had 6 euros for transportation. He could go 3 times a week and worked 12 hours per day.

Middlemen or independent intermediaries

Most of Cameroonian acting as middlemen link external companies wishing to import products from Turkey with qualified companies. Thus, they operate on *commission* bases. Our first respondent informed us that after 4 months in Istanbul, he contacted two traders who came and bought products and he earned 2000 dollars as commission. The second

interviewee did not mention the amount but said that after he brought two companies to purchase clothing, and from his earn, paid her sister deposit fee necessary to study in Europe and bought land in Cameroon.

Workers in a company

Among our 16 interviewees, we had two workers in a company. The first we contacted is a marketing personnel in a candy industry for 6 months. He was retained after the internship program. His contract will end in August 2016. He didn't want to give his exact salary but said that it is compensated according to international standards of the MBA qualification he owns. He is the only Cameroonian worker among our respondents who has a written work contract and the only non-scholarship holder who knows Turkish language.

Our second respondent works in a policy institute also named Think Tank for 2 years. She earns *less than* the national *minimum wage* but said conditions would be reviewed soon by her employer. She works five days a week, from 9/10:00 am to 6:00pm.

During our research, we were informed that there is another Cameroonian working as a commercial agent in one company. He first did in "çabuk-çabuk" jobs in restaurants and coffee places. He found his actual job through kariyer.net site, however, it was not easy to find a job, he applied for around 200 offers and was contacted by 3 companies for interview.

Others

There are also traders who buy and send things to African countries for sale. We have one of our interviewees who is both a French teacher and a trader. He regularly buys children clothes and sends them to a friend of his in Burkina Faso for selling. We met the owner of "Hotel apartment" who rents an apartment from a Turkish landlord and then provides them to foreigners or customers for 50 to 100 dollars a day. Shop keeping, African women hairdressing, waiter in Cameroonian restaurants, working in cargo industries and in nursing homes are others jobs performed by Cameroonians citizens in Istanbul.

Relationship of workers with the professional and social environment

Most participants during the survey did not complain about the relation at their workplace. They found the relationship with the employer friendly and understanding especially when it came to students. In another case, one of our participant had strictly professional relationship with his work team and said that Turkish employers tend to exploit workers especially foreigners.

One of the interviewee expressed his satisfaction with his current employer and explained that "With colleagues sometimes it's weird ... they are jealous and complex but my relationship with my boss is quite friendly... she gives me respect and considers me" (Int. S.). But he added that the relationships with his previous employer was very bad and the employer used to who shout a lot. He said "I *feel so hatred towards* him and would not like to work with a Turkish employer except for his current employer" (Int. S.). He was not the only interviewee who compare the relationship with his employer to slavery.

Regarding relationships with neighbors, more than half of respondents said that they don't know their neighbors. And this is very different from the African culture where relationship with neighbors extend until those located at 200 meters. Trying to have a perception on the different scale of their relationship, we asked about their relationship with Turkish citizens. Most of them said that there is no particular relationship with Turkish citizens except when it comes to work.

More than half of the interviewees appreciated the relationships with other Cameroonian compatriots. They meet from time to time in places like African or Cameroonian restaurants, at the Church or in associations. However, one of our participants said he had a bad experience with compatriots and thus finds it difficult to cooperate with them.

Cameroonian workers workplace connectivity and challenges

Most of our interviewees live near their workplace. Among them 4 lived within 5-minutes-walk homes from their workplace. For those working at Yenikapı, almost all lived at Şişli.

- Knowledge of Turkish language: the main difficulty is the language. It is an important limit while conversing with their boss and colleagues. Sign language is adopted when the employer does not know English. One worker said he uses google translate.

- Workplace discrimination: respondents talked about the wage discrimination in “çabuk-çabuk” jobs between Turkish and migrants. One interviewee noted that punishment of deducting 9 euros from salary is applied only to foreign workers. However, two other interviewees who worked in “çabuk-çabuk” jobs explained that "my employer doesn't discriminate, we eat same meal and take same transport" (Int. J.). Two other respondents stated that this discrimination was just temporary at the beginning of their work when trust was not fully installed.

- Remuneration issues: regarding wage payment, unpaid wages cannot be generalized to all cases. Situation differed from one case to another. One respondent said that, time of *payment* is generally *regular* but she affirmed that no matter how long it can be the employer paid in full each month later. We found out that most of the monthly wages of workers are below the Turkish minimum wage.

- Work time table: problem of time is very stressful especially for workers who are still students. One participant explained that he had to stop one half of his academic year to work and above all to rest. They do not have enough time to rest; immediately after classes they must be at the factory. Because of this, his academic results have significantly decreased.

- Control work inspector: some respondent explained that because of the absence of contract and work permit, it often happened that the employer hides them when inspectors arrived at the company for control. He explained that the school was also illegal and sometimes he had stop working for 3 or 4 days, for inspector to go before he continues.

- In addition to these difficulties raised, we had an interview with the representative of Cameroonian Community in Turkey who revealed several other challenges faced by Cameroonian workers: sexual harassment for women, our respondents said they are usually considered as prostitutes by Turkish men who regularly disturb them in transport or following them in the street. There are difficulties in renewing their document which intensified harassment and abuse, the injustice of police which always defend the Turkish no matter what. This injustice makes them be more vigilant about their attitude, weather problem, accommodation is one of the problem of those Cameroonian.

Financial responsibilities and future plans

Most of our interviewees lived in houses and generally share part payment with friend. They pay an average of 157 euros to rent a house. They explained that it was difficult to save money but some of them managed to. Time to time, they sent money to their families when the need arised. Since their arrival in Turkey, only 3 of our interviewees were able to return home. Others do not see it necessary and think that ticket fee could help the family. One said "The

price of a Turkey-Cameroon plane ticket can really be of good help, I don't see my parents, but if I send this money it will solve a lot of problems" (Int. I.).

Each of them have different plans. For workers interviewed at the new company, all of them said that they planned to settle and continue working in their company as long as possible. Students workers we talked to explained that they wanted to continue to another country for Doctorate after graduating. They do not plan neither to settle in Turkey or return to Cameroon for now. For businessmen practicing under a Turkish name he wants to have all his papers in order and be able to own a legal company. One said "there is no need to hurry going back home, I don't want to go to another country, actually I am not running behind any country anymore, I am running behind money. I have friends in USA who cannot even send 400 dollars every month home" (Int. S.).

Discussion and Conclusion

The study was set out to explore the concepts of migration and precarity concepts in Turkish labour market, having a perception on the working condition of Cameroonian workers in Istanbul. The study has also sought to know the reasons and motivation for Cameroonian to migrate, difficulties they face when settling and looking for jobs, the characteristics of jobs they did and the impact of their illegal status on the type of jobs they had.

Schwenken and Pia (2008) stated that knowing which persons are most likely to move is one of the issue addressed to differ economic theories of migration. Taking a look at the profile of migrants interviewed in our research, we can answer his question saying that in our findings, most migrants are either students or experimented workers who are mostly men, single and do not have children.

In view of the data collected above, it can be interpreted that the factors explaining the migratory movement of Cameroonians to Turkey, mainly Istanbul concerns reasons identified by the neoclassical theory, which states that the search for a satisfactory salary is the main reason promoting migration. Moreover, the reasons given by the world system theory could partially find position in this outcome. According to this, one of the factors that enhanced the firm relationship between the two countries is the official visits of the two presidents from both countries to the other. This also has encouraged human movements between the two countries. However, this theory cannot be taken entirely because both do not have same culture and language. For the present case of the two countries we are dealing with, language and culture differences are observed. We could evoke the point that, both countries have Muslim citizens but in our present study, most of our respondents are Christians. But this does not prevent Cameroonians from migrating to Turkey. The responds of our interviewees can be concluded having a direct link with pull factors of migration to achieve personal goals, discovering different culture and language, acquisition of new experiences and the development of diverse skills. Another encouraging factor identified in this research is the flexibility in obtaining Turkish visa.

Base on the fact that an adoption of severe visa policy cannot be a tactic to end migration, we could say that the flexibility of obtaining a visa to a country chosen by the migrant could reduce illegal migrations. Migrants would stop using one country as a transit to the other. Thus, they would go directly to their destined country without the need of making illegal transits. This would reduce the death rate of migrants going through dangerous roads such as makeshift boats, criminal networks (smugglers). Migrants should therefore have the possibility of moving from one country to another without fear of coming home due to the challenges faced in acquiring visa. Actually, migrants might see no need or find it a huge risk

returning to their country of origin for fear of losing the possibility to enter again to their target country.

Comparing our findings to the results provided by previous research on similar topic, we could state that Cameroonian migrant workers' professional conditions do not differ from others migrants. The main justification is that they either do not have their legal documents or they are restricted by law for those having their legal documents. Transit migrant do not find necessary to regulate their status, the lack of information about procedure and conditions to obtain a residence permit and limited themselves on information given by those who came before. Features characterizing their precarious jobs are risk, no contract, unsatisfied and unstable salary, stressful works hours, insecurity, monotony, inexistence of career profile, de-qualification.

The precarity in Turkey labor market cannot be considered only from the workers' side but also from the company side. Thus, Turkey workplaces included precarious works and precarious companies. By saying precarious companies, we mean illegal companies covered by legal companies which require vulnerable workforce to reduce their work cost. We also mean companies practicing their recruitment on the "status-based" approach. For these companies, especially textile industries, the principle of right person at the right position do not matter but rather their principle can be finding and placing the cheap person at the right place.

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