

**PERCEPTIONS OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP OF YOUTH  
FROM DIFFERENT SOCIAL SECTIONS AND  
OVERVIEW OF POLICY PARTICIPATION  
MECHANISMS CONCLUSION REPORT**

OCTOBER 2022



The Operations Social Research Center carried out the fieldwork and the creation of focus groups for the study “The Perceptions of Active Citizenship of Young People from Different Social Segments and Their Views on Participation Mechanisms in Politics” , which was planned and projected by the Association of Sociology Graduates (SOMDER).

The research was supported by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) Turkey Representative Office.

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## Research Tag

Youth Research was carried out by the Association of Sociology Graduates (SOMDER) with the support of the Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung Foundation Turkey Representative between 10.09.2022 and 10.10.2022. The research was designed in two stages. In the first stage, a survey of 49 questions was applied to employees, students and unemployed people in the 18-35 age group in Istanbul. After the survey was completed, a total of 12 focus groups consisting of bike couriers, the unemployed, students, plaza employees, private health institution employees (excluding doctors), private education institution employees, warehouse workers and market-store employees were formed and two groups were formed in two meeting halls of Taksim Square Hotel. In the presence of a moderator and two rapporteurs, interviews were held for an average of 1 hour and 30 minutes. Within the scope of the cooperation protocol signed at all stages of the field applications of the research, it was worked with the Operations Social Research Center.

## Justification

Marshall gave a speech titled "Citizenship and Social Classes" in Cambridge in 1949 and later accepted as one of the main studies on this subject, Marshall divided citizenship into three elements, which he called civil, political and social. According to Marshall, the civil element of citizenship, or in other words, the elements that constitute civil rights; freedom of the person, freedom of expression, thought and belief, the right to own property and to conclude contracts in accordance with existing laws, and the right to access justice. With the political element, he emphasized the right to participate in political power, either as a member of a body with political authority or as the electorate of the members of such a body. With the social element, Marshall emphasized a broader set of rights: to economic welfare and security in accordance with the standards of the society in which we live. The basic institutions of this element, which encompasses a wide area from the right to own property, to share in the social heritage and to lead a civilized life within the framework of the standards prevailing in the society, were the education system and social services.

The social, political, economic and ecological problems that emerged with the dominance of neo-liberal policies all over the world brought the erosion of Marshall's definition of citizenship in all its aspects to the field of social science as a new discussion. It can be said that, in spite of the crises that are increasing their impact all over the world, the policy-making tools and solution capacities, which are formed by historical accumulation, are getting narrower. In this new model of society, in which all kinds of organization and collective will are excluded and liberated by individualization, all the unhappiness and despair experienced have been placed on the shoulders of the individual, who is doomed to failure because he does not show enough effort.

Based on Marshall's definition, it is believed that every vote given in the hope of solving problems as a result of the reduction of participation in active political means, which can be considered as the intersection of civil, political and social elements, to the behavior of "voting", corruption in the political establishment and practices that abuse the society, is wasted.

1 The questionnaire used in the Questionnaire application part of the research and three separate directives prepared for the focus group discussions in the second part of the research are attached to the report.

2F or the full speech, see. *Thomas Humphrey Marshall, Citizenship and Social Class, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1950. Also see Turkish. T.H. Marshall-Tom Bottomore, Citizenship and Social Classes, translated by: Ayhan Kaya, İstanbul, Bilgi, 2006, s.1-56. Also see Turkish abbreviated version. Sosyal Politika Yazıları, (edited by: Ayşe Buğra-Çağlar Keyder), İstanbul, İletişim, 2006, s.19-32.*

Although it is possible to talk about the problems that deeply affect all segments of society, the situation of the young population in particular has reached dimensions that deserve to be examined separately. Undoubtedly, the weakening of their imaginations for the future means that the young population is affected the most among the social segments. As current problems have rendered many institutional structures that have the mission of transferring the accumulation of the past to future generations dysfunctional, young people have been deprived of many tools to build their own lives. One of the most important indicators of this situation can be observed in the new period, especially in the phenomenon of irregular migration. In many recent public opinion surveys conducted in Turkey as well as in the rest of the world, it is measured that the young population does not plan to build a better life in their own country, and that they plan to migrate to geographies that they think are still operative, even if the current order is more stable and the scope of rights is limited.

Young people, who are excluded from public security and convinced that they will be doomed to failure and unhappiness because they do not want and/or dream enough in a social order where they cannot reach fair and equal participation conditions no matter how much they are equipped, claim to find solutions to social, political, economic and ecological crises, both for themselves and for the youth. The creation of a new "self-consciousness"<sup>3</sup> for the political institution leading the way is described as one of the most important goals of the new period for these institutions.

However, within this mechanism, which is expected to be a part of, "collectivism", "organization", "politics", "participatory democracy", "leadership", "the right to vote and to be elected", "justice", "equality", "freedom" "merit" What concepts such as "rights" mean to young people, and whether the existing mechanisms will be sufficient to reveal new, inclusive, transformative policies that can contribute to the content of these concepts and make change possible emerge as a new area of question and discussion.

In addition, the process for those who are far from the states of "happiness", "respectability", "success", "being themselves" reduced to individual effort-related gains of the human being, who is defined as a "bio-psycho-social being", is a process for them to question their own way of existence without hope, It also brings with it "swinging" within the unhealthy thinking and relationship models caused by not being self-sufficient. As the individual sense of hopelessness and helplessness increases, the social deconstruction process operates at an unusual speed and with more destructive results. A wide range of social and psychological disorders, from dependent personality structures to chronic major depressions to narcissistic personality disorders, draws in a very large population.

Again, especially in Turkey, as in the rest of the world, young people stand out among the precarious working poor in the destructiveness of neo-liberal economic policies. Working conditions and social rights are being reorganized against the employees on the grounds of the pandemic conditions. The reorganized labor regime confronts all segments of society except the happy minority with the aforementioned depreciation.

How young workers perceive the connection between the new precarious labor regime and the political institution by stripping them of all their social rights and organizational security,

<sup>3</sup>Self-consciousness;.....it includes monitoring one's self and his behaviors from the past to the future in a time dimension, knowing himself (eg, in the mirror image), having awareness of self-consciousness, in the broadest sense, knowing that he is the hero of a specific experiential narrative. .0/2022),AccessTar:08.08.2022/19:00

what are the problems arising from working conditions, whether they seek to change these conditions imposed on employees after the pandemic or whether they see a change in their favor, If there is a solution, the views of the stakeholders on who they are should be questioned.

It is also a great importance for the young people, who constitute the social class who will feel the results of this new period, in which the social transforms the individual by destroying violence in a widespread way, and affects every context and plane of which human is a part, of times that are going through, in terms of predicting the processes to be experienced in the future. The tools they associate with the system mean to them, how do they define the source of the tension between attachment and addiction, how do they carry the emotional, economic and social burden of owning or not having commodities, and is their ability to bring life into existence in digital spaces sufficient for "satisfaction"? questions stand in the middle.

## **Purpose of the Research**

Understanding the ways in which young people describe the “social”

Understanding the ways in which young people define the “individual” and how they see the relationship between the social and the individual

Understanding where they place young people in the relationship between “commodities” and “ownership” in the system.

Understanding how they define the existing social system in their conceptual world

To understand what kind of problems they face, especially in the working conditions where change is visible in the new period.

Understanding young people's perceptions of both this conceptual framework and existing political participation mechanisms

Understand what conditions shape young people's perceptions of the current state of policy making tools

Understanding what young people's expectations are for participation in politics

Understanding the conditions that shape young people's perceptions of policymakers

To understand how young people describe the mechanisms that can respond to the expectations of change and transformation in the current system and to seek answers to the following questions:

How does the motto “Dream it, want it, achieve it, be happy” make them feel?

What do they see at the root of different social problems?

What do individual problem stories that have become widespread in society mean to them?

Do they see a link between the changing working conditions and the labor regime and the political institution?

What tools do they care about or use to solve the problems they encounter in their working life?

## **Purpose of the research**

Within the scope of the research, how young people define the current social problems, what they think about the source of the problems, what kind of mechanism they suggest for the solution of the problems or how they want the existing mechanisms to undergo a transformation, what they think about being a part of the solution, the expression of sociality, individuality and solution in their conceptual world. Forms will be studied.

## **Research Method**

The research was planned and implemented in two stages. In the first stage, a questionnaire consisting of 49 questions was prepared and 1067 people between the ages of 18-35 were reached. In the second stage, 12 focus groups were formed by applying gender quotas from different social segments and semi-structured interviews were conducted in line with 3 different directives.

In this context; Semi structured interviews were conducted with a total of 97 people in focus groups consisting of bike couriers, the unemployed, students, plaza employees, private health institution employees (excluding doctors), private education institution employees, warehouse workers and market-store employees. Focus Groups consisted of 8 people on average. Gender quota was observed at all stages of the study.

## **Limitations of the Research**

The most important difficulty encountered within the scope of the research was experienced in reaching young employees. In particular, the implementation of the survey within the working hours in the workplaces was prevented by other employees at the supervisor and responsible level. One of the most striking problems was that the employees who were wanted to be reached at the end of the working hours were reluctant and timid to answer questions, expressed that they were afraid, and that they could face the risk of losing their jobs when they were seen as the employee talking about the problems.

Another difficulty encountered is that when the survey study is mentioned, studies that directly question the voting behavior come to mind and people state that they do not want to participate. Many times, the scope of the study was explained in detail and their persuasion after the questions were presented to them caused a serious waste of time. Due to the loss of time and the difficulties encountered in the application of the questionnaire, the targeted number of people could not be reached and the fieldwork was terminated in 1067 people.

Many of the employees who were invited to focus groups wanted to participate when the method of the study was explained to them in detail, but some of them could not attend due to the fact that working hours included weekend days. One-on-one interview requests were received from employees in some business lines after working hours, but no interviews were made because it was not suitable for the model of the study.

The most important problem observed in both the questionnaire and the focus group study is that the people reached did not want to participate in the study due to safety concerns. It has been clearly observed that the climate of fear that has permeated all segments of society in the current conditions makes it increasingly difficult to conduct such researches in the field.





## FINDINGS FROM THE RESEARCH

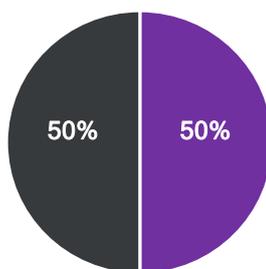


## PART 1 SURVEY APPLICATION

### Demographic Data

Within the scope of the survey application of the research, 534 female and 533 male participants were reached.

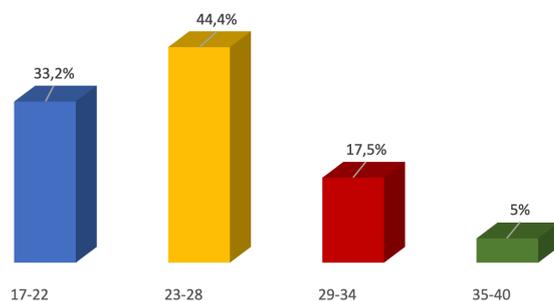
Chart 1. Gender Distribution



■ Female ■ Male

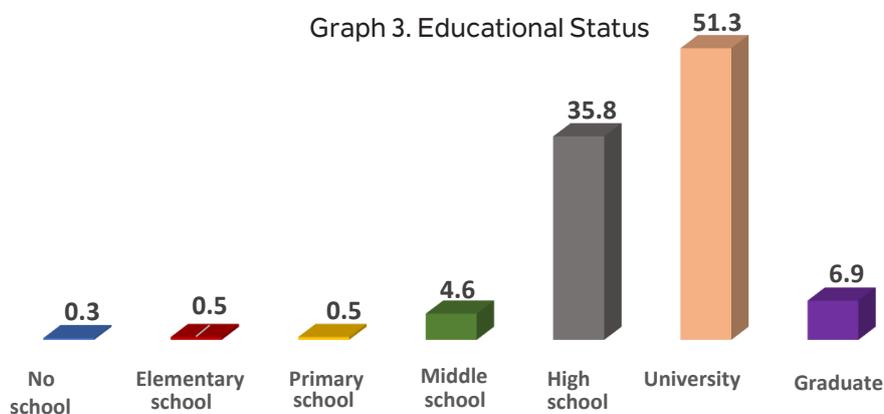
33.2% of the participants reached are in the age range of 17-22, 44.4% are between the ages of 23-28, 17.5% are between the ages of 29-34, and 5% are between the ages of 35-40.

Chart 2. Age Distribution



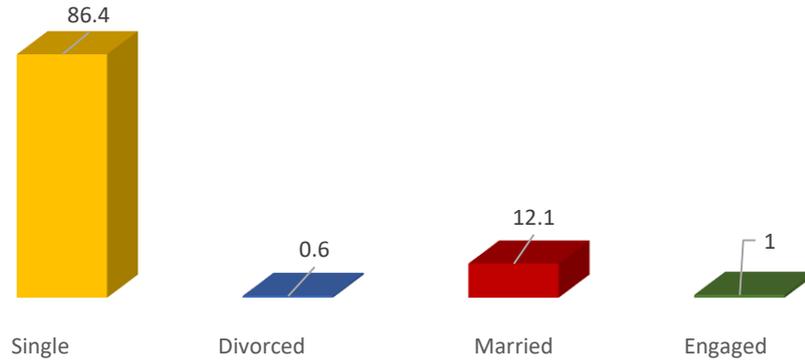
0.3 percent of the participants did not go to school, 0.5 percent primary school, 0.5 percent primary school, 4.6 percent secondary school, 35.8 percent high school, 51.3 percent university, 6.9 percent of them were postgraduate graduates.

Graph 3. Educational Status



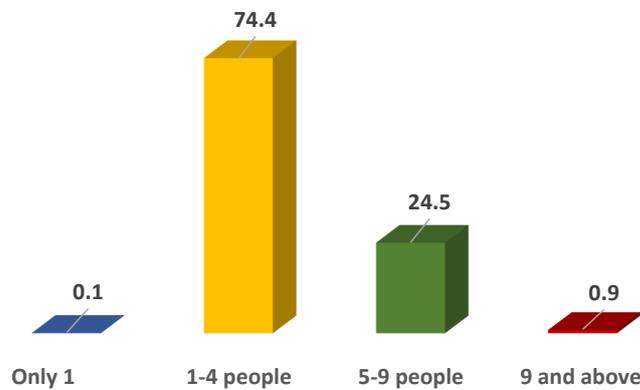
86.4 percent of the participants stated that they were single, 0.6 percent were divorced, 12.1 percent were married and 1 percent were engaged.

Chart 4. Marital Status



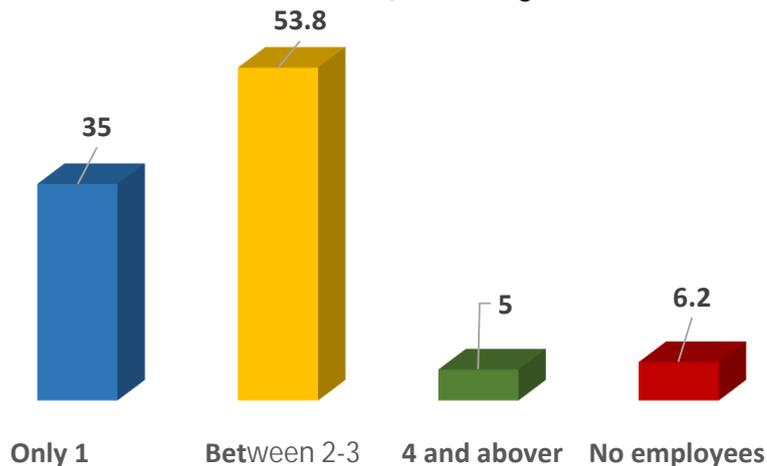
0.1 percent of the participants live alone in their households, 74.4% have 1-4 people, 24.5 percent have 5-9 people, and 0.9 percent have 9 or more people.

Chart 5. Number of People Living in the Household



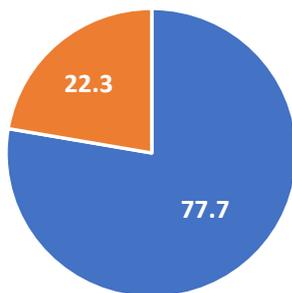
While 35 percent of the participants have only 1 person in their household, 53.8 percent have 2-3 people, 5 percent have more than 4 employees, 6.2 percent do not have a working person.

Chart 6. Number of People Working in the Household



Ask participants "Do you have any dependents?" When we asked the question, 22.3 percent answered "Yes" and 77.7 percent answered "No".

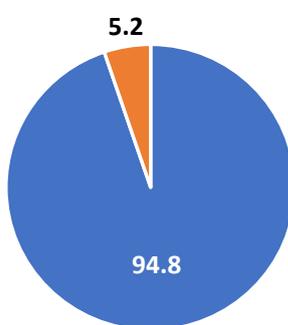
Chart 7. Is there an Individual to Look after?



■ No ■ Yes

While 94.8 percent of the participants answered "I don't have anyone to look after", the rate of those who say they have someone to look after is 5.2 percent.

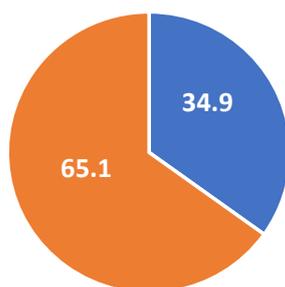
Chart 8. Are There Any Disabled/Chronic Sick Individuals Being Responsible For?



■ No ■ Yes

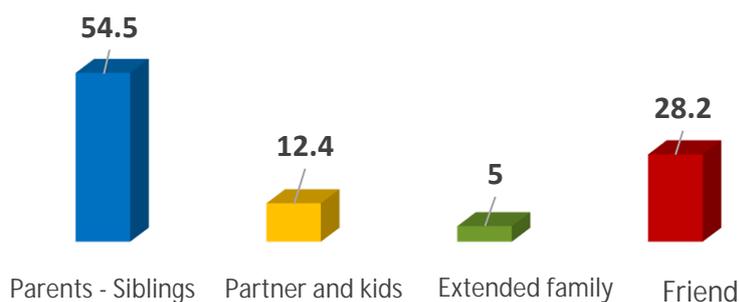
While 34.9 percent of the participants live in a house owned by themselves or their families, 65.1 percent of them pay rent to the household they live in.

Chart 9. Is Rent Paid for the House You Live In?



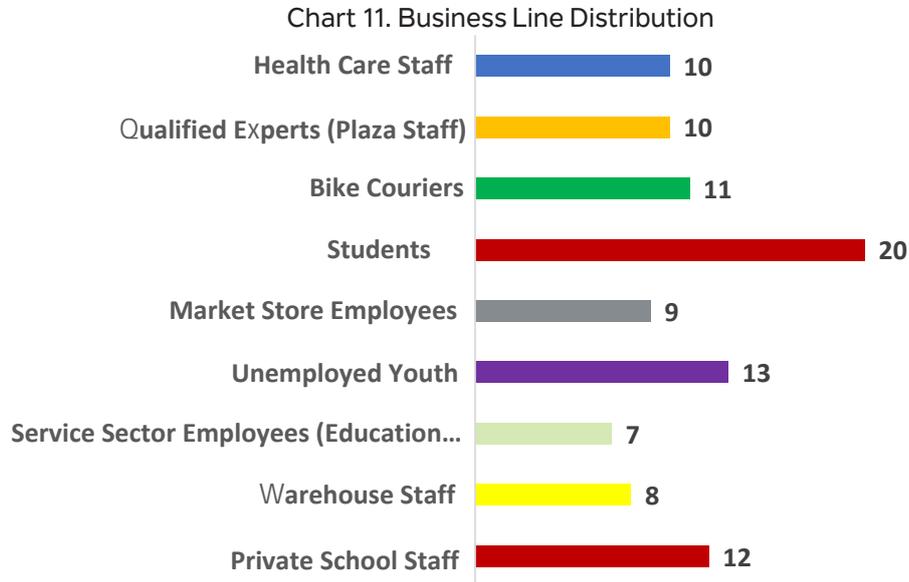
■ No ■ Yes

Chart 10. Who Lives In The House With?



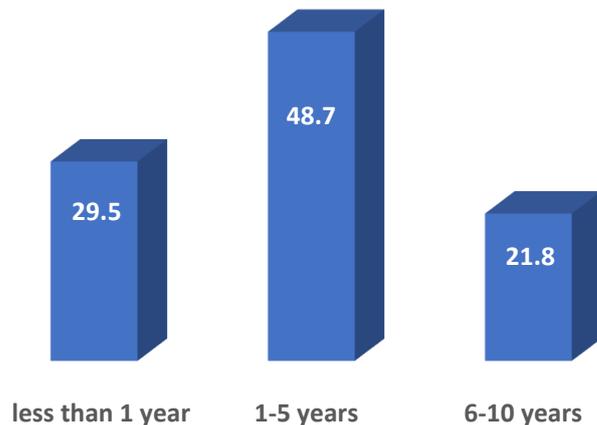
## Working Life Data

10 percent of the participants are in private health institutions, 10 percent are qualified specialists in plazas, 11 percent are bike couriers, 7 percent are in the service sector, 9 percent are market-stores, 8 percent are warehouse workers, 12 percent work in private education institutions. 20 percent are students and 13 percent are unemployed youth.



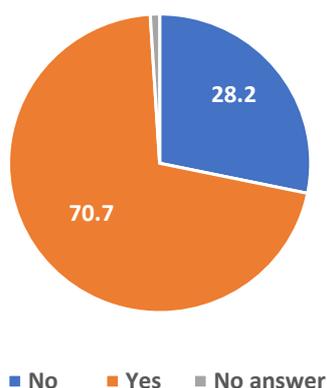
We asked those who are currently active in business life how many years they have been working in that business (sector), 29.5 percent of the participants are less than one year, 48.7 percent are between 1-5 years, 21.8 percent are between 6-10 years. They stated that they have been working in the same business area for 10 years.

Chart 12. Working Time (Includes Employees Only)



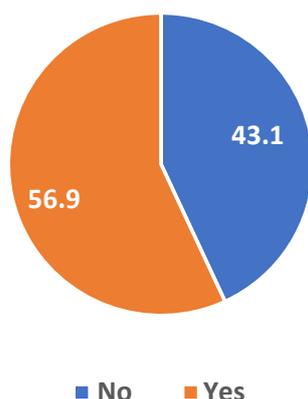
When analyzing whether they have social security on the basis of the participants who are currently actively working, it was measured that 28.2 percent of the participants did not have social security, while 70.7 percent of them did. Considering the unemployment rate (13%), it can be easily said that insecurity is increasing for the young population. In addition, students were not included in these data. Considering the existence and insecurity of students together with these data, it can be said that the material conditions for the capacity to envision the future are still not formed for a large part of the young population.

Chart 13. Social Security Status (Includes Employees Only)



When analyzing whether they have social security for all participants, including students and the unemployed, results supporting the data and interpretation obtained from the previous analysis were obtained. When the question was analyzed in terms of all participants, it was measured that only 56.9 percent of the participants were covered by a social security, and 43.1 percent did not have any social security.

Chart 14. Social Security Status (Includes All Participants)



When it is cross examined by including all the participants on the basis of business line whether they have social security, 20.3 percent of private education institution teachers, 27.1 percent of warehouse employees, 45.3 percent of service sector employees, 32 percent of market-store employees, It has been measured that 3 of them, 36.8 percent of bike couriers, 28 percent of qualified specialists, and 8.4 percent of those working in private health institutions do not have social security.

Although it is an inadequate approach to reduce precarization to having social insurance alone for all employees, it can be said that it should be discussed as an important data. Because in the labor regime, the fact that the worker cannot even obtain the insurance right, which is the most basic right, can be interpreted as one of the most basic parameters that prevent the execution of qualified business processes in that line of business. This is a phenomenon that suppresses the worker's desire to build their future and has the power to negatively affect their daily life habits, social life and emotional world.

**Board 1. Do You Have Social Security? (Excluding Students and Unemployed)**

Do you have social security in your job?					Total
Which Line of Business (Profession) You Work		No	Yes	No answer	
	Private School Staff	20,3%	79,7%		100%
	Warehouse Staff	27,1%	69,4%	3,5%	100%
	Service Sector Employees (Except Education Health Market Store)	45,3%	54,7%		100%
	Market Store Employees	32,3%	67,7%		100%
	Bike Couriers	36,8%	63,2%		100%
	Qualified Experts (Plaza Staff)	28%	72%		100%
	Health care Staff	8,4%	86,9%	4,7%	100%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>27,4%</b>	<b>71,5%</b>	<b>1,1%</b>	<b>100%</b>

We asked all participants whether they "have ever worked without insurance". When cross-analysed on the basis of business line for all participants, 60.9 percent of private education institution teachers, 68.2 percent of warehouse workers, 53.4 percent of service sector workers, 69.7 percent of unemployed youth, 66.7 percent of store employees, 53.9 percent of students, 55.1 percent of moto-couriers, 65.7 percent of qualified specialists and 36.8 percent of private health institution employees answered "Yes".

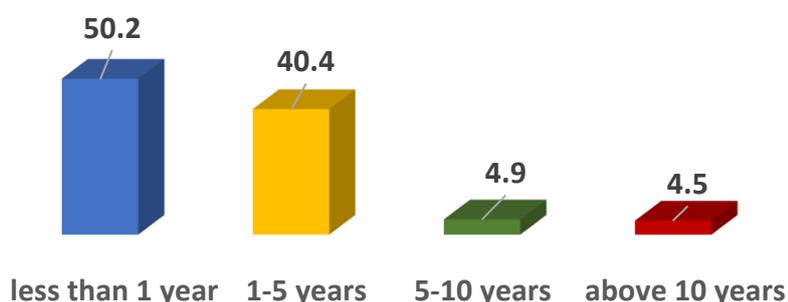
**Board 2. Have you ever worked without insurance? (All Participants Included)**

Business line	No	Yes	Total
Private School Teachers	39,1	60,9	100%
Warehouse Staff	31,8	68,2	100%
Service Sector Employees (Except Education Health Market Store)	46,6	53,4	100%
Unemployed Youth	30,3	69,7	100%
Market Store Employees	33,3	66,7	100%
Students	46,1	53,9	100%
Bike Couriers	44,9	55,1	100%
Qualified Experts (Plaza Staff)	34,3	65,7	100%
Health care Staff	63,2	36,8	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>41,2</b>	<b>58,8</b>	<b>100%</b>

As can be seen, 58.8 percent of the young population has been forced to work without social security at some point in their lives. While it is observed that working without insurance has turned into a normal and ordinary practice in the labor regime, the main point to be emphasized and questioned based on this data is that the worker has normalized this situation. The reasons underlying the acceptance of this practice, even at one time in the working life, should be emphasized.

Those who stated that they worked without insurance were asked how long they had worked without insurance, 50.2% of them worked for less than one year, 40.4 percent between 1-5 years, 4.9 percent between 5-10 years, 4 percent. 5 of them state that they have been working without insurance for more than 10 years.

Chart 15. Uninsured Working Time (All Participants)



When the uninsured working year is analyzed cross wise by business line, it is clear that long term uninsured employment is a routine practice against all workers in all sectors, regardless of their professional formations or whether they are educated. When this situation is questioned in the focus group interviews, which is the second step of the study, offers to workers "either I should take out your insurance or add the difference to their salary" are widely made, especially in small businesses, and they generally accept this practice in order to get a slightly higher wage due to the lack of cash income of their workers. information has been reached. In the education sector, it has been learned that teachers working in some branches have to work in several schools or private teaching institutions in return for their hourly wages, so most enterprises do not provide insurance. As a matter of fact, another information obtained is that in the education sector, teachers are divided into a hierarchical structure according to the number of questions that will appear in the exams that students will take, and if the branch you have does not affect the exam result of the student too much, your salary and side social rights can be easily usurped.

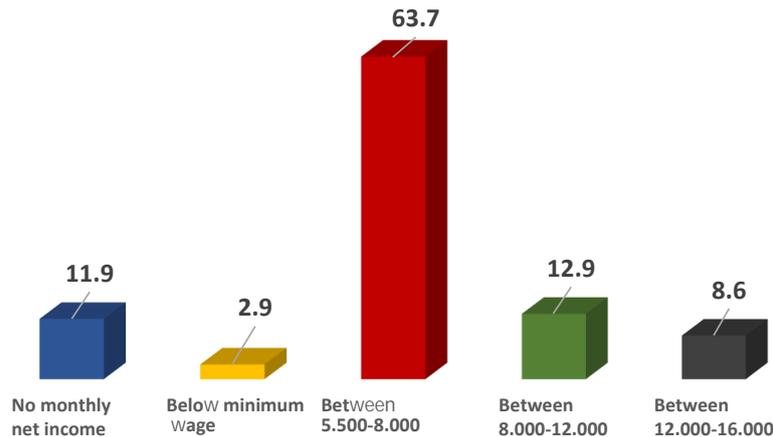
**Board 3. Uninsured Working Time/Line of Business Analysis (Excluding Students and Unemployed)**

Which Line of Business (Profession) You Work	How many years did you work without security?				Total	
	Time	less than 1 year	1-5 years	5-10 years		over 10 years
Private School Staff		39%	51,9%	6,5%	2,6%	100%
Warehouse Staff		42,6%	57,4%			100%
Service Sector Employees (Except Education Health Market Store)		51,9%	22,2%	11,1%	14,8%	100%
Market Store Employees		37,9%	50%	6,1%	6,1%	100%
Bike Couriers		33,3%	33,3%	16,7%	16,7%	100%
Qualified Experts (Plaza Staff)		53%	39,4%	3,0%	4,5%	100%
Health care Staff		25%	75%			100%
<b>Total</b>		<b>40,2%</b>	<b>47,6%</b>	<b>6,2%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Income Data**

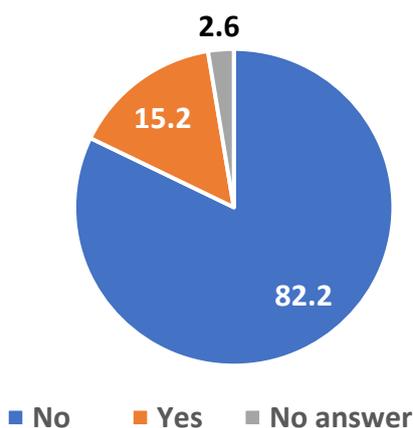
When we asked the participants about their monthly income, 11.9 percent said they could not specify a clear figure, 2.9 percent had income below the minimum wage, 63.7 percent said they were between 5,500-8,000 TL, 12.9 percent said they had an income of 8,000-12,000 TL, 8.6 percent of them declared that they have income between 12.000-16.000 TL. As seen in the data, it can be said that the minimum wage band has become the general income band for employees.

Chart 16. Monthly Income



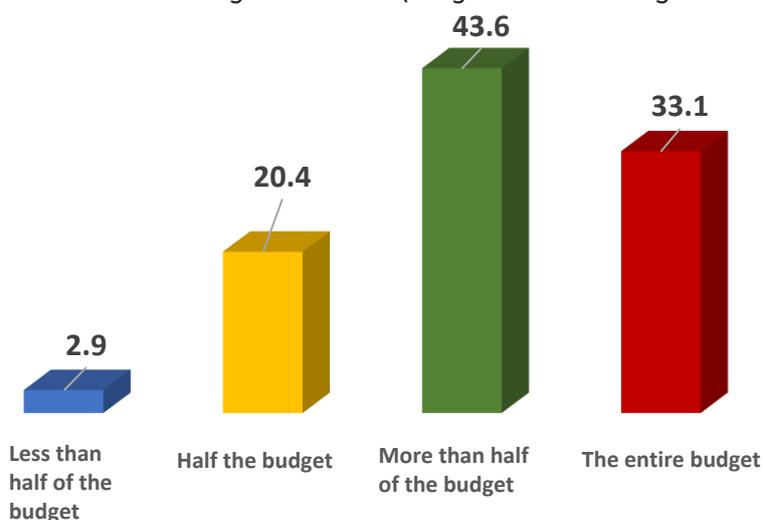
When the participants were asked whether they had additional income, 82.2 percent answered "No" and 15.2 percent answered "Yes". As can be seen from the data, apart from the minimum wage, which has become the general wage policy for the majority of employees, they are deprived of any additional resources that can contribute to their lives, increase their purchasing power or take any action to realize themselves.

Chart 17. Do You Have Additional Income?



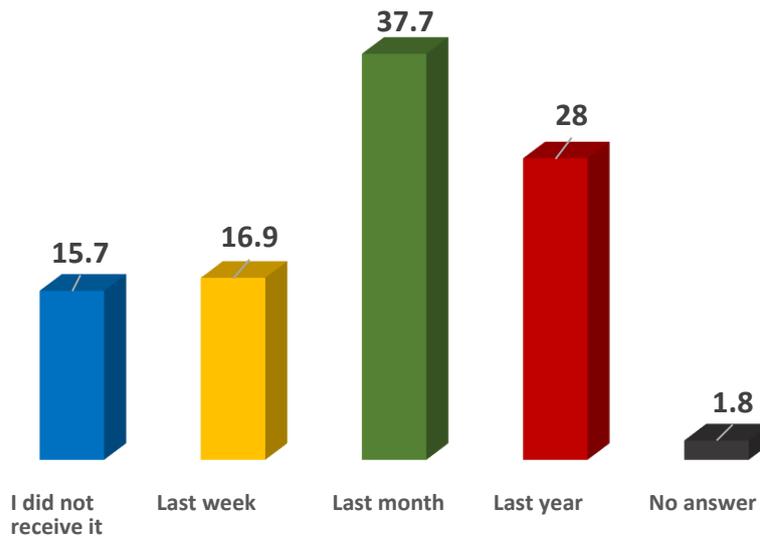
When asked how much of their monthly income they spend on their essential needs (shelter, education, health, food, etc.), those who declare that they have a monthly income, 2.9 percent say less than half of their budget, 20.4 percent say at least half of it, 43.6% of it spends more than half of its budget, and 33.1% of it the entire budget. When evaluated together with the previous data, it is possible to reach more meaningful results. A very large part of the income obtained for the general staff is spent only to meet the essential needs. This can be interpreted as data showing that there is no additional source for self-generating actions stated in the previous data.

Chart 18. Mandatory Need Share (Only Those Declaring Income)



We asked all participants when was the last time they bought something just because they wanted it, except for essential needs. 15.7 percent of the participants stated that they did not receive it, 16.9 percent said they bought it last week, 37.7 percent last month, 28 percent last year.

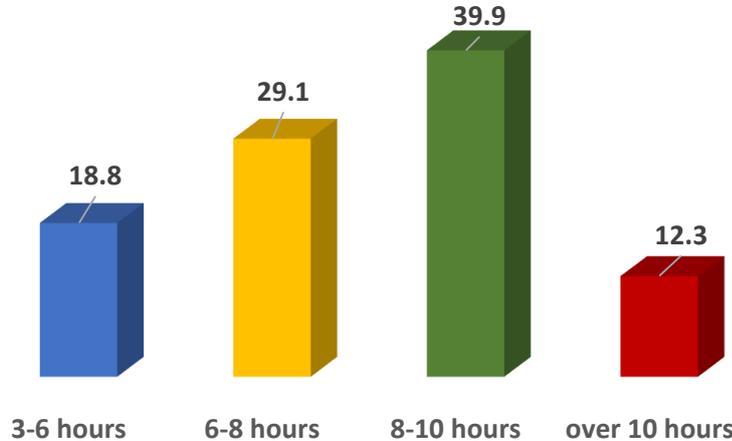
Chart 19. Mandatory Unnecessary Spending Time



## Work Regime

We asked the participants who continue their business life actively, some questions about the working order in their line of business. First of all, when we ask how many hours they work in a day, 18.8 percent of the employees say between 3-6 hours, 29.1 percent between 6-8 hours, 39.9 percent between 8-10 hours and 12.3% states that they work more than 10 hours. As can be seen from the data, the daily routine working hours are over 8 hours for the majority of the employees.

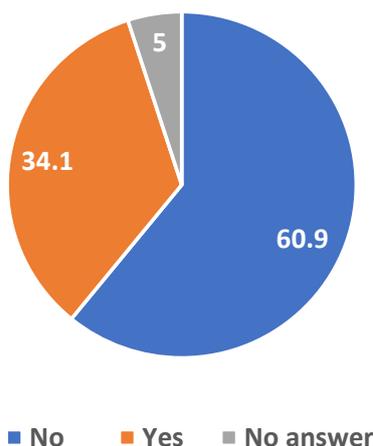
Chart 20. Daily Working Hours (Employees Only)



When we asked the participants who stated that they worked overtimes exceeding 8 hours a day, if they work overtime (working more than 8 hours a day is considered overtime according to the Labor Law and additional wages must be paid to the worker). u “No”, 34.1 percent answered “Yes”. In addition to this question, when we asked whether they had shift systems, 67.1 percent said they did not, 27.1 percent said they did, and 5.8 percent did not answer this question.

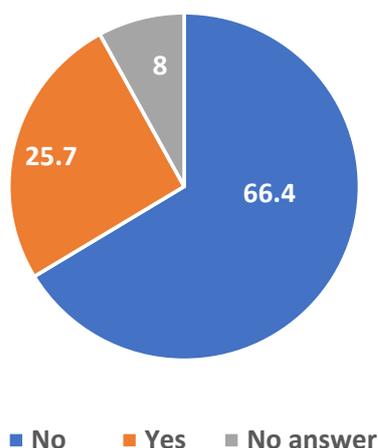
4 cf. Rules determined by Law No. 4857, Article 63 and Regulation on Overtime and Overtime Working on Labor Law

Chart 21. Are There Any Overtime Fees? (Only Those Working Over 8 Hours)



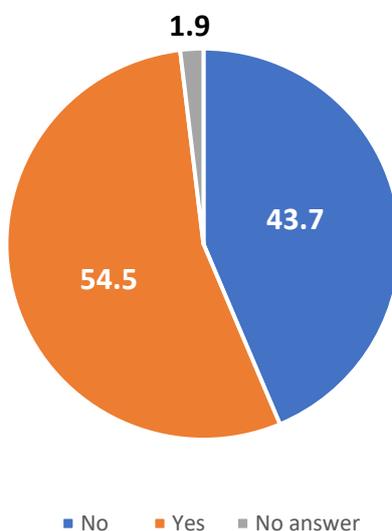
We only asked the employees whether there is a shift system in their workplaces, 25.7 percent of the employees answered "Yes" and 66.4 percent "No".

Chart 22. Do You Have a Shift System? (Employees Only)



We asked the employees with shift practice whether the demands of the worker were taken into account when shift arrangements were made, and 54.5 percent answered "Yes" and 43.7 percent answered "No".

Chart 23. Are the Worker's Demands Considered in the Shift Arrangement?



When we asked only the employees whether they could take leave during public holidays and holidays, 60.8 percent answered "Yes" and 34.9 percent answered "No". When we asked whether they had a policy, 65.9 percent answered "No" and 33.7% answered "Yes".

As can be seen from the data obtained, the employees are not given the right to overtime or the right to leave on official days and holidays, or even the additional wages to be paid on such days, which are guaranteed by the law. This can be interpreted as insecurity being transformed into a routine that employees have to endure in business life.

Chart 24. Do you work on Public Holidays and Holidays? (Employees Only)

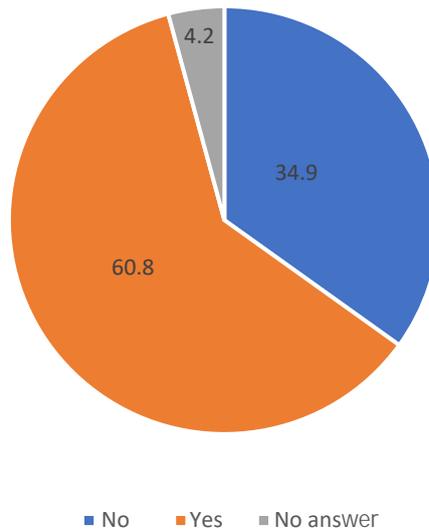
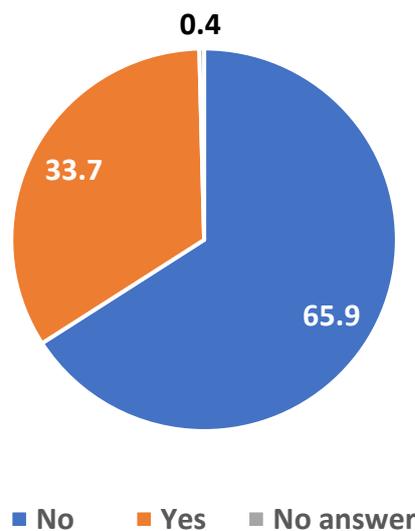


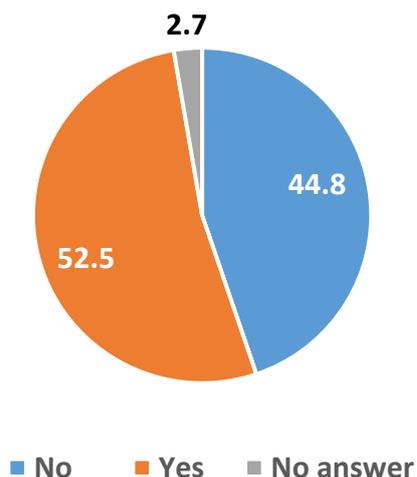
Chart 25. Are There Any Additional Fees on Public Holidays and Holidays? (Only Public Holidays and Holidays Employees)



## Belonging to Work and Willingness to Maintain

When we asked those who are actively in business whether they define their job as their profession, 52.5 percent answered "Yes" and 44.8 percent answered "No". When we cross-analyze this question on the basis of gender, 38.1 percent of women answer "No", 59 percent "Yes", 49.9 percent of men answer "No" and 47.7 percent "Yes".

**Chart 26.** Do You Describe This Job As Your Profession? (Employees Only)



**Chart 4.** Do You Describe This Job As Your Profession? /Gender

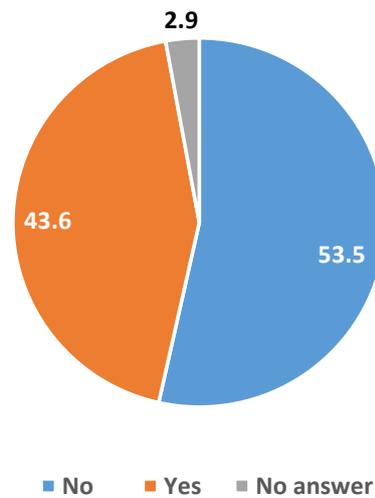
Do You Describe This Job As Your Profession?				
Gender	No	Yes	No answer	Total
Female	38,1%	59%	2,9%	100%
Male	49,9%	47,7%	2,5%	100%
Total	44,8%	52,5%	2,7%	100%

When the question of "Do you define your job as your profession" on the basis of Line of Business is cross-analyzed, the work of employees in other business lines is classified as their profession, except for teachers (71.1%), health professionals (77.4%) and qualified specialists (70.8%). Identification rates seem to remain at very low levels.

**Board 5. Do You Describe This Job As Your Profession? / Business line**

Do you define your job as your "profession" in your line of business?				
Business line	No	Yes	No answer	Total
Private School Staff	25%	71,1%	3,9%	100%
Warehouse Staff	62,4%	37,6%		100%
Service Sector Employees (Except Education Health Market Store)	45,3%	36%	18,7%	100%
Market Store Employees	74%	26%		100%
Bike Couriers	64,4%	35,6%		100%
Qualified Experts (Plaza Staff)	29,2%	70,8%		100%
Health care Staff	22,6%	77,4%		100%
Total	44,8%	52,5%	2,7%	100%

**Chart 27. Does your job make you happy? (Employees Only)**



When the job satisfaction is analyzed on the basis of business line, market store employees (67.7%) and bike couriers (73.5%) are the most unhappy employees, while the happiest employees are Skilled Professionals (59.8%), Educators (57%) and health workers (54.2%).

**Board 6. Does your job make you happy? / Business line**

Does your job make you happy?				
Business Line	No	Yes	No answer	Total
<b>Private School Staff</b>	43%	57%		100%
Warehouse Staff	66,3%	33,7%		100%
Service Sector Employees (Except Education Health Market Store)	36%	36%	28%	100%
Market Store Employees	67,7%	32,3%		100%
Bike Couriers	73,5%	26,5%		100%
Qualified Experts (Plaza Staff)	40,2%	59,8%		100%
Health care Staff	45,8%	54,2%		100%
Total	53,5%	43,6%	2,9%	100%

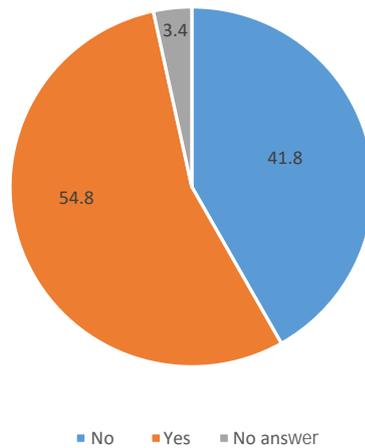
Nevertheless, the rate of unhappy people in all occupational groups corresponds to almost half of the workers. When the same question is analyzed on the basis of gender, it is seen that female employees are happier than male employees (53.1%) and male employees are more unhappy (60.9%).

**Board 7. Does your job make you happy? / Gender**

Does your job make you happy?				
Gender	No	Yes	No answer	Total
Female	43,6%	53,1%	3,3%	100%
Male	60,9%	36,4%	2,7%	100%
	53,5%	43,6%	2,9%	100%

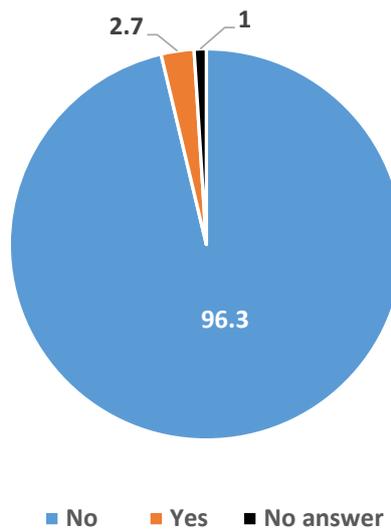
In addition to the fact that the majority of people are unhappy with their job, when we asked the employees whether they would "continue with their work", 54.8 percent answered "Yes" and 41.8 percent answered "No".

Chart 28. Do you intend to continue your work?



In addition to the high rates of unhappiness in business life, we asked the participants, "Are people happy in Turkey?" 96.3 percent think that they are unhappy.

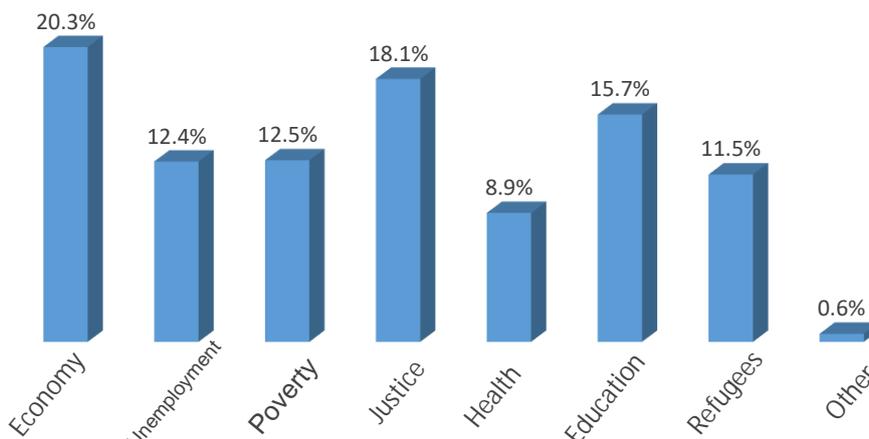
Chart 29. Are People Happy in Turkey? (All Participants)



### Problems and Future Expectation

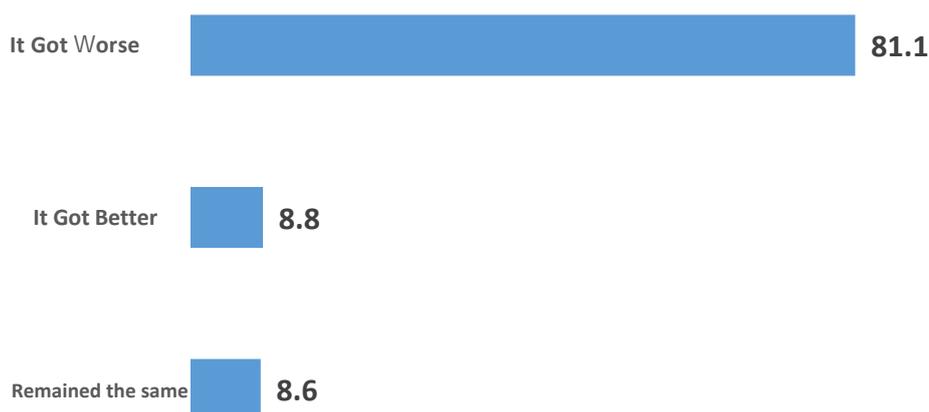
When we ask what are the three most important problems of Turkey that need to be solved urgently, the participants state the economic problems in the first place with 20.3 percent, the justice problem in the second place with 18.1 percent and the education problem with 15.7 percent. They then list poverty (12.5%), unemployment (12.4%), asylum seekers (11.5%), health (8.9%) and other problems. When we evaluate the poverty and unemployment problem and the title of economy together in this answer order, it can be said that people in the country see the problems related to the economy as the most urgent problem awaiting solution.

Chart 30. The 3 Most Important Problems of Turkey that Need to be Solved Urgently



"When you consider your Standard of Living and expectations, is your situation better than a year ago?" We asked, 82.4 percent got worse, 8.6 percent said it remained the same, while the rate of those who said it got better was only 9.0 percent.

Chart 31. Standard of Living Compared to One Year Ago



When we analyze the standard of living situation according to the "Gender" parameter compared to the previous year, 82 percent of the women said "it got worse" while only 7.9 percent said "it got better". In the same question, 80.3 percent of men answered "it got worse".

Board 8. Last Year Living Standard Status/Gender

Gender	Considering your Standard of Living and expectations, is your situation better than a year ago?			
	Remains the Same	It Got Better	It Got Worse	Total
Female	9,9%	7,9%	82%	100%
Male	7,1%	9,8%	80,3%	100%
Total	8,6%	9,0%	82,4%	100%

When we analyze the question of the standard of living situation on the basis of the business line of all participants compared to the previous year, the answer was worse in the 80 percent band in all business lines, while the answer "it was worse" was measured at a lower rate only in health workers (68.2%) compared to other sectors. Likewise, the response of "it was better" was measured at a higher rate in health sector workers (17.8%) than in other sectors.

**Board 9. Last Year Living Standard Status/Line of Business**

Considering your Standard of Living and expectations, is your situation better than a year ago?					Total
Which is your business line (profession)		Remains the same	It Got Better	It GotWorse	
	Private School Staff	12,5%	3,9%	83,6%	100%
	Warehouse Staff	14,1%	16,5%	69,4%	100%
	Service Sector Employees (Except Education Health Market Store)	4,0%	14,7%	76,0%	100%
	Unemployed Youth	4,3%		95,7%	100%
	Market Store Employees	8,3%	10,4%	81,3%	100%
	Students	7,0%	5,6%	86,9%	100%
	Bike Couriers		9,3%	81,4%	100%
	Qualified Experts (Plaza Staff)	16,0%	11,3%	72,6%	100%
	Health care Staff	14,0%	17,8%	68,2%	100%
Total		8,6%	9,0%	82,4%	100%

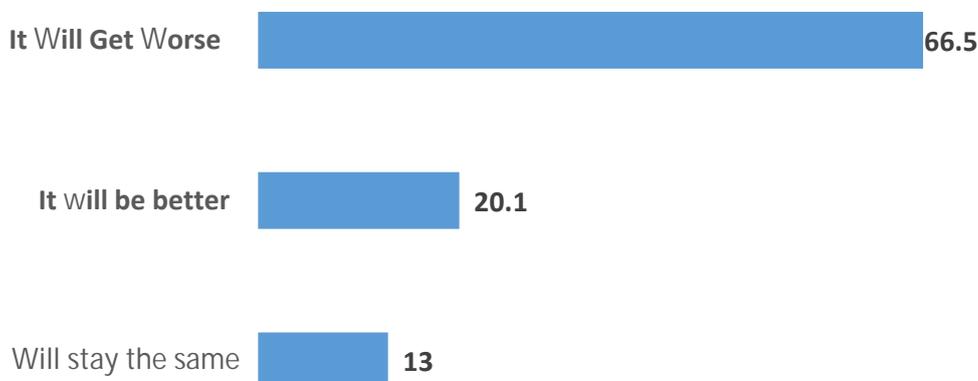
Finally, when we analyze the standard of living question on the basis of age parameter compared to the previous year, the highest rate of response (85.6%) was found in the 23-38 age group, while the highest rate (10.5%) was found in the 17-22 age group. ) "it got better" response was measured.

**Board 10. Last Year Standard of Living Status/Line of Business**

Age	How Was Your Standard of Living Compared to Last Year?				Total
		Remains the Same	It Got Better	It GotWorse	
17-22		9,6%	10,5%	78,5%	100%
23-28		6,3%	8,0%	85,6%	100%
29-34		10,7%	9,1%	74,3%	100%
35-40		15,1%	3,8%	81,1%	100%
Total		8,6%	9,0%	82,4%	100%

In the continuation of this question, we asked, “Do you think your situation will be better next year?” in order to measure their expectations for the future. While 66.5 percent of the participants say it will get worse, 13 percent say it will stay the same, the rate of those who believe it will get better is 20.1 percent.

Chart 32. Expectation of Standard of Living in the Next Year



When the question "How will your situation be next year", which we asked to understand the direction of future expectations of all participants, was analyzed according to the gender parameter, it was measured that 68.5 percent of women and 64.5 percent of men answered "it will be worse".

Board 11. Future Expectation/Gender

Gender	Do you think your situation will be better next year?				Total
	Will Stay The Same	It will be better	It Will Get Worse	No Answer	
Female	16,9%	14,6%	68,5%		100%
Male	9,2%	25,5%	64,5%	0,8%	100%
Total	13%	20,1%	66,4%	0,4%	100%

When the same question is analyzed according to the line of business parameter, 75 percent of the employees of private education institutions answered “it will be worse” and it was determined that they were the group with the highest rate of negative expectations, while it was observed that there was an average of 65 percent negative expectations in all other business lines.

**Board 12. Future Expectation/Line of Business**

	How do you think your situation will be next year?				Total	
		Will be the same	Will be better	Will get worse		No Answer
Which is your business line (profession)	Private School Staff	10,2%	14,8%	75%		100%
	Warehouse Staff	17,4%	31,4%	51,2%		100%
	Service Sector Employees (Except Education Health Market Store)	8,1%	23,0%	63,5%	5,4%	100%
	Unemployed Youth	15,9%	16,7%	67,4%		100%
	Market Store Employees	20,8%	14,6%	64,6%		100%
	Students	17,4%	11,3%	71,4%		100%
	Bike Couriers		36,8%	63,2%		100%
	Qualified Experts (Plaza Staff)	10,4%	16,0%	73,6%		100%
	Health care Staff	13,1%	28,0%	58,9%		100%
	Overall Rate	13%	20,1%	66,4%	0,4%	100%

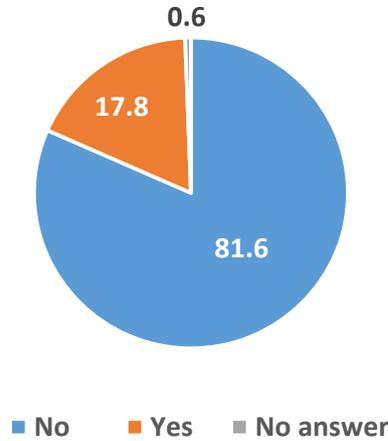
When we analyze the direction of future expectation according to the age parameter, it is seen that the most hopeful group is the 17-22 age group (24.5%), while it is seen that there is a negative expectation for the future in the 70 percent band for all groups.

**Board 13. Future Expectation/Age**

	Do you think your situation will be better next year?				Total	
		Will be the same	Will be better	Will get worse		No answer
Age	17-22	16,3%	24,5%	58%	1,1%	100%
	23-28	12,4%	16,2%	71,3%		100%
	29-34	12,4%	21%	66,7%		100%
	35-40		22,2%	77,8%		100%
	Total		13,1%	20,1%	66,4%	0,4%

## Solution Expectations

Ask the participants, "Can existing political parties solve Turkey's problems?" When we asked, 81.6% of the participants answered "No" and 17.8% answered "Yes". Considering the data of 66.5 percent of participants who think their life will be worse in the coming period,



It can be interpreted that young voters in the 18-35 age group do not have expectations from the political institution and do not hope to find solutions to their problems through the political institution.

Chart 33. Can Political Parties Solve Problems?

"Do you think existing political parties can solve Turkey's problems?" When we analyzed the question according to the gender parameter, it was measured that 88.9 percent of women and 74.3 percent of men answered "No".

Board 14. Can Political Parties Solve Problems?/Gender

Gender	Do you think existing political parties can solve Turkey's problems?				Total
	No	Yes	No answer		
Female	88,8%	10,9%	0,4%		100%
Male	74,3%	24,9%	0,8%		100%
Total	81,6%	17,8%	0,6%		100%

When the same question was analyzed according to the age parameter, it was seen that the 23-28 age group was the group that believed the least in the resolution capacity of political parties by saying "No" with a rate of 89 percent. In addition, the age group with the highest rate of confidence among the other groups was the 35-40 age group, with 38.9 percent answering "Yes".

**Board 15. Can Political Parties Solve Problems?/Age**

Age	Do you think existing political parties can solve Turkey's problems?				Total
		No	Yes	No Answer	
17-22		79,1%	20,6%	0,3%	100%
23-28		89%	11%		100%
29-34		73,7%	24,2%	2,2%	100%
35-40		61,1%	38,9%		100%
Total		81,6%	17,8%	0,6%	100%

When the same question is analyzed in the business line parameter, among all business line groups, those who trust political parties the most are moto couriers (36.8%), unemployed youth (25.9%) and warehouse workers (22.1%), while the entire business line It is observed that the rate of those who express distrust of political parties in their groups has increased to 80-90 percent.

**Board16. Can Political Parties Solve Problems?/Line of Business**

Which is your business line (profession)	Do you think existing political parties can solve Turkey's problems?				Total
		No	Yes	No Answer	
Private School Staff		86,8%	10,9%	2,3%	100%
Warehouse Staff		77,9%	22,1%		100%
Service Sector Employees (Except Education Health Market Store)		91,5%	8,5%		100%
Unemployed Youth		74,1%	25,9%		100%
Market Store Employees		89,6%	10,4%		100%
Students		81,7%	17,8%	0,5%	100%
Bike Couriers		63,2%	36,8%		100%
Qualified Experts (Plaza Staff)		90,7%	7,5%	1,9%	100%
Health care Staff		86%	14%		100%
Total		81,6%	17,8%	0,6%	100%

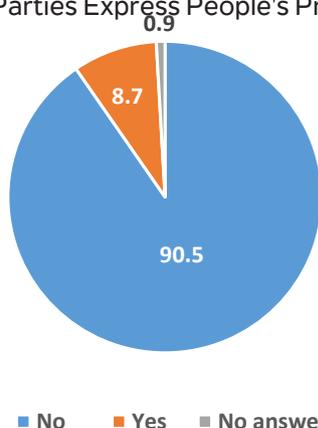
In the analysis of the question in terms of education parameter, which will help us to understand whether political parties are seen as the solution address for the problems, the highest "Yes" response rate was measured in the group of high school graduates (23.8%). The level of trust in political parties in terms of solving problems in terms of all education levels has been measured very low.

**Board 17. Can Political Parties Solve Problems?/Training**

	Do you think existing political parties can solve Turkey's problems?			Total	
	No	Yes	No Answer		
The last school you graduated from	I did not go to school	100%			100%
	Primary school	100%			100%
	Middle School	85,7%	14,3%		100%
	High school	75,9%	23,8%	0,3%	100%
	University	84,6%	14,6%	0,7%	100%
	Graduate	90,5%	9,5%		100%
	Total	81,6%	17,8%	0,6%	100%

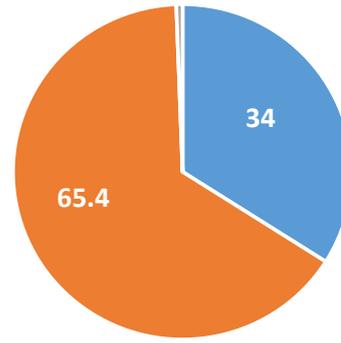
In addition to the previous question, when we asked whether the political parties representing the political institution could adequately express the problems of the people, 90.5 percent of the participants answered "No" while only 8.7 percent answered "Yes". This data also yielded results that support the interpretation made in the previous question. To repeat, young voters between the ages of 18-35 have almost no hope from the political establishment.

**Chart 34. Can Political Parties Express People's Problems Enough?**



It can be thought that the reason why the expectations of the participants from the political institution are so low may be that the solution proposals of these parties to the problems of the people or the party programs are not known, even in general terms. However, when we asked the participants whether they had any information about party programs and solution proposals, 65.4 percent of the participants answered "Yes" and 34 percent said "No". As can be seen from this data, voters – especially young voters – follow the political establishment to find solutions to their problems, but find the solution promises offered by the parties and, in fact, by the political establishment, insufficient.

Chart 35. Do You Have Information About the Programs of Political Parties?  
0.6



■ No ■ Yes ■ No answer

When the participants' knowledge about party programs, in which they share the solution proposals of political parties with the public, was analyzed in terms of gender parameter, it was determined that men (69.6%) were more knowledgeable than women (61.2%).

Board 18. Information on Programs of Political Parties/Gender

Do you have any information about the programs prepared by the current political parties to govern Turkey?					Total
Gender		No	Yes	No Answer	
	Female	38,6%	61,2%	0,2%	100%
	Male	29,5%	69,6%	0,9%	100%
Total		34%	65,4%	0,6%	100%

When the same question is analyzed according to the line of business parameter, qualified experts (82.2%), bike couriers (81.4%), educators (71.9%) and students (68.7%) have higher rates of political While it is measured that parties have knowledge about their programs, the lowest rate of knowledge is in health workers (49.5%), market-store workers (47.9%), warehouse workers (45.3%) and service sector workers (44%).

**Board 19. Information on Programs of Political Parties/Business Line**

Do you have any information about the programs prepared by the current political parties to govern Turkey?					Total
Which is your business line (profession)		No	Yes	No Answer	
	Private School Staff	28,1%	71,9%		100%
	Warehouse Staff	45,3%	54,7%		100%
	Service Sector Employees (Except Education Health Market Store)	44%	50,7%	5,3%	100%
	Unemployed Youth	37,7%	62,3%		100%
	Market Store Employees	47,9%	52,1%		100%
	Students	29,9%	68,7%	1,4%	100%
	Bike Couriers	18,6%	81,4%		100%
	Qualified Experts (Plaza Staff)	17,8%	82,2%		100%
	Health care Staff	49,5%	50,5%		100%
Total		34%	65,4%	0,6%	100%

When the state of being informed about political party programs is analyzed according to the age parameter, the highest level of awareness about political party programs is 29-34 (70.4%), while the lowest level of awareness is 35-40 (38.9%) has been an age group.

**Board 20. Information on Programs of Political Parties/Age**

Do you have any information about the programs prepared by the current political parties to govern Turkey?					Total
Age		No	Yes	No Answer	
	17-22	34,3%	64%	1,7%	100%
	23-28	35,0%	65,0%		100%
	29-34	29,6%	70,4%		100%
	35-40	38,9%	61,1%		100%
Total		34%	65,4%	0,6%	100%

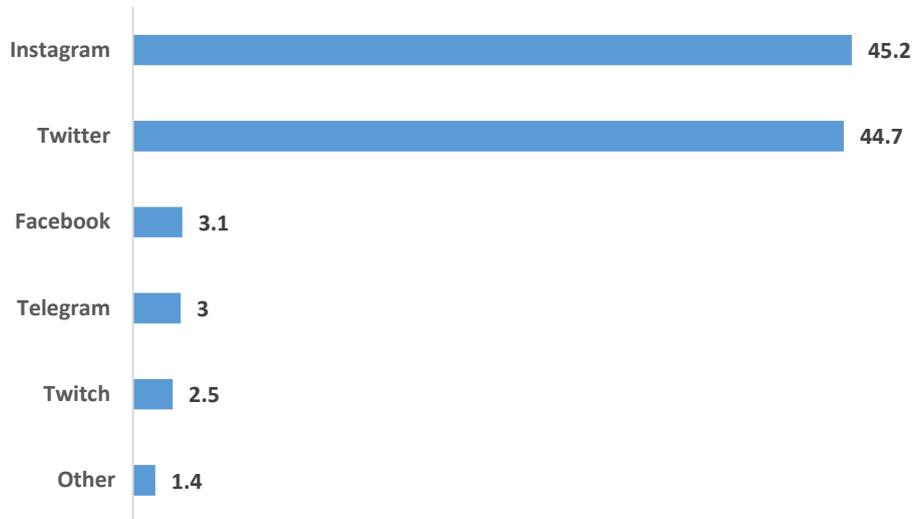
Finally, when the state of having knowledge about political party programs was analyzed according to the education parameter, it was determined that the groups with the lowest awareness were primary school graduates (100%) and secondary school graduates (42.9%). For those who are not educated, it is seen that the rate of awareness and knowledge increases as the level of education increases.

**Board 21. Information on Programs of Political Parties/Age**

Do you have any information about the programs prepared by the current political parties to govern Turkey?					Total
The last school you graduated from		No	Yes	No Answer	
	I did not go to school		100%		100%
	Primary school	100%			100%
	Middle School	42,9%	57,1%		100%
	High school	29,6%	68,8%	1,6%	100%
	University	36,9%	63,1%		100%
	Graduate	29,7%	70,3%		100%
	Total	34%	65,4%	0,6%	100%

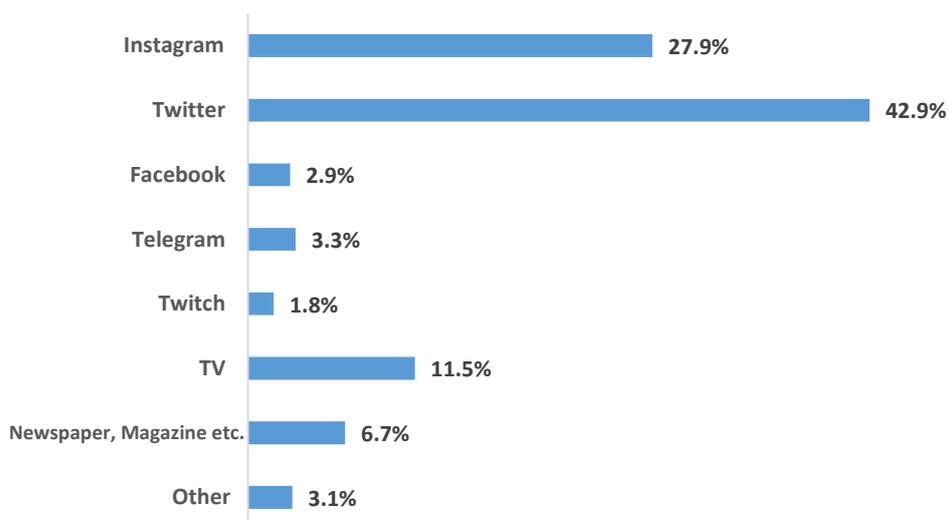
“What are the social media platforms you follow the most?” When we ask, Instagram comes first with 45.2 percent, followed by Twitter with 44.7 percent.

**Chart 36. Most Followed Social Media Platform**



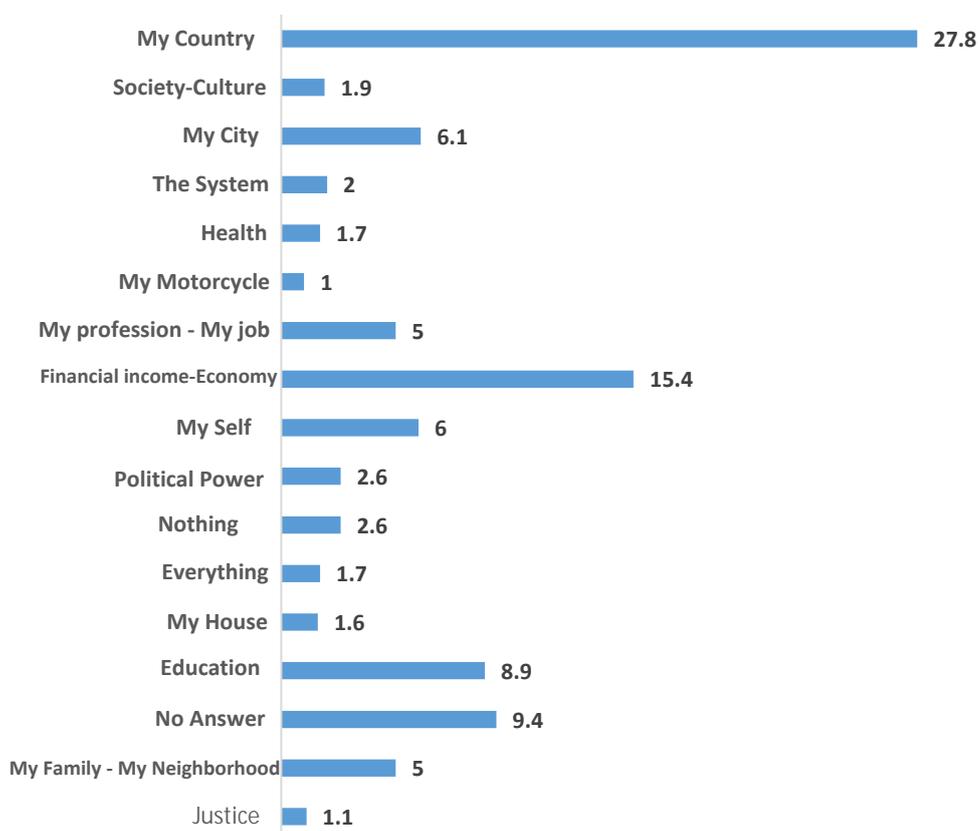
“Where do you follow the agenda the most?” When we ask a different question, 27.9 percent of the participants use Instagram, 42.9 percent Twitter, 11.5 percent television, 6.7 percent newspapers, magazines, etc. 3.3 percent stated Telegram, 2.9 percent Facebook, 1.8 percent Twitch, and 3.1 percent different social media channels.

Chart 37. Where do you follow the agenda the most?



Finally, the participants were asked, “What would you like to change first in your life if you had the opportunity to change?” We asked a question. 27.8 percent their country, 15.4 percent their financial income, their economy 8.9 percent their education, 6.1 percent their city, 6 percent themselves, 5 percent their profession, 5 percent family, 2.6 percent power, 2.6 percent nothing, 2 percent the system, 1.9 percent community culture, 1.7 percent everything, 1.7 percent health, 1 percent, Six of them stated that they wanted to change their house, 1.1 percent wanted to change the justice system, and 1 percent wanted to change their motorcycle.

Chart 38. What would you change first in your life if you had the opportunity?







## Focus Groups



## Part 2

### Focus Groups

#### Research Method

The focus group research was conducted by two moderators using semi-structured interview technique, within three different guidelines prepared by the research coordinators, based on voluntary participation. A report writer was also available in each group session.

Three different directives have been prepared in order to focus on the dynamics of different sectors and to understand the dynamics of the process in which students and the unemployed are out of working life. The guidelines are designed at three sub-levels. At the first level, it is aimed to express the problems, at the second level it is aimed to go down to the source of the problems, their causes and responsible ones, and at the third level, it is aimed to discuss the solution tools.

Within the scope of the research, a total of 12 groups were formed from bike couriers, the unemployed, private health institution employees (excluding doctors), private school teachers, market-store employees, warehouse workers, plaza workers and students. 97 people participated in the focus groups.

#### Findings from the Research

##### 1. PRIVATE SCHOOL TEACHERS

*"It is forbidden for us to die at work"*

*"The boss said to the parents, 'Don't worry, our teacher won't even have babies'."*

*"When I went to claim rights, I said, 'Teacher, are you thinking about this?' If you do not sign the contract, I will find something for the parents."*

*"Above 40 hours is prohibited, but they gave 46 hours of lessons. One day my leg swelled up when I went home and sat down. We went to the hospital, my tendons were injured. It is forbidden for the teacher to sit in the classrooms. Chairs are not placed. It is said that my teacher is active, young and dynamic."*

*"(preschool teacher) I follow the toys coming to BİM \*Discount market\* , I bought my white apron myself. We said let's form a band, they said do it out of a yoghurt bowl"*

In the first level semi-structured interviews within the scope of the prepared directive, it was aimed to first explain why they chose this line of business, what the most basic problems they encountered in the business process, how they emotionally connected with their work and whether they defined their work as a profession.

In the group session, child development, geography, special education, biology, painting, Turkish, guidance and dance teachers were found.

The vast majority of young teachers working in private schools stated that they chose the teaching profession knowingly and willingly and that they adopted their job as their profession. In the interviews, it was seen that teachers have a perspective that prioritizes social change, and that they define their professions with ideals that aim to ensure the well-being of children and strengthen them.

Another remarkable point is that private school teachers define school administrators, who mostly consist of their colleagues, as "boss" instead of the concept of "administrator". When the reason for using this concept was questioned, it was stated as the main reason that "bosses", that is, managers, are people who employ them by calculating profit and loss, and mediate their exploitation in terms of their leaves, salaries and all other rights during the working process.

## **Problems**

Among the most basic problems they have faced while doing their profession are that they have experienced an increasing loss of reputation in recent years, that they are seen as a profession that earns money without working, that they cannot get the reward of their efforts neither materially nor morally, the insecurity they experience due to the doubts experienced in central exams such as Public personnel selection examination, the fact that they are unable to take the exams. even though they got high scores, they stated that they could not be appointed due to both the interview application and the skepticism.

It has been observed that private school teachers experience problems that differ according to their branches and common problems arising from their insecure work.

The fact that education has become paid has brought private school teachers to be seen as profit and cost by "bosses", and the social, emotional and future-oriented empowering side of their work has been eliminated from the process. By making both the children receiving education and their families a part of the process, the teacher's presence at the school is reduced to a tool that will only increase commercial profits.

The fact that private school bosses establish a hierarchy among teachers' branches has been made one of the reasons for precariousness. It has been stated many times that the value of the teacher's branch, and therefore the teacher himself, is equivalent to the number of questions that will appear in any exam that the student will take. For example, if a mathematics teacher corresponds to 30 questions, the fact that the Geography teacher answers 5 questions in the eyes of the boss determines the limits of the rights that the teachers can claim.

Reducing the terms of contracts to less than 1 year by not covering the summer periods has become an important tool in the usurpation of rights..

In addition to this practice, although teachers are employed full-time and/or overtime, albeit with different excuses (training, seminars, promotion days, student selection exams, fairs or social events, etc.), such overtime is added to the contract as a natural part of the work, prevent them from charging an additional fee.

Working below the minimum wage, hourly wages, half-payment of insurance, or very easy dismissal when a permanent teacher arrives is almost routine practice in paid teaching.

A hierarchical order according to the inequality between the branches and the number of questions to be asked in the exam is also used in determining the wages during the recruitment process. Even though the routine practice is the minimum wage, in some branches, only the hourly wage of the course is given, thus usurping the right to have a say in both the insurance right and other related rights, as well as the wage and wage increase rates.

In almost all private schools, teachers are asked questions about their private lives during the recruitment process, and limitations are imposed.

Class hours, which should not exceed 40 hours according to the current legislation, are definitely increased due to practices organized under different names (etudes, seminars, shifts, etc.) and the legal course hours are never applied.

It is emphasized as a different problem area that spending special hours for parents is compulsory in almost every school. Another problem area is that parents behave like “employers” because of the encouragement they get from the school administration and the way they interact with teachers.

It is described as a routine practice that is humiliating and against human rights, especially for female teachers, that private school bosses interfere even in the private lives of teachers (whether they will give birth to a child, social media sharing should be limited, pressure not to post even pictures, they should set an example for students...).

The fact that teachers working as pre-school teachers in private schools are treated as nannies and not perceived as teachers by both parents and the administration is also cited as an example of loss of reputation.

There are problems that guidance teachers are not taken seriously because they do not attend classes, they are seen as administrative staff and they do jobs such as secretaries, they are used by administrators as a showcase in school promotion.

Another problem is expressed as the Administrators favoring and favoring teachers with whom they have good personal relations. Moreover, it is stated that such teachers are used by the administrators to prevent the emergence of the struggle for rights.

The fact that the stationery allowance that should be given to teachers is not given creates a serious economic burden for teachers in some branches. It is shown as an example that teachers who teach pre-school in private schools take their needs such as toys, erasers and activity materials out of their own pockets.

One of the most striking problems in some schools is the absence of chairs and tables for teachers to sit in in the classroom. These demands of teachers are rejected on the grounds that they have to be “young and dynamic”..

One of the most dramatic problems in special education is the overcrowded classrooms and the fact that children with very different needs are forced to receive education in the same classroom with a single teacher. Although Special Education Teachers do not have their own expertise, they have to give education to children with different special needs in the same class. Although this situation causes irreversible harm to the safety and development of children with special needs, insisting on the practice reveals the point where the "profit" ambition has come in this field, quite important.

Orthopedic disorders caused by standing constantly, throat disorders caused by constant talking, etc. Although they suffer from occupational diseases very often, they do not have any rights in this regard. It has been made very difficult for them to take sick leave and every day not attended is deducted from their wages or days off. In addition, they are not allowed to rest enough days and hours.

Finally, despite the large number of students, the low number of teachers is expressed as one of the problems of teachers working in the sector.

### **Solution suggestions, ways to cope**

*“We are under constant pressure. You cannot become a civil servant when you are caught by the police. After you are appointed, the security investigation begins”.*

Private school teachers state that they are trying to find different solutions to these problems with their individual efforts, solidarity among teachers within the school, and organizing in the newly established private school teachers' union. However, they add that the struggle developed by teachers or, more accurately, they are waged against these problems, is terrorized by administrators, bosses or the government. A small opposition to any problem in schools is met with the threat of dismissal by the administrators or the boss. Teachers, who say that they are under constant pressure to search, state that it will not be possible for them to find a job in the public sector again if they are detained in an action. On the other hand, they say that teachers, who try to act jointly for their rights, are often isolated by their colleagues, although they state that in case of meeting or talking to the administrators, no results can be achieved without collective action.

We have tried to list the demands and solution suggestions of teachers for their own problems below. In this section, the emphasis of many teachers as a common idea is the idea of bringing the "Village Institutes" system back in a modern way.

#### **Expectations;**

Bringing a base salary

Organizing working hours as in public schools Raising awareness of parents

Raising awareness of parents

Teaching without fear of losing a job, job security

Opening of Village Institutes

Abolition of fixed-term employment contracts

Guaranteeing staff costs in private schools

Having menstrual leave

Having paternity leave

Providing voice therapy opportunity for vocal cords, one of the most basic occupational diseases of teachers, Providing doctor control at certain periods for teacher health

Exclusion of religious education from pre-school period

Pre-school education is compulsory

Kindergarten teachers are not seen as nannies, this level of education is not seen as a place where children only have fun.

Strengthening the quality of education

Additional pay for overtime work

Putting tables and chairs in all classes without exception

Removal of paid, head teacher, master teacher status

Opening the way for a freer education for students, adding subjects such as sexual education and gender inequality to the curriculum.

Giving due importance to art classes

More budget allocated to student clubs

## **2. PLAZA EMPLOYEES**

“It hurts to make people's childhood dreams like that”

“I feel like a robot that knows Excel”

“Of course, the heartfelt thing is to organize, but it doesn't work, some of us have life problems.”

“When we resisted for the meal fee, they cut the secretary's travel fee, it was unfair to her”

*“The table you sit at will be taken the next day”*

*“I can't speak when I see an interview on the street, it's not even clear what will happen tomorrow”*

*“You should never be idle. That's why I take the papers in my hand and pretend to go somewhere fast in the office.”*

*“We need control. Just as the manager expects a report, companies should be audited by the state”*

*“I believe in the union, but I don't bother to go”*

*“I don't know if there is a union etc. in the sector I work in. First, I ask other friends around the world. I am progressing in the business hierarchy. It usually takes a very long time in corporate companies. If no action is taken, I go to the manager. Efficiency increases if a solution is taken. If no one does anything, unfortunately we remain silent. It's happening to you. I would like to take a step with a little collectivization. I would like to have a professional effort. Because what we swept under the carpet turns into mountains.”*

The working environments, the language they use, the architectural features of the work areas and the opportunities they have have caused a virtual perception towards the plaza employees, and these workers have found their ideal job, and the idea that they consist of the privileged in the current system has become widespread.

However, when the data obtained from the researches and the organizational experiences of the plaza workers are evaluated, it is seen that the business life of all workers, and even the private lives of many of them, except for a small privileged minority in the ruling class, are under siege.

While the most obvious reason for women working in the plaza or office to choose this profession was not being able to find a job, different reasons were expressed for male employees. It was observed that male employees defined their job as their profession at a higher rate than females and they tended to continue it more. However, what they have in common is that they are unhappy because of the living conditions imposed on them by the working conditions. It has been observed that especially employees with specific areas of expertise (law, etc.) have different problems due to the incompatibility between the ethical infrastructure of their professional formations and the work they do. However, almost all of them (including those who state that they do not want to continue) are motivated to continue with the "fear of not being able to find a new job if they leave". they express as.

## **Problems**

One of the most important problems is the lack of job descriptions. Besides the job descriptions, which are determined not according to the formation they have, but according to the service area of the company they work for, they can also differ from unit to unit.

There are no standards for working hours. Daily work continues at home. Because they are expected to follow up with constant correspondence, feedback and work.

There is a working system that is left to the initiative of the managers, and the emotional state of the managers is the most important factor that determines the motivation of the employees that day.

The imposition of restrictions on their privacy in recruitment processes. In this regard, just like teachers, women employees are asked whether they want children or not, and trying to add a clause to the contract stating that they will not become pregnant for a certain period of time.

While employees are always expected to come to work on time and this is defined as a responsibility, it is not a right that requires additional wages in cases such as overtime, work at home or on holidays outside of working hours.

Employees are constantly exposed to emotional violence and pressure in the workplace, mobbing has become an ordinary practice.

No standard of bonus system

Employees are constantly under pressure to "look good" in the workplace, but are not paid enough salary or additional allowance to look good

Huge wage gap between manager and employee

Work performance and the constant pressure to prove themselves. Expectations of gender discrimination and harassment against women.

Inadequate side rights such as road and food. Especially due to the fact that the working areas are in the upper segment of the city, and the lack of cheap meals around the workplace, the food prices are very insufficient.

Insecurity

Pressure to never be idle

### **Solution suggestions, ways to cope**

Plaza employees defined the pressure created both in their business life and in their social life as “mobbing”. Within the scope of this definition, it can be said that they see the political institution at the source of all the problems they have expressed above, even if they do not directly express it as a concept. Because; economic crisis and unstable economy management, the current situation of the country, injustice, inadequate and incorrect implementation of the laws, restriction of freedoms, lack of a culture of criticism, discrimination against women and current power are the parameters expressed as the sources of the problems.

The most important attitude against the labor regime they are in: silent resignation! Office and plaza employees express that they do not believe that their problems can be solved and better working conditions can be created, and they also believe that their actions will not be enough to change the system. The existence of millions of unemployed people abroad has become a very important tool of pressure for them to accept the current impositions. Fear of being unemployed was the most frequently cited reason for both male and female employees throughout the entire interview.

Despite all this, they resort to various ways such as trying to persuade people to resign collectively to increase wages in the workplace against inequality, oppression and exploitation in the labor regime, and revealing the unlawfulness of the old workplace to their environment.

As it turns out, even though young workers wish for a pattern of solidarity and organization, they remain inactive because of all these pressure mechanisms and fear.

In the Plaza employees groups, both female and male employees displayed a generally hopeless attitude while expressing their expectations from the political institution. Some participants in the men's group complained about the centralization of politics and stated that market conditions should be liberalized completely and problems can be solved in this way.

It has been observed that there are also differences between the demands of male plaza workers and female plaza workers, and that women include more detailed and micro-scale problems about the work and labor regime within the problems to be solved. However, it should be noted again that the common point of both groups is that their desire to organize and position themselves as a part of the solution is suppressed and they cannot overcome the wall of fear.

**Their expectations are;**

Seeing one's own generation as the ruler in politics (They don't add themselves at this point)

Merit

Improvement of the education system

A labor regime without unemployment and fear of being fired

A secular order. Not politicizing religion

Not to be confused with what women wear

Reverse brain drain

Men don't speak for themselves (men be quiet)

Safe country for women

Establishment of transparent feedback mechanisms and establishment of control mechanisms especially in their own business lines

Not being arrested after criticizing, legal assurance

Solving the immigration problem

Economic stability

### **3. PRIVATE HEALTH INSTITUTION EMPLOYEES**

"The management always looks at the patient as a customer. When the patient does something, they cover it. The coordinator says to close the shop if there is no work. Is this a textile shop?"

"When the patient who will die is taken from the house, they take the money from the state by taking the patient for a walk."

*"There are 80 doses of chest X-ray in a CT scan. They write to everyone. It's not the public's health, but the boss's profit."*

*"You're better off working in a factory because you don't risk getting cancer, we're in radiation"*

*"For example, everyone is crushing a lower rank than themselves."*

*"If the doctor does not have a patient, you will go to the cashier and look at the phone, greet the patient, or if a friend does not come, you will look for him. Even if the archive doesn't come, you'll replace him, you're going everywhere"*

*"And they say, for example, x comes and x goes, when you want to quit your job, come out, okay, see you, it's over. You have no value. Don't ask what happened, what did you do"*

*"During the pandemic, pregnant women and public employees did not go to work. But all pregnant women in private went to work"*

*"I know that at the beginning of the pandemic, we washed a mask, put it in the sterilization machine and used it again. Because it was too expensive and they didn't want to buy it"*

*"It's not how many hours you work, but how much work you do here, what you give us"*

*"You always have to be smiling. Your mood should not be low. You need to show a smiling face to every patient and take care of them in the same way, without reflecting your personal problems. We're making money from here, it's back to business"*

*"We are human too. He says you will come to a private hospital well kept. It is forbidden to come to work without make-up. There is no time to do my self-care so that I can come well groomed. I can't spare time for my own child"*

## **Problems**

The most up-to-date statistics on the number of healthcare professionals in Turkey were published in 2020. As of January 1, 2020, the total number of doctors in Turkey was 164,594, while the total number of nurses was 198,465. However, 61.4 percent of the doctors work in the Ministry of Health, 20.4 percent in universities and 18.2 percent in the private sector. The total number of dentists in Turkey is 32,859. After about 8 thousand health workers resigned from public institutions after the resignation ban during the pandemic process, the Turkish Medical Association (TTB) underlined a possible chaos in the field of health if this situation continues. While some of these people go to the private sector; According to the statement dated 12 October 2021, it was determined that 5 thousand people applied to the TTB for a work permit abroad. While the white code rates showing violence in health, which is one of the important reasons that lead health workers to resign, increased from 11 thousand 942 in 2020 to 29 thousand 826 in 2021. According to the TTB, 84 percent of healthcare workers experience violence at least once in their professional life. Again, according to the statistics announced in 2020, the ratio of health expenditure to gross national product in Turkey was 4.7 percent. It ranks last among OECD and EU members.

Although they are in the system, it is more accurate that laboratory workers, radiology technicians, medical secretaries, dental technicians, psychologists serving in the field of mental health, social workers and patient caregivers working in the hospital system, that is, other health workers, although they have their own problems, are not visible enough in the public. In other words, the fact that they are not seen as health workers has an effect that magnifies the problems.

According to the findings we have obtained in our research, private sector healthcare professionals work under the pressure of insecurity, as in other employee groups. In the group sessions, both male and female employees were obliged to do every job in the hospital or clinic despite their professional formation, that few personnel, too much work, long shifts, insufficient leave policy was a routine practice, and that the leave resulting from exposure to substances such as radiation in some special units they worked in was a routine practice. They state that even the short-time working rights are not used and that the audits on this subject are not carried out in accordance with the procedure.

They state that they are under constant performance pressure, this situation disrupts the work peace among the employees, health services are not provided as a team work, and working in a hierarchical order wears them out more.

Moreover, they state that they do not have the chance to move to different sectors since the sector in which they gained work experience is a specific field, and that the high number of unemployed people in this field is constantly used as a threat to them.

Employees in this field are also under an emotional burden due to the unethical practices they encounter. They state that as a result of the privatization of health, the decision of all the treatment processes of the patient, even the drugs to be used to revive the patients at risk of death, is based on the profit-loss relationship.

A participant who shared a case study on this subject stated that "the number of adrenaline injections is limited, the number of uses was exceeded in one patient (4 needles were used), but the patient did not return to life despite this, and everyone talked about the use of 4 needles". "The thought is that you spent 4 adrenaline, the patient did not come back to life, what will you say to the boss"

In addition, they state that their personal rights are constantly usurped, their insurance is mostly paid over the minimum wage, or that some special depreciation wages that they must receive in the units they work are added to their salaries, but they give these allowances to the hospital accounting manually, and this has become a routine practice in the entire sector.

They think that doctors are not the only victims of violence in health, that all health professionals are exposed to violence, but that this is not visible enough in the public. They interpret it as a reflection of the hierarchy among health workers.

Finally, they say that patients' rights are constantly violated, people are asked for more expensive imaging services or hospitalized when they do not need them, and they are worn out due to the weight of violating moral responsibilities and professional ethical rules because they cannot do anything against these unethical practices.

### **Solution suggestions, ways to cope**

It has been observed that healthcare professionals see the health system and the current government directly at the source of their problems. Although they work in the private sector, many of them have different professional platforms where they can establish relationships with public employees, and the fact that some standards arising from the special structure of health practices have an effect that makes it easier for them to communicate. In addition, it is said that different organizations in the field of health are able to demonstrate common struggle practices against the problems arising from the system. However, as in other sectors, precarization in the health sector is expressed as the main reason that hinders the potential to struggle.

Unlike other fields, the existence of unions in this sector, their action practices and positive or negative results are known by the employees. To put it briefly, their awareness of organizational tools is quite high. This seems to have caused the opposite effect as well. They make serious criticisms against existing trade unions and professional organizations, both structurally and through their struggle practices. They openly state that they have trust problems with existing structures. It was clearly observed during our study that they trust professional organizations more than unions.

#### **expectations;**

Setting up and arranging working hours

Equal pay for equal work and base salary application

Standardization in personal rights

Not doing non-formal work

Preventing the use of unemployment as a pressure tool

Difficulty in layoffs

Legal assurance against arbitrary practices of administrators

Taking into account the demands of the worker in the watch applications

Increasing the number of employees

More usage of social media

More usage of social media by politicians

#### **4. THE UNEMPLOYED**

*"This country has finished our youth, I can't even dream anymore, they took people's imaginations"*

*"Philosophers lived comfortably and could think of changing, we cannot live comfortably and we cannot think about change because our psychology is not good".*

*"Job dislike is offered to accuse, even if all conditions are met, we may not like the job"*

*"They teach us to be content with little, will they be able to be content with themselves that they teach us?"*

*"Motorcycle license is more valuable than a university degree in Turkey"*

*"I don't like this country, it is not a country to live in. My psychology is upside down"*

*"I am constantly applying to online job search sites. They called once, and then they called by mistake"*

*"I want to discourage going abroad!"*

*"I would not want to be born in this era"*

*"We can't cope, we don't live our age so everyone feels like 40-50"*

*"I have patience until the next election, if it doesn't improve, I'm out"*

#### **Problems**

In recent years, a new concept has come to the fore while defining youth unemployment. The concept of "home youth" is now used in the literature for these young people. The increase in labor productivity due to globalization and technological development all over the world is higher than the increase in labor supply, increasing global competition and trade volume and technological developments have increased global labor productivity by putting pressure on costs. In a way, there is a process of "employment-free growth" in the world. In addition to this, the regulations made to increase employment in favor of the youth are carried out to the detriment of the workers who are already working in the system, the young people are seen as cheap labor warehouses on the pretext of their inexperience, the middle-aged workers are seen as those who occupy the jobs that the youth need to work inefficiently, and they are forced to retire.

The fact that the high number of unemployed young people is used as a justification for both the usurpation of the rights of the employees and the dismissal processes are some of the most basic results of the researches.

In the focus group sessions, it was the unemployed who expressed their depressive behavior patterns and mood disorders most clearly and frequently. It was observed throughout the session that the process they went through had a traumatic effect. Because it was one of the problems stated that the process did not only have an effect limited to themselves, but also negatively affected family and other social environment relations. They describe the disappointment not only of themselves but also of their families as a factor that increases the effects of their negative emotions. Many of the participants in the unemployment session are graduates of undergraduate programs. The most basic feature noticed in these young people is that they are convinced of the inadequacy of both themselves and the education they receive due to the treatments they are exposed to during the job search process, and they believe that they should constantly improve themselves. However, they feel that they are in a vicious circle because they cannot achieve their economic freedom, which is said to be quite expensive for this type of additional education. The cycle of "I have to find a job", "a diploma is not enough, I have to gain qualifications to differentiate myself", job application, experience request, "How can I get experience without working?", "Then work voluntarily (free) and write it on your CV" has become the common life experience of all of them. . Almost all of them worked in precarious, temporary jobs. For those who have the chance to find a job in their own professional formation, it is a routine practice to have every job done, to have long working hours, to impose all kinds of inequality due to being young, and to usurp their right to equal pay for equal work. Many have experienced that the qualifications and rights specified in job applications are differentiated during the application process. Some of them were dismissed after being hired, after working for months without insurance even under the name of probationary period, saying "The trial period is over, we did not like its performance" or "We think it is not suitable for this job".

### **Solution suggestions, ways to cope**

It has been observed that the young unemployed are able to establish their relationship with the political institution. According to them, incompetence and incompetence are the most basic features of the entire political institution. It can be said that they do not see the political institution, which they see as the source of the problems, as responsible for the solution, because they openly express that they do not trust the political institution and politicians. It has been observed that they do not have the opportunity to experience social solidarity networks or different forms of organization outside the political institution, and they also take their share from the common social fear climate. First of all, they are in constant despair because they do not believe in the possibility of anything getting better, and this is evident in all the processes in which they express themselves.

However, when asked what they expect from politics; Concepts such as transparency, merit, equality, control, especially young people being managers in political parties, change in the presidential system, justice were used.

expectations;

Politicians do more for youth unemployment

Equal opportunity in education

Expanding and increasing the quality of vocational training

A mechanism to guide the preferences of young people correctly  
Editing job application processes  
Prohibition of uninsured internship and probationary work  
Changing the education system  
Minimum income guarantee within the scope of the rights to live  
Changing the scope and nature of social assistance  
More visible youth in politics  
Making more programming for problems on social media  
Politicians talk about solutions instead of problems

## 5. BIKE COURIERS

*"I think the couriers should all be united. We need to raise our voices together or reach out to them. Because they don't reach us, obviously they won't."*

*"For example, you don't even need a health report when applying for a job elsewhere, they say bring your ID and start right away"*

*"I am so used to it that when I get another job, I get bored and shrink. It gets very different. Going indoors, for example, working in a restaurant is overwhelming. Because you always see the same environment there, but outside you are free as you wish. There is also a freedom in motorcycling, you can travel outside as you wish"*

*"You are not saying that this man does not have a driver's license, what is he doing here? You say let it stay, you say I'm going to deal with it. The man drives low cc bikes with his B license, he does not receive bike training. Our A2 license does not pass the trainings, courses and exams we went through. But he can still get on the road with a two-wheeled vehicle."*

"I knew one guy who was working at the airport, the caterer. The man left the airport at the time of the pandemic. They were giving them unpaid leave then, they gave them free leave for 5-6 months, the man bought a motorcycle for himself, a 50 year old dude was making Trendyol *\*delivery\** without any bike experience. But he didn't know anything about riding a motorcycle, about getting on the road. Such people. It's not the small tradesman-big tradesman's conversation, it's not knowing the motorcycles"

"You have to give your tax, your money to accounting separately, tax stamps and so on. Therefore, everyone wants to buy a courier because it is very advantageous for employers. Even if he has an accident, for example, he cannot earn money that day. But if you're insured, you can report and earn your money. Personal rights get rid of a lot of burden like insurance. Even if you earn 20 billion, your monthly income drops to 10-12 liras"

"There is no one who cares about the health of the worker. At least give us an insurance"

"It is very difficult for a courier to take a weekend off. This is slavery"

## PROBLEMS

Although bike courier is not a new profession, the number of motor courier has increased rapidly in the world and in Turkey since the 2000s, especially with the COVID-19 pandemic and the expansion of e-commerce, and the profession of motor courier has gained a new visibility. The role played by e-commerce companies engaged in food and food delivery within the expanding e-commerce sector is very important in the spread of motor-courier service. In addition to these, it should not be forgotten that many businesses/restaurants that do business in more traditional ways continue to employ bike couriers directly affiliated with them, in order not to overlook the different types of bike courier services.

The exact number of motorcouriers in Turkey is not known. According to the statements of Mustafa Toruntay, Chairman of a delivery company, there are nearly 1 million motor courier in Turkey (again, according to Toruntay, 90 percent of these bike couriers are unregistered) (Sputnik Turkey, 2021). According to the information provided by the ILO report " Psychosocial Risk Analysis in Delivery Sector Employees with a Focus on Motorcycle Couriers" published in 2022, using SGK data, the overall employment growth rate between 2005 and 2020 was 37.7 percent, while the number of couriers increased by 298.3 percent. (ILO, 2022, s. 20)<sup>5</sup>.

One of the most important distinctions regarding the bike courier profession is the distinction between tradesman courier and worker courier. This distinction is a distinction regarding the working status of bike couriers. This distinction emerged as one of the main problems of the profession in the focus group discussions. According to motocouriers, the practice of "artisan courier" is actually a scam. Because when the bike courier tradesman chooses to be a courier, he gains an increase in cash income, but cannot gain any other rights. Because the artisan couriers establish a sole proprietorship and sign business agreements with the e-commerce platforms they work with, therefore employers do not bear any personal rights of the artisan couriers they employ or the obligation to provide the materials they need during the business process. This means that tradesmen couriers will experience very serious losses in the long run. Employees who find the excess cash inflow attractive under the conditions of the economic crisis state that they cannot pay their own insurance regularly and that they have to compromise their safety despite all the risks because the engine maintenance and repair fees are excessively high. They openly state that these expense items have to be postponed constantly because they can only make a living with the money they earn. In case of any accident, they state that the institutions they carry their packages do not take any responsibility because they are tradesmen courier.

The lack of a defined overtime concept also brings about deprivation of rights such as weekly or annual leave. All the bike couriers participating in the focus group interview stated that they could not spend enough time with their families in their daily lives, not having the opportunity to go on vacation, and that they could neither live comfortably nor earn enough money to buy the motorcycle they loved and loved. At this point, the strong motorcycles makes them feel safe in business life They insist that it is one of the most important tools to keep In short, a good bike is put forward as the first condition of occupational health and safety.

<sup>5</sup>The reason why the ILO report is referenced in this excerpt, not the SGK data itself, is that the relevant SGK data could not be accessed. The ILO report does not state how many bike courier there are according to the SGK data. Only the percentages above are given. According to the statement in a Newspaper Kadıköy news, which is also included in this report and whose bibliography is also included, the number of motorcycle courier registered to SGK in 2021 is around 100,000.

Long working hours, insufficient equipment, low wages, and being left unprotected against all the risks of the profession are among the most basic problems for the worker bike courier.

The risks they all share, regardless of the working model, are listed as risks arising from having to work in all weather conditions, time pressure for deliveries, insecurity, being forced to work with unqualified and inadequate equipment. Also, they frequently mention customer-related problems. They state that they have been reported to the institutions they work for because they did not deliver on time even though they wrote insufficient addresses, that they had to violate the traffic rules to avoid time pressure and that they were often fined for this reason. Moreover, they have to pay their own traffic fines.

### **Solution suggestions, ways to cope**

The main view they have in common is the establishment of the necessary infrastructure for the definition of motorcycle coaching as a profession, the establishment of legal arrangements, the establishment of room-like structures just like taxi drivers, and the ability to do this job based on documents by going through certain training processes. In addition, tradesmen in particular want the abolition of courier services. They add that if the working conditions of couriers are improved, no one will take such a high risk to earn a little extra money.

Their organizational experience is quite limited, they are aware of some associations, but lately everyone's entry into this line of business and not being defined as a profession, and the division of work into two as tradesmen courier and contract courier are interpreted as one of the most fundamental factors preventing the establishment of formations such as unions.

They express, albeit weakly, that the labor regime works in favor of the employees at the source of their problems. However, they do not directly establish a relationship with the political establishment. Still, they point to the institution of politics as the solution address for their problems and openly express that they want to be addressed at the point reached.

#### **expectations**

The fact that people like them are politicians among themselves Mesai düzenlemesi

Standard on personnel rights

Abandoning the practice of less pay, more work, less work, more work

Defining bike courier as a profession and making it based on documents

Establishment of professional association

## 6. MARKET-STORE EMPLOYEES

"For me think about the stores like kingdoms. The manager is the king. He also has two heirs; assistant managers. They rule over the rest."

"My workplace exploits me and my union exploits me too"

"I think people have been hit on the head so much that no one can lift their head and speak. Those people are too scared to do anything, as every incoming presses on the bottom staff. I know people who work until they pass out in the market"

"Me and my other friends want to get out of here as soon as possible"

"I saw people gathering phones during working hours. The pockets of the pants in the uniform have been canceled so that he does not put a phone in his pocket, there is actually no pocket"

"There are a thousand and one kinds of people in front of you, a word of those people can take your job from you"

"You have a normal job, I don't know, working in the aisles or being a cashier. Apart from that, satisfying the customers is your extra job. You don't charge extra for it"

"Usually, nobody looks at your thank you, they look at your thanks. If you are complained you're done"

"They give more defense papers. You write on paper. I think they don't expect an explanation, the customer is always right anyway."

"My salary has fallen below the minimum wage. I don't know what caused the interruption either. I didn't even ask"

*"If we look at the cost of meals, the worst fast food for you out there is 80-90 liras.. I received 30 liras meal allowance last month. .... I work in a shopping mall, for example, I cannot eat where I work"*

*"We can take a 1-hour break a day, including meals. A toilet break is not included. I have also been informed that a report was taken because 1 hour was exceeded in other places. If we are 5 minutes late, we get scolded. They're not understanding at all, and I don't know why. Employees need some empathy, they went through the ways we went through, but if you look, they all cocky."*

*"We should not leave our table empty"*

*"If we are not busy enough to turn each other around, we can take a 15-minute breakfast break. Otherwise, we wait for the second shift. Then we come and take them out to dinner directly so that our hours can catch up. So as soon as they arrive, they have to take a break after an hour, they have to eat. His shift ends at 10. He stays hungry until 10"*

*"Our insurances are not paid, everyone worked without insurance for the first six months"*

*"They make faces when they ask for permission, frankly, I'm hesitant. The third problem is that people cannot empathize. Managers, including customers. There were times when I cried"*

## Problems

In the Turkish literature, market/store employees are generally the object of research, not the subject, and research focuses on areas such as customer satisfaction, organizational commitment, productivity, and the effect of leadership on these processes. . For this reason, the findings come out as findings that describe the effects of the conditions of the worker and even the worker himself on the sales processes of some goods, rather than describing or revealing the problems experienced by the worker in the labor regime and work processes.

The increase in the share of the retail sector and, accordingly, the service sector in the market caused a rapid increase in the number of workers serving in these areas. Workers, who were previously defined as clerks, are now known as sales consultants. Changing the name brought the workload expected from the worker to increase in terms of quality and quantity. However, it is not possible to talk about any gains that have changed in favor of the worker at the end of this process.

Sales representation has been established as a separate department in vocational high schools. Especially some chain market-stores claiming to have brand value implement training programs aimed at providing their employees with some special qualifications, and it is stated that employees are expected to strictly comply with the behavioral models expected to be obtained as a result of these trainings. While these behavioral models act from a perspective that emphasizes the rightness of the customer at all times, they state that the satisfaction of the customer, which is accepted as a benefactor, is imposed on the workers as the most primary job description..

In enterprises, workers who are forced to smile constantly for customer satisfaction are employed for an average of 10-12 hours a day, they can take breaks for meals and needs in an undefined time interval, which does not even exceed 1 hour. Usually, they try to arrange break times by passing with their co-workers. It is clearly stated by the workers that these practices have become the routine of the entire industry.

They are responsible for all the works of the market-stores they work in, that is, they have to do everything from the warehouse to the department, from the safe to the cleaning. They state that in many businesses, phones are collected during business hours and placed in a locked safe. There are bonus systems, but they don't actually exist. The rates are kept so low that they do not contribute significantly to the wages received by the worker. In case of any complaint, exile (moreover to the furthest point), dismissal is the usual practice.

In any theft in the market-store, the value of the stolen product or any open money given at the cash register is deducted from the salary of the worker.

They face serious health problems due to constantly working on their feet. However, it is difficult for them to get permission even to go to the doctor. Because few workers are employed, especially in markets. In large stores and markets, such permissions are not given unless it is mandatory because the workload is too high and the number of customers is high. Workers have to meet these types of needs on weekly leave days, which are used as one day a week.

The vacation rights of workers who do not have adequate rest opportunities are often not used as an uninterrupted block. There are no official holidays or holidays anyway. Market-shops must always be open.

In addition to their heavy workload, almost all of them work for minimum wage. Ancillary benefits such as additional travel and meals are given in very low amounts to the minimum wage and are hand delivered so that they are not reflected in their payrolls.

They state that they are not given compensation rights in layoffs.

It is stated by women workers that in some businesses, women employees are exposed to discrimination and that this is applied as a business policy in those brands.

They state that managers constantly apply pressure and mobbing on employees, that there is no mechanism where they can defend their rights or voice their complaints in the face of any injustice they are exposed to, that workers are held directly responsible for all problems experienced with customers, and that the practice in such cases is generally dismissal.

### **Solution suggestions, ways to cope**

It has been observed that the experience of organizing in the sector is quite weak, except that employees in some brand stores are required to be members of a designated union. Although all participants see the system and the political institution at the source of their problems, they openly stated that they are hopeless about being a part of the solution. Distrust and over-reactive approaches towards the political institution were also seen in this employee group. They openly stated that they could not find the courage to enter the struggle for rights due to the conditions created by insecurity. As in all other business lines, it has been observed that workers are devalued by being intimidated by the multitude of unemployed people.

They state that the designated unions act as organs of persuading workers in favor of their bosses, rather than defending the rights of workers. They even state that the workers are not informed of the additional premium payments they receive due to their salaries from the banks, that they are paid directly to the union, and that they even learned that they had such a premium right from some news in the press much later.

They stated that they would not even be able to meet their shelter needs without a pattern of solidarity with their family and social ties, and they clearly stated that they saw how urgent and compulsory their organizational needs had become. But they think that this is very difficult to achieve due to the insecurity and being seen as a temporary job.

expectations;

Shortening working hours

Extension of daily break times

Two days off per week

Preventing the worker from doing every job by making a job description at the workplace

Legal security against arbitrary practices of administrators

Assurance in personal rights

The real exercise of the right of defense of workers in the entire work process

Prohibition of less workers, more work practices

Payment of additional allowances directly through salary

Yol ve yemek ihtiyaçlarının yeterli seviyede işveren tarafından karşılanması

Prohibition of politicians being composed of young people and the use of politics as a means of generating income

## **7. WAREHOUSE WORKERS**

*“Work never stops”*

*“It is common in warehouses, our back hurts. When we go to the doctor, they ask what do you do. When they say warehousing, they say it's normal. This should not be taken lightly.”*

*“People can't get paid properly if we don't get overtime. We have to stay overtime”*

*“They say get down on your knees. We do everything but it just doesn't work. Warehouses are narrow because they are in the city. We carry it in our arms. You can't use it even if it's a wheelbarrow, you can't use it even if it's a forklift”*

*“Managers only care about the running of the business. They don't think if the nation has a backache or a patient. Our manager's solution is easy: 'If he hadn't done it, he should have paid attention.’”*

*“I haven't heard any mention of warehousing anywhere until now”*

*“The glass in the warehouse is connected to the Ministry of Health, not us”*

### **Problems**

Within the scope of the research, the only worker group with union organization was warehouse workers. For this reason, they became the only group that could get opinions about both working conditions and general business processes before and after the union. First of all, it should be noted that their self-confidence was quite high compared to other groups of workers. They participated collectively and expressed their problems more clearly.

As in all other sectors, the high workload and the inadequacy of the wages are among the main problems here. However, unlike other groups of workers, their needs such as working hours, overtime wages, meals, breaks and leave became regular after they became unionized. In addition, they state that despite the rapid growth of the sector and the increasing number of workers working in this field, they experience problems arising from the fact that they are not defined as a separate line of business.

First of all, they take physical damage because they have to carry heavy loads due to their jobs. Many suffer from back and muscle diseases. However, despite the union, they could not achieve any gain in this regard. They explain the contribution of being unionized as at least we managed to preserve what we have.

They state that workers in the sector, especially in food warehouses, work in much more difficult conditions. They state that they have additional legal responsibilities due to working in a drug store, and that the job requires some technical knowledge. They react by stating that the Ministry of Health in particular is constantly inspected by the Ministry of Health in the business they work in, but that the same ministry does not take any responsibility for the rights of the workers who do those jobs there.

Since they work in the drug store, they work with the watch system. Warehouses must be open 24/7. At least one person from each unit is always on watch.

They openly talk about the pains of the unionization process. They underline the precarious working conditions of workers, saying that workers in different businesses that try to unionize like themselves are immediately dismissed.

### **Solution suggestions, ways to cope**

Although it is clearly observed that the rights gains arising from being unionized ensure the belief and confidence of the workers that the current conditions can be changed through organized struggle, they also openly express their criticisms due to the fact that the union has not yet met the expectations. They criticize with a reproachful language, stating that the unions expect everything from the workers instead of making an effort.

In addition to criticizing the current political establishment, they list a list of demands focused on personal rights. In this sense, their address for a solution is actually the political institution itself.

#### **expectations**

Prohibition of less workers, more work practices

Assurance of personal rights

Protection of the right to organize against the pressure of de-unionization, legal guarantee

Shortening working hours

Double the number of days off per week

Payment of additional allowances directly through salary

Solution talks by politicians

Young people in politics

## 8. STUDENTS

*"I think the mechanism does not work in general, there are barriers in front of it. Whoever gives advice takes the barrier into account. We are also because of this barrier... There is a barrier in front of it, so the ideal choices that should normally be made are not presented to us. We cannot find it ourselves. The reason, that is, what I call a barrier, is actually the economy. economic concerns. They lead more careerist"*

*"They have stereotypical thoughts. For example, economically, he wants his child to become a doctor. If you become a doctor, you will have a regular job, you will become a civil servant. And he thinks that because you will have a regular salary, you will not be left out."*

*"The exam, of course, must be. People below a certain level should not be placed in high positions."*

*"I think the exam is one of the biggest problems of the student. It turns out like a trailer of the system. You need to be in the 1% to achieve a good success. This means that you are the first in every hundred people. This is something that increases competition and I don't like competition."*

*"Because I think we are always trying to create ourselves. Don't always prove to anyone, we exist, we are reading this chapter. For example, if I say for myself, if I study law, maybe I can express myself more, whether it is respect, maybe in my family or in my environment. It's like I can have more. In fact, the desire to be noticed"*

### Problems

The last group of the focus group research consisted of students. Although most of them were university students, students who were preparing for the exam also participated. In addition to the common problems, the most different solution proposals came from these groups. Although they stated that they were open about communication, it was observed that they avoided discussing some issues.

The most basic problem of students can be expressed as insufficient economic resources and related problems, unqualified education and future concerns. Few of them were able to choose the departments where they could get the job they dreamed of. A great majority of them preferred to study in departments that are said to have higher job prospects after graduating with the guidance of their families or teachers. It has been clearly observed that this situation not only puts an emotional pressure on them, but also increases their anxiety about the future. Almost all of them described themselves as unhappy and regretful.

Many agree that housing problems are now unbearable. Even those who stay with their own families testify to how bad the housing conditions of their friends are. In addition, especially with the effect of the economic crisis, many of them state that they work in daily jobs. Because meeting school needs now requires a serious economic resource.

They state that there are too many school dropouts, especially among students studying in cities separate from their families. They think that both the economic problems and the housing problem cause this situation.

The inadequacy of the education given in schools is one of the main problems they all express.

In addition to all the problems, some of the problems they experience are the lack of opportunities to express themselves freely, the limited opportunities for socialization, being forced to constantly seek self-improvement, being expected to behave in accordance with certain thought patterns, and generation conflict.

### **Solution suggestions, ways to cope**

Although the majority of the participants are not at an organized level, they agree that the solution of the problems can be achieved in this way. However, monophony in organized structures is among his main criticisms. It has been observed that they prefer to stay away from the imposition of organization in a structure that restricts individuality and the absence of structures where everyone can express their critical thoughts clearly. In addition, they openly state that they see the political institution at the source of the problems. However, unlike other groups, students define politics more broadly and broadly. They seem to care too much about the coexistence of differences. In this sense, they openly express that they want to be organized and live in more flexible patterns.

#### **expectations;**

Opening the way for young people in politics

Increasing the quality of education

Meeting the need for free education and housing

Increasing the amount of scholarships

Providing unconditional scholarship to everyone

Changing the examination and preference system

Opportunity to express thoughts freely

## 9. CONCEPT CLOUD

At the end of the focus group discussions, all participants were asked to write the names of 3 emotions that would best express how they felt about the difference between the life they imagined and the life they live now, without specifying their names on the papers placed in front of them. The map of the written concepts is shown below. As can be seen on your map, it can be said that young people go through a very traumatic process under the weight of social and economic problems. According to this map, it is a must for young people that any action plan to be discussed about solving problems should also include their emotional repair and recovery processes.

## INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

The findings obtained at the end of our research, in which we tried to understand how young people are affected by the social, economic and political process in Turkey, clearly show that young people are going through a traumatic process. Whether employed, unemployed, or student, their common intersection is being hopeless, anxious, and insecure. Of course, the way they interpret and express the situation they are in differs according to their personal experiences and equipment. However, they have a clear stance on the source of their problems. Those who are slightly better educated use the concept of "system" while describing the source of the problems, while those who are less educated use the term "managers" or "politicians".

Another common point is that they are very concerned about their future. At this point, this situation does not change even for those who are educated in good schools, where they are expected to have higher self-confidence, and in specific professions where they can find the opportunity to work in jobs that can be considered secure in the future. The most basic parameter that fuels the anxiety of the future is the conditions they are in today. In terms of both students and employees, the resources they have have decreased to levels sufficient for them to live. Even for those who work in relatively safe jobs, the anxiety of not being able to meet their basic needs has become the dominant emotion. For the unemployed, the situation has become much more complex and difficult to bear. Because many of them have poor families, they do not have the chance to generate any funds to enable the youth to change their lives. Families exist only as an area where needs such as shelter and nutrition are met. Moreover, the source of the unhappiness, hopelessness and anger these young people feel is that they cannot fulfill their responsibilities to their families and are a burden to them.

Insecurity is another common point. It would be an incomplete approach for the employees to limit the insecurity to whether they are insured in the business line they work alone. Because even if they are insured, there is a risk of losing this position at any time in their workplaces. Moreover, they are confronted with this every day due to the attitudes and behaviors of their supervisors and sometimes the people they serve. In other words, employees are never made to forget that if they do not comply with the wheels of the system, they may lose what they have one day. Moreover, insecurity is one of the most important facts of life for the unemployed and students. Life philosophies imposed by the motto "You can succeed if you want, you just want", "If you fail, you are responsible because you do not want and work enough", and the people who are the carriers of these philosophies have become a basic reality that destroys the self-confidence of the youth. Although this discourse seems to move on two different axes, the point where they intersect, or more accurately, the ontological source of which they are fed is the concept of "belief". This concept of "belief" appeals to two different planes. One is the meaning of life in a liberal and free life, individualization and self-improvement, and the only way to become "rewarded servants" where there is "real life" from the "test world", the other is the successful individual = happiness, and the other is through religious communities and sects. "Peaceful individual=happiness" that comes with the "submitted servant/nafs". Young people who are convinced that they are "inadequate" on both levels do not have a definite opinion that the vocational training they receive will be sufficient for them, nor that they will be happy and successful as human beings. Young people, who were constantly struggling with the feeling of inadequacy and were convinced that they had to constantly improve, were in the majority in almost every group in the focus group part of the research, and while expressing the concerns they felt and suggesting solutions to the problems, they were making sentences that clearly showed the effect of this philosophy on them.

One of the most fundamental problems observed especially among young people within the scope of the research was the absence/insufficiency of institutions or mechanisms that would strengthen and support their social, economic or biological needs, or more accurately, their "well-being" as human beings. For example, almost all of the students talked about how the guidance services in their schools misled them, and expressed their disappointment in the department they are currently studying and that they had to continue because they did not want to study in that department, but because they did not have a chance to return. They exemplified that they were persuaded to departments with "job opportunities" according to market conditions, without being asked what they wanted.

Young people are aware that the political institution is at the root of every problem they express. They criticize the way of politics in Turkey and openly express that they do not trust them. They say that politics has turned into a rent fight, and whoever comes, it's all about getting the rent. As proof of this, they show that the problems they experience are growing day by day. "If the political establishment wanted to solve the problems, it would have solved it" approach has become the dominant opinion. Therefore, they do not want to enter this gray and dirty area of politics. In addition, the fact that politics are carried out in very sharp poles in the last period excludes the relationship model that many of them establish with other people in life. Young people adopt a more transitional and contact-oriented approach with all segments of the society.

Another approach that de-politicizes the youth is the understanding that comes to life with the motto "youth are our future". However, young people exist "today", and they experience the effects of every decision taken by those who sent them to an indefinite period of time in their personal lives and even pay the price. Therefore, it can be easily said that the current political institutions, which constantly utter this motto, are actually not willing to involve young people in politics. The most important evidence of this approach can be seen in the representation rates of young people in current political structures. Young people also openly state that their representation rights are not used, and that if they are to expect a solution from the political establishment, one of their own should be there as a majority.

Then, "What should be the language and methodology of the political approach that can both produce solutions to the problems of young people and make them a part of the solution?" question should be asked. In this discussion, it is necessary to mention some of the ideas that were put forward in the focus group discussions. As we mentioned before, young people have a more distant attitude towards political structures with strict rules/boundaries. On the one hand, they want their representation in politics to increase, but they also state that this is not possible in the current structures. Because one of the facts expressed by those who have experience of political party membership is that the youth organizations of the parties are not taken seriously, the ideas they produce are often not made into the policy of the party by the administrators, and that the young people are mostly seen as "the porters of the business" in the party operation. For this reason, the way they exist there does not create a transformative, empowering and collective common mind.

Young people think that the means of participation in politics cannot be achieved only through party membership, but that their presence on different platforms and generating ideas should make this possible. Idea clubs, places that do business on a voluntary basis, even include being a part of different social media groups. Therefore, they want political parties to keep their borders more flexible.

They think that politics should not consist only of problem-solution mathematics, and that if this does not change, borders and distinctions will continue to deepen. They state that this deepening has turned the language that alienates and hurts the other into politics itself. They state that a more understanding and inclusive language can be used by speaking the solution. In fact, in one of the sessions, a participant described this language as "I am so tired of people telling me about me all the time". On the one hand, it is necessary to make the problems visible, but also to carry the ideas that will produce the solution to the distances that they can reach.

For young people, the policy to be carried out by involving young people should also ensure their "recovery". The concept map that emerged within the scope of the research also shows that the problem is neither only sociological nor only economic. Besides these two areas, it is necessary to understand and explain the issues at another level. It's the psychological level. The damage caused by the conditions imposed on young people on their mental health is clearly visible. For this reason, any political institution that aims to include them must develop a language and method that can reverse and "improve" the effects on mental health. The tools of this language are to heal them with themselves and to open up new fields, institutions where they can be involved, where they can build a real concrete hope, not a promise.

Finally, if it is necessary to describe the place of the virtual world in their lives, the most appropriate concept to be used may be "politics square". Because while discussing every question, from professional problems to politics, examples of the influence and limitlessness of social media were given. Almost all of them cited their social media posts as an example, even in the issues we discussed about what solutions they came up with for their problems. This shows that current political structures should use social media platforms more actively and in various ways to reach these young people.

**Addition-1**

<b>1. Gender</b>	
Female	Male
<b>2. Name Surname</b>	
<b>3. Phone</b>	
<b>The last school you graduated from</b>	
No School Elementary school Primary school Middle school	
High school University Master's and Above	
<b>Your marital status?</b>	
Single Engaged Married Divorced	
<b>6. How Many People Live in the Household?</b>	
<b>7. How Many People Work in the House?</b>	
<b>8. Do You Have Any Person To Take Care Of?</b>	
9. Yes	No
<b>10. There Any Disabled/Chronic Sick Individual You Are Obligated To Care For?</b>	
10. Yes	No
<b>11. The House You Live In For Rent?</b>	
1. Yes	No
<b>Who do you live with in the household?</b>	
Parents-Siblings My partner-Kids Friends	
Extended Family (Including Close Relatives) Alone	
<b>Which Line of Business (Profession) You Work</b>	
Bike courier Education Health care Market	
Store Student Other.....	
<b>How Many Years Have You Been Doing This Profession?</b>	
Less than a year 1-5 Years 5-10 Years 10 Years and above	
<b>14. Do you have social security in your job?</b>	
15. Yes	No
<b>15. Have You Ever Worked Without Social Security?</b>	
16. Yes	No
<b>If Your Answer Is Yes, How Many Years Did You Work Without Security?</b>	
<b>How Much Is Your Average Monthly Income?</b>	
5000TL and lower Between 5501 TL-8.000 TL	
Between 8001 TL-12.000 TL Between 12001-16000 TL	

<b>18. Do You Have Additional Income?</b>	
Yes	No
<b>19. How much share do you allocate from your monthly income for compulsory needs (shelter, food, health, education)?</b>	
Half of My Budget	More than Half of My Budget
	My complete Budget
<b>20. Have you had a bill in the past month that you could not meet or pay any of your basic needs?</b>	
Yes	No
<b>21. When was the last time you bought something just because you wanted it, other than a necessity?</b>	
Last Year	Last Month
Last week	Did not receive
<b>22. How Many Hours Do You Work A Day?</b>	
Between 6-8 Hours	Between 8-10 Hours
	10 Hours and above
<b>23. Is There an Overtime Practice? (If your answer is No, go to question 29)</b>	
Yes	No
<b>24. Do You Have Overtime Payments?</b>	
Yes	No
<b>25. Do You Have a Shift System? (If your answer is No, go to question 32)</b>	
Yes	No
<b>26. How many shifts do you work in your workplace?</b>	
Single Shift	2 Shifts
	3 Shifts
<b>27. Are Worker's Demands Considered in Shift Arrangements?</b>	
Yes	No
<b>28. Are Leaves Allowed on Public Holidays and Holidays?</b>	
Yes	No
<b>29. Is There Any Additional Fee Application for Employees on Public Holidays and Holidays?</b>	
Yes	No
<b>30. Do you define your job as your "profession" in your line of business?</b>	
Yes	No
<b>31. Will you continue to work in your line of business?</b>	
Yes	No
<b>32. Does your job make you happy?</b>	
Yes	No
<b>33. Do you think people are happy in Turkey?</b>	
Yes	No
<b>34. What Are The Top Three Things To Be Happy?</b>	
Money	Health
Love	House
car	Good Education
Freedom	Equality
	Family

<p><b>35. What do you think are the most important problems in Turkey that need to be resolved?</b></p> <p>Economy      Unemployment      Poverty      justice      Health      Education Refugees</p> <p>Other .....</p>
<p><b>36. Considering your Standard of Living and expectations, are you doing better than a year ago?</b></p> <p>got better      got worse      remained the same</p>
<p><b>37. Do you think your situation will be better next year?</b></p> <p>will be better      will get worse      will be the same</p>
<p><b>38. Do you think existing political parties can solve Turkey's problems?</b></p> <p>Yes      No</p>
<p><b>39. Do you have any information about the programs prepared by the current political parties to govern Turkey?</b></p> <p>Yes      No</p>
<p><b>40. Do you think political parties in Turkey can adequately express the problems of the people?</b></p> <p>Ye      No</p>
<p><b>41. Which social media platform do you follow the most?</b></p> <p>Twitter      Instagram      Facebook      Twitch      Telegram</p> <p>Other.....</p>
<p><b>42. Which communication tools do you follow the agenda?</b></p> <p>Twitter      Instagram      Facebook      Twich      Telegram</p> <p>TV      Newspaper      Other .....</p>
<p><b>43. If you had the chance to change, what would you like to change first in your life?</b></p>

## **Addition-2 Working Groups Focus Group Directive**

1. Why did you choose this industry?
2. Do you describe this job as a temporary job or as your profession?
3. Can you list the three most important problems affecting you while doing this job/profession?
4. What is the source of these problems? Do you think they are related to the work itself/dynamics or to people (manager, colleague...)?
5. Do you think there is an effect of the current situation in our country, apart from the reasons you have stated on the basis of these problems? (Economic crises, political environment, etc.)
6. Did you make an effort to deal with the problems you mentioned? For example, have you resorted to ways such as individual solution efforts or collective action? For example, unions
7. What kinds of things will convince you and you can get involved when such methods develop where there is no individual effort?
8. The problems you mentioned have a relationship with the system or the law, and there is a political system that ensures the continuation of this labor regime. Do you think this political system / political institutions are aware of the problems you are experiencing? And do you think it is enough to produce a solution? or willing?
9. What are your expectations from political institutions? How and where would you like them to express your problems?
10. Recently, there has been a discussion in the public that the young population has started to go abroad. Are you generally satisfied with living in Turkey? If you are satisfied, what pleases you? If you are not, what are the situations that you are not satisfied with? What do you think should change here?
11. Which of the following three terms best describes your situation?
12. Think of yourself as a party chairman or a union president/manager, what would you say to those who have the same problems as you? What solution would you suggest?
13. Can you write the first three things that come to your mind when you think of Turkey? positive/negative/good/bad

### **Addition-3 Focus Group Directive on Unemployed Groups**

1. Do you have any professional formation? (what is your job, occupation)
2. How long have you been unemployed?
3. Can you talk about your job search process? What kind of problems are you experiencing?
4. What do you see as the source of these problems? What are your thoughts on factors such as lack of work, dislike for work, political system, economic crisis?
5. What do you think these problems have to do with the current situation in the country, apart from the ones you mentioned? (Economic crisis, political environment, education system ..) Do you think these are effective?
6. How do you deal with the problems you experience during your job search? Do you take part in individual or various types/areas of solidarity?
7. Do you think individual efforts are enough? What do you think should be done where this effort is not enough?
8. What are your expectations from political institutions? How would you like them to express your problems?
9. There is a perception that young people have recently started to go abroad. Are you generally satisfied with living in Turkey? If you are satisfied, what pleases you? If you are not, what are the situations that you are not satisfied with? What do you think should change here?
10. Can the political institution provide the correction of the current situation? What kind of a policy do you think should be carried out so that the negativities can be eliminated?
11. If you do not have any expectations from the political establishment in Turkey, how can you propose a solution?
12. Which of the following three concepts best describes the situation you are in?
13. Think of yourself as a party chairman or a union chairman/manager, what would you say to those who have the same problems as you? What solution would you suggest?
14. Can you write the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of Turkey? Everything positive/negative/good/bad...

### **Addition-4 Student Groups Focus Group Directive**

1. Which part are you studying? Why did you choose this department? (Which department will you choose?)
2. Can you list the three most important issues affecting your life as a student?
3. What is the source of these problems? Is it related to your family, the social environment you live in, the general situation of the country or about yourself/school/department?
4. Do you think these problems have an effect on the current situation in the country, apart from the ones you mentioned? (Economic crises, political environment, education system..) Do you think these are effective?
5. What do you think are the solutions to these problems?
6. Do students develop various solutions for the problems you experience in terms of the education system or universities? Have you been a part of it?
7. What kinds of things will convince you and be part of the solution where individual efforts are absent?
8. What are your expectations from political institutions? How would you like them to express your problems?
9. There is a perception that young people have recently started to go abroad. Are you generally satisfied with living in Turkey? If you are satisfied, what pleases you? If you are not, what are the situations that you are not satisfied with? What do you think should change here?
10. Can the political institution provide the correction of the current situation? What kind of a policy do you think should be carried out so that the negativities can be eliminated?
11. If you do not have any expectations from the political establishment in Turkey, how can you propose a solution?
12. Which of the following three terms best describes your situation?
13. Think of yourself as a party chairman or a union chairman/manager, what would you say to those who have the same problems as you? What solution would you suggest?
14. Can you write the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of Turkey? Everything positive/negative/good/bad...



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