ACT HUMAN

THE PRECARIAT AND SOCIAL SECURITY

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Precarious work, which can be simply defined as an ambiguous, unpredictable, and risky way of working, is becoming a global norm each year. The spread of this type of work has placed the concept of precariat in the focus of daily political and economical discussions on an international and national scale. The concept of precariat stands out when we are talking about immigrant issues, youth unemployment, and brain drain from time to time.

Precariat is defined as a social class being formed and chronically doomed to temporary work. Precariat members constitute people who live anxiously in the ambiguous space between unemployment and unemployment threat and go through chronic insecurity and precarity in their minds. They are generally isolated from the central production mechanisms and alienated from their work places or colleagues.

In the present study designed in collaboration with INGEV and Sabancı University Istanbul Policy Center (IPM) under ActHuman V, we bring the policies that may be generated against the social and economical problems to arise in the axis of insecurity in Turkey and the expanding precariat into the question. The precariat accompanied by an increase in precarious working practices and the rise of populist trends, including anti-immigrant attitudes, during the post-COVID-19 period stands out as an alarming issue in a political and legal context. Especially in a country like Turkey with a social and political structure open to polarization, the threats that the precariat could create in a social and economical context as well as the threatening conditions where the precariat, a "new and dangerous class", stands in make the issue more crucial. In this context, it should be aimed that both the state, private sector actors and civil society produce policies that are consistent with each other and that can be spread over a wide period of time, and that the relevant actors must be reconciled, not conflicting through these policies, and ultimately the impact of broad waves of precarity should be broken. This is because the waves of precarity deeply affect both the social security system, employees and employment processes.

The Advisory Board meeting and workshop held within the scope of the project focused on the design of the necessary social policies for the development and sustainability of secure and safe employment processes against the expanding precarity phenomenon in Turkey.

Given the assessments of the participants including academics, private sector, press, and NGO representatives, and the relevant literature, social policy proposals that aim to prioritize secure employment in the employment procedures in Turkey and to attenuate fragile labor conditions and make secure employment convenient both for employees and employers have been produced. These proposals are intended to prepare a basis for the steps to be taken by decision-makers and implementors in the coming period.

The assessments attained from the workshop are summarized under 9 proposals below:

1. Existing laws and regulations need to be put into practice. In general, labor laws and regulations in Turkey, particularly the Labor Law, are adequate to prevent precarious employment practices from deepening. The state officials responsible for carrying out the necessary inspections and controls should be informed about their powers and duties in an inclusive manner and they should be made aware of the importance of their duties and the implementation of sanctions should be paved the way.

2. Change in definitions, rules and expressions on working status in laws and regulations: In this period, when the boundary between individual attempts and employment of an individual decays, technology and markets make everyone entrepreneurs, it is imperative that laws and regulations change in a way that prioritizes secure work.

3. Elimination of distrust in the tax and social security system: There is a problem of precarity regarding the tax and social security system in Turkey. Since employees and employers see tax and social security deductions as the ones that need to be saved or gone around, the reputation problem of the tax and social security system has become a situation that triggers precarious work. The taxes should be used to ensure that the precarious segments of society are not cut off from the society and the sectors in which they can work, and to meet their basic life needs. For this, basic income and similar mechanisms can be operated.

4. Strategic planning of educational processes: The programs must be created to be based on a long-term strategy without relying on the supply/demand equilibrium and the constraints of the established system by the institutions such as the Higher Education Authority and the Ministry of Education at each stage where vocational education is provided, including higher and secondary education.

5. Supporting secure and sustainable employment of women, youth and immigrants through incentives: The participation of vulnerable groups such as women, youth and migrants in employment should be supported by programs such as incentives and grant programs. Both at the stage of participation in employment and entrepreneurship, these groups should be supported and they should establish sustainable business models or exist within such models.

6. Making organization easy and attractive: The technical and legal obstacles against organization should be removed by the state. Even in short-term jobs, people who work should establish membership ties with organizations such as trade unions, and these organizations should be allowed to negotiate with employers and exercise their rights arising from the law. The state and trade unions should take responsibility for encouragement and follow-up.

7. A long-term and stable technological and economic vision should be adopted: Just as the discussions of precarization have become evident following an economic and technological transformation, precarity may also deepen in dynamic economic and technological conditions. Considering that secure working conditions would not arise for broad masses unless technological development occurs in a stable and fair manner, technology and economic policies should be shaped on the axis of the interests of all stakeholders of working life.

8. Adoption of the transnational inspection approach: The concept of employment that does not adhere to flexible and physical limits brought about by globalization increases unemployment in one hand, while creating temporary employment on the other hand, deepens precarity and creates unfair competition. In this context, transnational inspection and surveillance mechanisms should be facilitated.

9. Closely monitoring the most vulnerable sectors and prioritizing their transformation: A special inspection and improvement program should be applied to these sectors by prioritizing special sectors where precarious work, such as textile and seasonal agricultural labor, has become almost standard.

Dr. Sarphan Uzunoğlu



INTRODUCTION

A cleaning worker hanging out of an office window and wiping the exterior of the windows, a call center employee with bloodshot eyes, a web designer trying to deliver his/her work by connecting to a coffee chain's WiFi network, an academic who wants to catch up with a part-time course s/he has given at a university that s/he could barely find, a temporary farm worker on a trailer to collect hazelnuts, a cleaning worker trying to verify her/his destination on the bus...The world we live in is testing these segments of society, which we can easily guess that there are significant differences from their educational background to their income situation, against the same challenge: with a regime of precarity that we do not anticipate to what extend its limits will grow.

Although the Acthuman current report drafted under the leadership of INGEV is a controversial concept, it focuses on precarity and social insecurity that simultaneously touch upon hot topics such as current employment relations, polarisation, gender inequality, and opposition to immigration. We believe the precariat report that analyzes the precariat and social insecurity is of great significance as it follows the COVID-19 pandemic, which deepened our doubts about the future of all humanity, all institutions and even the world itself, and changed the working and production processes, and therefore a significant part of our lives.

Nowadays, not only clan privileges and religious worldviews have been deglamorized in the 19th century, but also understanding of science and technology in classical industrial society is also being deglamorized. The crisis discourse profoundly affects the balance of employee and employer relations at workplaces and the daily decisions of voters on the political ground. On the one hand, although states are trying to prevent this situation by making laws and regulations to combat precarity, the pandemic and the economic breakdown caused by rapid transformation, unfortunately, often make all these measures ineffective than planned. Accompanied by their economic programs, some states see precarization as a short-term solution, and even market the possibilities of the precarious work regime to international companies.

Different approaches are emerging every day on the characteristic of this precarious working regime. Many thinkers, including Richard Sennett (Dec 2003, 2009, 2018), Guy Standing (2011, 2014), are trying to define the position and situation of workers in the new culture of capitalism. So why have this requirement arisen? In fact, classifications that have gained too much space in the literature, such as the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, are still functioning. These concepts are used both when producing political arguments and when interpreting society, but the culture of new capitalism bears a structure that obliges entrepreneurship from the point of view of the employee, deepens competition between employees, and erodes many rights obtained in the name of security in 19th and 20th century. Moreover, talking and discussing new concepts also makes it easier to talk about the new economy, allowing us to continue without getting stuck in a paradigm.

And when we say precariat, who or which groups are we talking about?

While the precariat is a "class in a formation process", it is not either the "working class or the proletariat". Precariat members are people who are employed precariously, are sentenced to chronic temporary jobs, or are in the ambiguous area between having a job and unemployment and the threat of unemployment. (Standing, 2014) Those included in the precariat are those who cannot have the social rights acquired due to a working life and a permanent job, who do not feel connected to a fixed place of work and the relationships established there (Buğra, 2013, 62).

Employees with temporary contracts of various duration, whether they are directly employed or hired through an agent, may benefit from a job in the short term, but they experience uncertainty about whether their contract will be extended. Temporary contracts usually provide a lower wage and do not provide the same benefits, which are usually accrued over time and are directly linked to the length and status of the employment relationship. This results in a situation in which working people are unable to plan for their future and lack the security of certain forms of social protection.

In this context, when we talk about precariat, we also talk about the seasonal agricultural workers, agricultural workers working under the counter workshops, cleaning staff subcontracted at shopping malls, universities or similar large-scale institutions (Sardar, 2019), household workers (Güler, 2021), and software developers who can see the face of their colleagues hundreds miles away on applications such as Zoom and can never see the place where they work.

Why do we talk about Precariat?

The precariat stands in the midst of current economic, social and political fractures. Approximately 9 million people are estimated to be working unregistered in Turkey, and 1 million people are working under temporary protection. When we include 5.5 million unemployed young people, people who have been excluded from social and economic life, people who are isolated from working life and civil life for legal reasons, and people whose legal status is unclear, we are essentially faced with an army of precarious people lined up behind economic activity in important parts of daily life.

The very different services we use from the bread we eat to the application through which we call a taxi can be the result of the labor processes on the expanding precariat. Moreover, this group also credits for the epithet "dangerous" as called by Standing. From illegal pursuits to articulation to lynching culture, the precariat also carries a political and social risk in a way that resembles Marx's concept of lumpen proletariat. Moreover, the precariat is angry as a group that cannot access each other and cannot be in solidarity in the economic system where monopolies and multiplexes grow within production mechanisms that seem to be decentralized, and has a lonely character in the face of large institutions.

Dimensions of the Precariat

Those involved in the precariat share a situation that has many dimensions, although they feel different situations more intensely. Although they are felt in different intensities, these are necessary to tell who we are talking about when we say precariat, how generalized and chronic it is for some categories of work. We can list these situations as follows:

Flexibility:

Flexibility is defined as the ability to change or adapt to change with little cost and effort in a short period of time. Flexibility in working life, on the other hand, refers to the relaxation of the legal regulations protecting the worker, especially for production and employment, in favor of capital[1]. It is possible to mention four different forms of flexibility: labor, salary, employment and quality flexibility. Labor flexibility essentially arises at a point when the regulations on working regimes are fractured. In this type of flexibility, which occurs most often during crisis periods, legal and regulation-based regulations lose their effect on supervising labor processes.

[1]https://www.genel-is.org.tr/esneklik-nedir,2,11617#:~:text=Esneklik%2C%20k%C4%B1sa%20bir%20s%C3%BCre%20i%C3%A7inde,sermaye%20lehine%20gev%C5%9Fetilmesini%20ifade%20eder.

Salary flexibility is adopted by employers especially as a crisis policy and is related to the ability of the employer to determine the salary and increase or decrease the salary without adhering to any sanctions. In particular, the lack of standardization created by disorganization is a prominent factor here. Employment flexibility, on the other hand, involves the evolution of a person into a situation where the employer can transform the employee's job description, expectations from the employee and working regime according to immediate needs, rather than a professional who can "do whatever the job is". Quality flexibility also includes expectations about both the production process and the qualifications of the employee.

Insecurity:

Although inscurity is directly used instead of precarious from time to time, insecurity is also an important dimension of the precariat's character. This sometimes occurs in a way that reduces the legal, ethical and financial responsibility of institutions on employees from government agencies to private institutions within the subcontractor system, and sometimes it is a situation that becomes chronic with strategies such as periodic employment implemented by institutions. This is, also called 'makeshift employment' by the ILO, is observed more frequently in neoliberal economies[2] .

It is generally observed that periods of dramatic emergence of insecurity are simultaneous with neoliberalization moves. Precarious work practices in China, for example, started to be seen in the last quarter of the 20th century. In China, which doubles its exports every year and has become the export giant of the 21st century, there is a structure in which even the restroom times of workers who work 16 hours a day are calculated. As a neoliberal strategy, insecuritization has reached a pre-acceptance beyond systems, has become the economic engine of countries, and each country has created its own unique insecuritization model. Precariousness has often been accompanied by the concept of development, which is used especially by politicians (Parlak, 2012, 200-202). For this reason, when discussing the insecurity dimension of the precariat, we also put strategies on how an economy will function in general at the center of the discussion.

Inexpensiveness:

The workers included in the precariat are the workers who are unlikely to generate compensation from the employer's point of view. The employer minimizes the costs arising from the right to compensation and similar rights that may arise in the case of regular work of people with whom s/he works on a project or work based on a short-term basis. In addition, precariat members, especially in cognitive sectors, often allocate the means of production themselves. Today, individuals, non-governmental organizations, government agencies, small enterprises and large organizations use online market places to procure the skills they need cheaply (Shevchuk and Strebkov, 2015, 147; Praun, 2020). In the post-pandemic world, companies have started to prefer employees who pay their own electricity or water bills, do not receive transportation and food benefits as they do not come to the office, and in many cases use their own computer, and precariat employees as less costly employees.



[2] https://www.calismatoplum.org/makale/egreti-istihdam-isgucu-piyasasin-da-guvencesizligin-ve-istikrarsizligin-yeni-yapilanmasi

Disorganization:

Workers who are included in the precariat often cannot be part of trade unions and professional chambers due to their status. Neither in its constitutional context nor in the context of regulations can their status within the profession be defined. They cannot even benefit from professional financial and capacity-based support programs. Since they are sentenced to non-union political organizations, it is possible for them to be terrorized at work quickly. Even if they unionize, they can quickly lose their jobs due to union ineffectiveness. Disorganization can not only lead the employees to lose their rights, but also to the consequences such as the normalization of the precarious working situation and, more importantly, the formation of an anger regime among the masses involved in the precariat. Governments should have an obligation to encourage collective bargaining negotiations for all workers and employers. Trade unions should also continue to press their governments to fulfill their duty to promote and develop certain collective bargaining mechanisms related to the characteristics of precarious workers.

Indebtedness:

The borrower/debt relationship has definitely pushed employees aside as a class. Most of the university graduate employees start their business life with a debt burden. Indebtedness has become a psychological burden and has prevented practices such as organization. Indebtedness pushes you to earn money by an "illegal" method.

Non-citizenship:

The concept of non-citizen (denizen) is a concept that is mostly used for people who cannot benefit from the rights of citizens. This concept, which is used especially for migrants and asylum seekers of different statuses, is also used in many countries of the world to describe the situations of precariat groups who cannot access some basic rights, such as health rights. Guy Standing, considered the father of the concept of precariat, traces the history of the concept of 'denizen' back to the Romans and uses the definition of "foreigners who were given the right to practice their craft and reside, but were deprived of the right to full citizenship". Standing benefited from the categories of civil rights, cultural rights, social rights, economic rights, and political rights related to rights here (Standing, 2014, 31-32). These categories of rights, which we can often find violated in today's practices of neoliberalism as well as in new social movements, accompany Standing's definition of 'non-citizen'. It is also possible to think that not only foreigners but also some citizens themselves have evolved to the status of 'non-citizen' by direct or indirect legal means due to their legal and financial status in the extraordinary times we are going through.



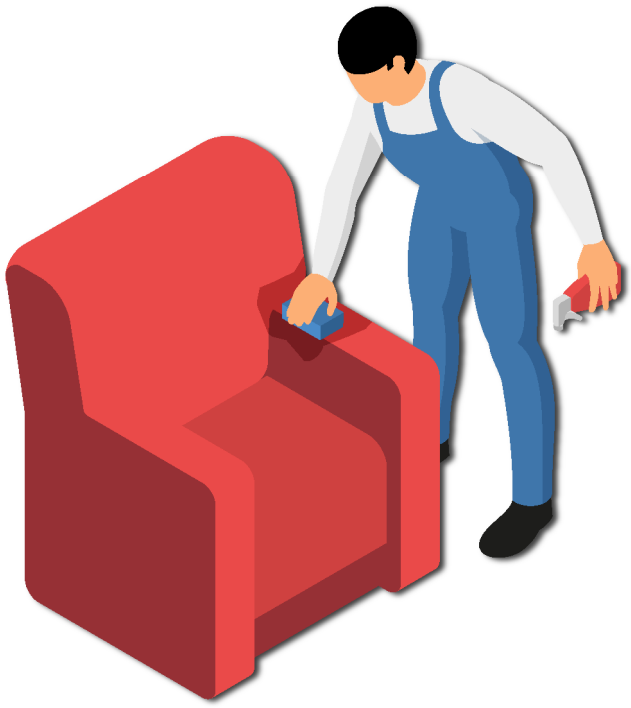


METHOD

In this report, the literature review of the concept of the precariat, whose critical importance was started to be mentioned by experts and activists following globalization, digital conversion, and neoliberalism, and addressed more frequently in the post-COVID-19 period, is presented. In this context, the definition, characteristics of the precariat, and the reasons for the growing trend of the precariat are discussed. Finally, we aim to respond to the social, political, security and economic risks arising from the expansion of the precariat with policy proposals in three main areas.

ActHuman V Process Advisory Board: The participants who will take part in the Advisory Board consisting of academics, public, local government, private sector, press and NGO representatives have been determined by IPM and INGEV. At the Advisory Board meeting held on April 27, 2022, the preliminary study conducted within the scope of the report was presented and the participants' evaluations and opinions on the topics covered in the study were aimed to be received.

Workshop: The workshop organized within the scope of ActHuman V was held online on June 6, 2022 with an event attended by stakeholder representatives. The draft project prepared before the workshop and after the Advisory Board meeting was shared with the participants. In the first part of the workshop, the draft project prepared by considering the findings of the Advisory Board meeting was shared with the participants. In the second part, the participants were ensured to discuss three topics (protection and social security policies to be proposed regarding the employment processes of women and youth, taxation and insurance policies to be proposed regarding employment, and policies to ensure that employers prioritize secure work). Later, the draft report was revised to include the feedback generated during the workshop and shared with the participants.





EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN AND YOUTH IN THE PRECARIAT ERA

Although women and young people are considered the leading groups of progressive societies, and global social and political trends are based on the strengthening of these two groups, the patriarchal and gerontocratic structure of the dominant economic structure pushes these two groups down the axis of gender and age-based discrimination. Therefore, we tried to address discriminatory approaches in employment processes for women and young people at the first stage and possible policies that could transform these approaches. Our aim was both to understand the policies and factors that triggered the current situation and to follow a solution-oriented approach to correcting the activities of these actors by identifying the actors in charge.

Education And Employment of Vulnerable Groups:

Strategic training of vulnerable groups for employment should be provided:

Young people and women should be prepared not for the current jobs, but for the future jobs, and education policy should be designed accordingly. Employment participation for the future should be spread not to a single line of work and category, but to multiple areas, and young people and women should be raised taking into account possible market demands of intensive labor supply and the balance of labor supply. Especially from the perspective of obtaining a profession, it is necessary to redesign the educational programs offered to students at the undergraduate level and before graduation considering medium- and long-term sectoral needs. Educational processes should be designed in such a way that they extend not only to pre-employment but also to employment processes that, if available, are temporary or intended to be permanent if they start newly. Special internal trainings to be organized for these groups in institutions should be encouraged and supported. This is because it is important for the employer to spread and increase productivity over time. With continuous training and development, it is ensured that fragile groups rise in the job hierarchy, and employment of fragile groups is no longer a conditional condition and becomes a part of the employment culture .

Employment of vulnerable groups should be encouraged:

Incentive premiums should be increased in the employment of women and youth, and incentive programs should be implemented for institutions that prioritize the employment of these groups. In addition to increasing incentive premiums, conditions should be improved, especially increasing the number of kindergartens and arranging leaves for mothers, which are an important factor in the regular participation of women who are mothers in business life. Employers look at recruitment processes for young people either as a risk or as cheap and flexible labor. It is necessary to bring the young population into a more attractive employee profile through vocational empowerment seminars that can be held in cooperation with taxation and insurance bodies or non-governmental or private institutions.

Inclusion of Young People In The Workforce:

The advantages of youth employment should be explained to employers:

The perception of young people in the business world is problematic. Young people are defined not by their potential and knowledge, but by their lack of experience and manners. Moreover, the professional identity that the education young people receive gives them is not accepted by their employer (Telek et al., 2020, 6). Employers need to be better informed about the successful performance of young people on their own initiatives or in other companies. In addition to providing young people with support such as portfolio creation, it is essential to in-tensify propaganda campaigns aimed at emplo-yers to increase youth employment.

It should be ensured that the internship processes of young people do not turn into chronic unpaid work:

Youth and student employment processes, whi-ch start under the name of internship and are frequently encountered in cognitive sectors, should be monitored through tools that can work depending on applications such as e-go-vernment, in order for young people's partici-pation in business life and income status not to become chronic and normalize unpaid work.

A corporate system that protects employees against hierarchical relationships in working life or the lack of solidarity networks also makes it difficult for young people to participate in working life. Young people have mostly become condemned to family support in order to hold on to work life (Telek et al., 2020,6-7).

Credit support for fragile groups needs to be la-yered:

It is necessary to ensure that micro-scale enterprises, such as women's cooperatives, are visible through tax and insurance regulations and incentives. Legal and technological infrast-ructure support should be provided and sustai-nability should be observed for the women and young people who are given microloans to con-tinue trading legitimately.

Organization And Entrepreneurship:

It is necessary to facilitate and make it possible to organize in every sector:

Ensuring wider civil society participation is a must in the processes such as the abandonment of the approach which depoliticizes young people and women and considers hyper-individualization and disorganization as the invisible condition of employment must be abandoned, the way for organizing must be paved in both private enterprises and public enterprises, dissemination of incentive programs as well as training and propaganda activities for employers who display an anti-organization approach and aggressive strategies towards employees who exercise their right to organize, ensuring healthy communication between employee and employer non-governmental organizations and in processes such as law-making and minimum wage setting. In particular, strategies such as avoiding the application of the law by transferring the natural responsibilities arising from the business relationship to third parties should be prevented.

Revitalization of Cooperative Culture

Transforming the social perception of cooperatives, where women and youth are the main subjects, and creating a safe space for women and youth labor by increasing cooperative structures functioning with a secure labor system and benefiting from support programs.





WORKING IN THE PRECARIAT ERA: TAX AWARENESS AND INSURED EMPLOYMENT

Processes such as insured employment and tax, which we consider to be part of business life, are not valid processes for the significant majority of precariat members, and even for some of them, they are the obstacles before the increase in net income they will get. Employers are also doing their best to get rid of these items, which increase the total cost of employees. In order to offer a solution to this issue, we first tried to focus on policies that can prevent this situation, which reinforces the uncanny state of the precariat, and increase employee tax and insurance awareness. Then, we focused on which tax and insurance regulations can have consequences that can increase the choice of secure work for both sides of the employment process. Finally, we discussed how advanced subcontracted types of work that are becoming popular every day under the name of "entrepreneurial employees", and where each employee works through individual companies, can turn into more regular and fair labor regimes.

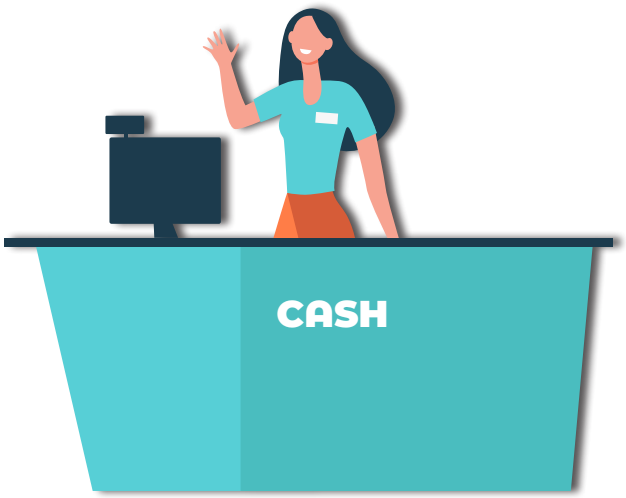
Fairness, Accessibility And Comprehensibility of The Tax And Insurance System

Increasing confidence in the tax system and insurance system:

Unfortunately, today there is a perception that employers who employ insured workers or insured employees, who pay their taxes regularly, give their income to the state for nothing. Belief in the social security system and in the return of taxes to society as a service in an egalitarian and transparent manner have also decreased. It is necessary to explain with data and examples that taxes return to society effectively and fairly rather than calling out to society with propaganda about the sanctity of traditional taxation, and that the social security system is strong and sustainable rather than calling out with the propaganda of insured work awareness.

Fair transformation of tax segments should be ensured:

The common concern of both employees, tradesmen and business owners in Turkey is high taxes. People see tax avoidance as the path to sustainability and are not afraid of not paying taxes either. Citizens have a general perception that tax brackets are determined in such a way that they are to the advantage of high-income segments. Many people turn to shadow work as they think that the net income that will earn as a result of a regular and secure working regime will not be enough for them to live a quality life. It is necessary to design tax zones and tax rates in accordance with the economic flow and favorable for employees and employers.



The social security and health system needs to be improved:

The difficulty of getting services from the social security system and the health system and the additional charges paid when getting services break the motivation to work within the insurance scheme. The negative perception of the financial situation of pensioners feeds the tendency to work informally and provide security with additional savings.



Tax and insurance mechanisms should be made more understandable:

An important link can be mentioned between financial literacy and tax and insurance awareness, including the fact that many citizens have difficulty deciphering the concepts and numbers they see on their payrolls. Informing employees about these issues will allow them to achieve an awareness that will both develop a perception between the employer and the employee about the total costs of working processes, and call the employees to account for the taxes and insurance premiums they pay decently for their total labor. In the same way, the mechanisms used in determining tax brackets should also be explained to the society.

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EMPLOYMENT IN THE PRECARIAT ERA: MUTUAL ASSURANCE

When talking about insecurity in working life, it is important to emphasize that employment is not a one-sided process. Employment relations are decisively based on reciprocity between the employer and the employee. This, in turn, requires a set of policies in which the rights and responsibilities of the employer and the employee are fairly determined. Because it is necessary both to prevent precarious recruitment from being an advantageous type of employment and to ensure that the state and other actors with enforcement powers produce deterrent policies as well as positive reinforcement policies, where necessary, in these processes.

Responsibilities of The State

Compliance with existing laws should be followed more rigorously by the state:

There are many laws and regulations that can be used to prevent precarious work in Turkey. The relevant institutions of the state should make more efforts to ensure that these laws and regulations are reflected in life, incentive and punishment mechanisms should be operated. Inspections and audits should be more frequent, multi-layered control mechanisms should be established.

The state should address labor law by listening to civil society:

The link between civil society actors and the state seems to have decayed, especially when it comes to working life. It is essential that the state cooperate with and listen to the organizations working in the field against social insecurity and the expansion of the precariat. The fact that the state determines assurance policies in the work area according to the employer's agenda deepens the economic and social risks.

The effects of the economic and technological policies of the state should be remembered:

Both employees and employers are directly affected by the economic policies of the state on a daily basis. Every law enacted or every strategy put forward to overcome periodic crises affects many variables of vital importance from the daily living costs of employees and employers to business costs. The responsibility of the state is to provide a stable economic structure in which stable, annual and even longer-term plans can be made.

The state should prioritize the most fragile sectors:

Special targeted incentive programs should be developed to reduce informality in the private sector such as textile and seasonal agricultural labor, where precarious work has become almost standard.

Sectoral differences should be taken into account:

Tax and insurance processes should be addressed by taking into account many different factors such as the nature and duration of the work, the financial flow between the employer and the employee during the year, sectors and occupational codes.

The forms of work carried out through new technologies should be observed:

Especially in the piecework or project-based forms of work emerging around the new generation start-ups and technology companies, the pay and employment processes of the companies need to be more closely supervised.

Taxes should be transformed into the security of excluded sections of society:

The taxes should be used to ensure that the precarious segments of society are not cut off from the society and the sectors in which they can work, and to meet their basic life needs. The return of taxes to individuals and communities, which we can call precariat in daily life, should be ensured, focusing on different formulas, including the basic income formula, and people should be provided with access to services that will enable them to continue their lives, such as housing, nutrition, education and health, in a way that is conducive to human Decency, human rights and civic rights, by state mechanisms. It is possible for employees to be more resistant to shadow work processes only if they develop a belief in the social security scheme they enter when they are involved in routine work regimes, the tax and insurance shares deducted from their salaries. Although it is not a much discussed issue in Turkey, especially since the family and the individual tend to maintain the habit of living together in adulthood, solving many problems, including the housing crisis, by the system under normal conditions will be an important step towards transforming the precariat's dependent or precarious character with basic security.

International supervision is required:

The new types of employment practices brought about by globalization, on the one hand, provide companies with different opportunities for their investments at different borders, and on the other hand, lead to the increase of precarious and cheap markets that have high number of employees. Some economic systems specifically offer the cheap and precarious labor market to international investments. Here, it is necessary to produce policies that will pave the way for actors to conduct surveillance around international ethics and law and provide them with the power of sanctions.

Employers And Sectoral Development

The capacities of SMEs should be increased:

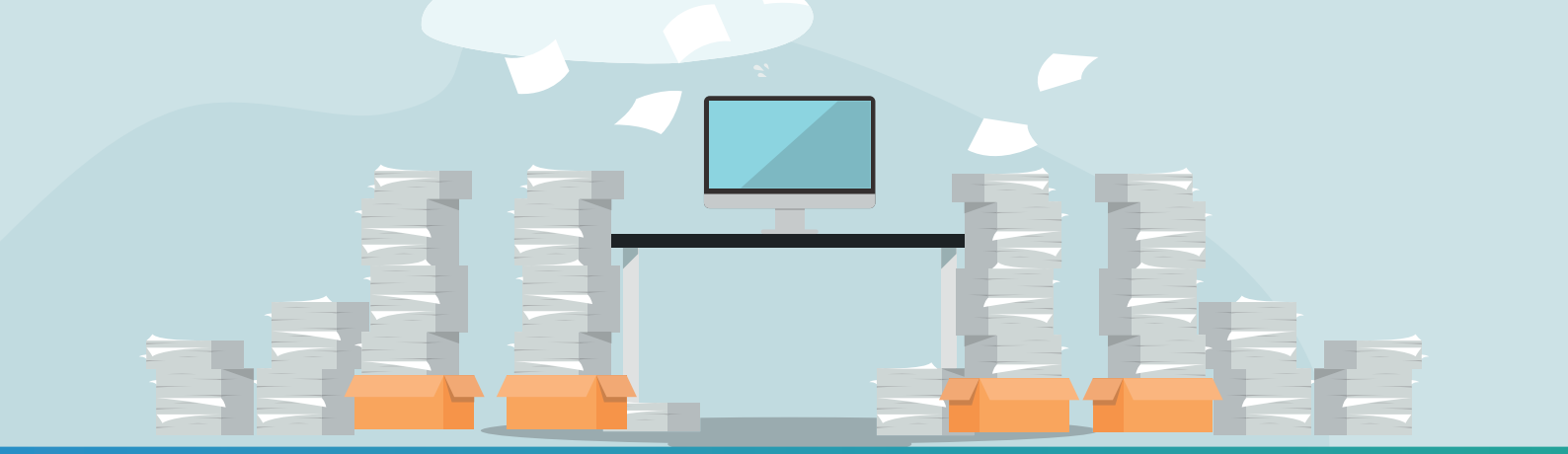
SMEs should receive support in making long-term employment and business planning, they should have the human resources they need and business strategies that can financially keep this human resource at work in the long term.

The border of individual companies and freelancers should be drawn:

Individual employees creating their own individual companies, such as motor couriers,and completely freelancers should be distinguished from each other. Protection of regular basic rights such as health insurance for specific groups working regularly for some companies should become the responsibility of the company and the services offered through individual companies should not deepen the precariousness in the medium and long term for the income to be obtained in the short term.

Making organization attractive:

The problem of organization concerns not only technical and economic processes. Breaking down the perception that labor organizations mean political positioning in the age of polarization that we live in should make multicenter organization focused on employee benefit possible, it should be ensured that organizing activity evolves from a structure reflecting the polarization culture to a structure that serves and helps the individual. It is wrong for the employer to guide the employee where to organize and where not to organize, or for the employee to think that organizing activity is a step towards employment within the framework of political parallelism.



CONCLUSION

It seems that the problem of precariat and social security will continue to be a part of both our national and universal agenda. The fact that concepts such as basic income and universal health care are discussed loudly in all geographies from the West to the East, as well as academic and political interest in the precariat, are mainly related to the interest in the problem and the search for solutions.

In Acthuman V's workshop on the expanding precariat population and increasing social insecurity problem in Turkey with the participation of stakeholders, the policy proposals necessary to eliminate the problems in the field and provide improvement were focused on. The assessments attained from the workshop are summarized under 9 proposals below:

Implementation of existing laws and regulations: In Turkey, the laws and regulations regulating working life, especially the Labor Law, are mostly sufficient. What triggers insecurity is that the control, incentive and punishment mechanisms do not work strongly enough, and criminal sanctions are often skipped. In this context, the state officials responsible for carrying out the necessary inspections and controls should be informed about their powers and duties in an inclusive manner and they should be made aware of the importance of their duties and the implementation of sanctions should be paved the way. State officials should get rid of the perception that sanctions will harm their own careers, and audit and control mechanisms should also be subject to upper audit.

Change in definitions, rules and expressions on working status in laws and regulations: In this period, when the boundary between individual attempts and employment of an individual decays, technology and markets make everyone entrepreneurs, it is imperative that laws and regulations change in a way that prioritizes secure work. From a software developer working from home to a motor courier, from a specialist who gives round-the-clock advice to a part-time lecturer, the employment practices of a wide audience should be examined sector by sector and sector-specific rules should be established.

Internationalization of control and labor standards: Given the adaptation and employment strategies of global companies, the need for international regulatory initiatives is urgent. It is necessary to act through international law and supervisory institutions.

Elimination of distrust in the tax and social security system: There is a problem of precarity regarding the tax and social security system in Turkey. Since employees and employers see tax and social security deductions as the ones that need to be saved or gone around, the reputation problem of the tax and social security system has become a situation that triggers precarious work. Ensuring fairness, accessibility and accountability in the services of the state and state institutions, followed by a communication campaign, may eliminate the distrust towards the tax and social security system, which forms the basis of social insecurity. With basic income and similar methods, an environment can be created in which the tax is directly channeled to the assurance network creation plan.

Strategic planning of educational processes: The programs must be created to be based on a long-term strategy without relying on the supply/demand equilibrium and the constraints of the established system by the institutions such as the Higher Education Authority and the Ministry of Education at each stage where vocational education is provided, including higher and secondary education, and programs with high specialization and employment potential should be replaced by departments and programs that generate unemployed people or those who are condemned to flexible work and "anyone who can do any job". Capacity building programs for youth and women who participate in working life after high school and university within the scope of continuing education need to be accessible and creating training processes should be encouraged for the development of the human resources of the institutions.

Supporting women and young people: The participation of vulnerable groups such as women, youth and migrants in employment should be supported by programs such as incentives and grant programs. Both at the stage of participation in employment and entrepreneurship, these groups should be supported and it should be ensured that they establish sustainable business models or exist within such models. The social tasks that surround women in terms of supporting women and the transformation of daily life practices that impose that women stay at home or spend more of their time at home than men should be achieved through methods such as reforming the education system, expanding daycare networks, and strengthening the perception of gender equality. In terms of supporting young people, incentive programs should be developed to accelerate employment processes by taking into account the psychological and social effects of factors such as indebtedness and late participation in employment on this group, and counseling and guidance should be provided to young people during the transition to regular work life.

Making organization easy and attractive: The technical and legal obstacles against organization should be removed by the state. Even in short-term jobs, people who work should establish membership ties with organizations such as trade unions, and these organizations should be allowed to negotiate with employers and exercise their rights arising from the law. The establishment and expansion of communication channels between people participating in working life and employee organizations should be encouraged by the state, and the employees' right to organize and the institutions where it can be organized should be notified to them through communication policies to be established within the framework of the Personal Data Protection Law. Governments should have an obligation to encourage collective bargaining negotiations for all workers and employers.

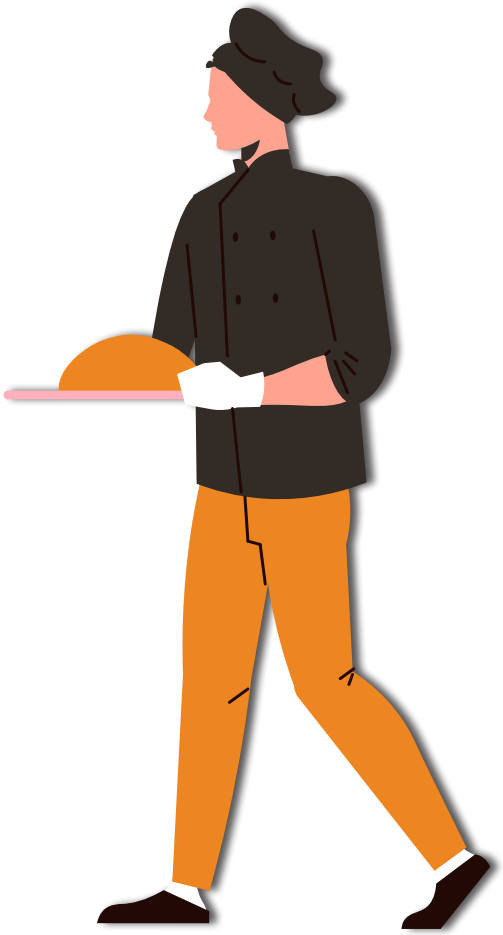
Trade unions should exert pressure on their governments to fulfill their duty to promote and develop certain mechanisms of collective bargaining related to the characteristics of precarious workers.



A long-term and stable technological and economic vision should be adopted:
Just as the discussions of precarization have become evident following an economic and technological transformation, precarity may also deepen in dynamic economic and technological conditions. Accordingly, the fight against social insecurity is possible with technological and economic awareness, a fair planning that simultaneously fits into the future vision of many stakeholders. Instead of short-term solutions, plans that prepare both the entrepreneur and the employee for the future should be made from the bottom up, in parallel with the medium and long-term, national and sectoral development and investment plans, and technology and economic policies should be shaped in the axis of the interests of all stakeholders of the working life, with the awareness that insecurity is directly related to economic fragility, and that there will be no secure working opportunity for large masses unless economic and technological development takes place in a stable and fair way.

Adoption of the transnational audit approach: Many popular economic practices, including growth-oriented economic policies of countries, are currently causing insecurity to spread in waves in global labor markets. Transnational activities of companies that try to overcome the working conditions that they cannot reveal within the framework of labor law in the countries where they have their headquarters by creating international production networks should be supervised transnationally in a similar vein.

Closely monitoring the sectors most vulnerable to vulnerability and prioritizing their transformation: The generic study categories that come to mind when it comes to precariat do not come to mind by chance. It is essential to prioritize the sectors both monitoring and transformation of sectors where precarious work has become the nature of work, such as textile, which is remembered with concepts such as illegal workshops, and agricultural labor, which is remembered with employees who go to collect nuts when it is the time of the year. The sectors where precarity has become chronic also indirectly affect other sectors, making legal gaps visible and creating a demotivating effect by setting a negative example for employers.



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