



NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

**THE PRECARIAT: RESPONSES OF WORKING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS
IN THE FOOD/ CATERING INDUSTRY IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF
NORTHERN CYPRUS (TRNC).**

SHARON NYARAI KARINDA

MASTER'S THESIS

NICOSIA
2020

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THESIS SUPERVISOR
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NICOSIA
2020

ACCEPTANCE/APPROVAL

We as the jury members certify the 'The Precariat: Responses of working international students in the Food/Catering Industry in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' prepared by the Sharon Nyarai Karinda defended on 18/06/2020 has been found satisfactory for the award of degree of Master.

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Date: 18 July 2020

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ABSTRACT

THE PRECARIAT: RESPONSES OF WORKING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN THE FOOD/ CATERING INDUSTRY IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS (TRNC).

This research deals with the question of why there is no political participation among student workers in the food industry in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Previous research of international student workers focused on their poor working conditions; unlawful working hours, poor remuneration and discrimination due to difference in language and culture and its impact on political mobilization and participation. This research will assess the applicability of similar practices and conditions in North Cyprus to this working hypothesis of if (X) they are international student workers; foreign students studying and working illegally, informally and unofficially on a full time or part time basis in the food/catering industry (restaurants, hotels and fast food joints) then (Y) their poor working conditions (lack of work permits, long hours, poor remuneration) denies them political participation in mobilizing and voicing out their grievances which will be explored at the individual level of analysis. The best theory that explains this relationship is the rational theory, because it better elicits how employers of international student workers rely on cheap undocumented labor disregarding the labor law. International student workers are also working for survival to mitigate living expenses despite poor working conditions. There are several alternative/plausible explanations for the changes in Y, such as overstaying on a student resident permit being a violation of the law and also international student worker' reliance on the job to pay tuition fees, rent and bills. As a result, this research will rely on the nomothetic research design to assess the responses of international student workers. Therefore, the researcher would compile survey questions, create an online survey and send the link to the potential respondents. The next step would be to categorize data into different themes and assess the responses through factor analysis. In order to obtain necessary data, the author instrumentalized the variables of (X) as number of students that are working,

the status of work (informal, illegal, undeclared labor), and (Y) precarious conditions, which denies them political participation which can be measured through the number of hours' students work per week, wages received and the number of students who have contracts among other issues. She also identified the following population 101 respondents and adopted the convenience sampling strategy, which allows us to increase the validity because the international student workers are readily available, replicability international student workers are easily accessible and following steps used can enable the researcher to test research findings, and reliability because the research follows consistent steps, anyone can repeat the same process and get the same findings. The author will employ the following obtrusive method of data collection to prove the hypothesis. In an effort to conduct ethical research, the author will use obtrusive methods gaining informed consent from the respondents, maintaining anonymity and confidentiality to protect the rights of the international student workers. There are several weaknesses in this project such as using a small sample size, lack of time and the emergence of the global pandemic Covid 19 that inhibited the researcher from interacting with students face to face so several triangulation methods must be used to confirm validity of the findings, such as online survey (quantitative) and document analysis (qualitative) in this research.

Keywords (5-8 words): Precariat, International student workers, Food Industry, deteriorated working conditions, illegal work, discrimination in the workplace.

ÖZ

THE PRECARIAT: RESPONSES OF WORKING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN THE FOOD/ CATERING INDUSTRY IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS (TRNC).

Bu araştırma, Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nde (KKTC) gıda endüstrisindeki öğrenci işçiler arasında neden siyasi katılım olmadığı sorusunu ele almaktadır. Uluslararası öğrenci çalışanlarının daha önceki araştırmaları kötü çalışma koşullarına odaklanmıştı; kanunsuz çalışma saatleri, dil ve kültür farklılıkları ve siyasi seferberlik ve katılım üzerindeki etkisi nedeniyle zayıf ücret ve ayrımcılık. Bu araştırma, Kuzey Kıbrıs'taki benzer uygulama ve koşulların (X) uluslararası öğrenci işçi olup olmadıkları; Gıda / catering endüstrisinde (restoranlar, oteller ve fast food ortakları) tam zamanlı veya yarı zamanlı olarak yasadışı, gayri resmi ve gayri resmi olarak çalışan ve çalışan yabancı öğrenciler (Y) kötü çalışma koşullarını (çalışma izinlerinin olmaması, uzun saatler, düşük ücret) bireysel analiz düzeyinde incelenecek olan şikayetlerini harekete geçirme ve dile getirme konusundaki siyasi katılımlarını reddeder. Bu ilişkiyi açıklayan en iyi teori rasyonel teoridir, çünkü uluslararası öğrenci işçi işverenlerinin iş yasasını göz ardı ederek ucuz belgelenmemiş emeğe nasıl güventiklerini daha iyi ortaya çıkarır. Uluslararası öğrenci çalışanları da kötü çalışma koşullarına rağmen yaşam giderlerini azaltmak için hayatta kalmak için çalışıyorlar. Y'deki değişiklikler için, öğrenci ikamet izninin yasaların ihlali olarak fazladan denetlenmesi ve ayrıca uluslararası öğrenci işçinin öğrenim ücretleri, kira ve faturaları ödemeye olan işe güvenmesi gibi çeşitli alternatif / makul açıklamalar vardır. Sonuç olarak, bu araştırma uluslararası öğrenci çalışanlarının yanıtlarını değerlendirmek için nomotetik araştırma tasarımına dayanacaktır. Bu nedenle, araştırmacı anket sorularını derleyecek, çevrimiçi bir anket oluşturacak ve potansiyel katılımcılara bağlantı gönderecektir. Bir sonraki adım, verileri farklı temalara göre sınıflandırmak ve yanıtları faktör analizi yoluyla değerlendirmek olacaktır. Gerekli verileri elde etmek için, yazar (X) değişkenlerini çalışan öğrenci sayısı, iş durumu (kayıt dışı, yasadışı, kayıt

dışı emek) ve (Y) Politik katılımı engelleyen güvencesiz koşullar, bu da haftada çalışılan öğrenci sayısı, alınan ücretler ve diğer konular arasında sözleşmesi olan öğrenci sayısı ile ölçülebilen. Ayrıca, aşağıdaki ankete katılan 101 kişiyi tanımladı ve uluslararası öğrenci işçilerin hazır olması, tekrarlanabilirlik uluslararası öğrenci işçilerinin kolayca erişilebilir olması ve kullanılan adımların araştırmacının araştırma bulgularını test etmesini sağlaması nedeniyle geçerliliği artırmamızı sağlayan kolaylık örnekleme stratejisini benimsedi. ve güvenilirlik, çünkü araştırma tutarlı adımları takip ettiğinden, herkes aynı süreci tekrarlayabilir ve aynı bulguları alabilir. Yazar, hipotezi kanıtlamak için aşağıdaki rahatsız edici veri toplama yöntemini kullanacaktır. Etik araştırma yürütmek için yazar, uluslararası öğrenci çalışanlarının haklarını korumak için anonimlik ve gizliliği koruyarak katılımcılardan bilgilendirilmiş onay almak için rahatsız edici yöntemler kullanacaktır. Bu projede küçük bir örneklem büyüklüğünün kullanılması, zaman eksikliği ve araştırmacının öğrencilerle yüz yüze iletişim kurmasını engelleyen küresel pandemi Covid 19'un ortaya çıkması gibi bazı zayıflıklar vardır, bu nedenle geçerliliğini doğrulamak için birkaç nirengi yöntemi kullanılmalıdır. Bu araştırmada çevrimiçi anket (nicel) ve doküman analizi (nitel) gibi bulgular.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Prekaryat, Uluslararası öğrenci çalışanları, Gıda Endüstrisi, çalışma koşullarının bozulması, yasadışı çalışma, işyerinde ayrımcılık.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE	13
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	13
1.1. Introduction	13
1.2. International Student Workers and Precarious Work	15
1.3. Impact of Job Precariousness on Political Mobilization and Participation	22
1.4. Theory: Exit, Voice, and Fear	24
CHAPTER TWO	29
THE LABOR LAWS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDENT WORKERS	29
2.1 Introduction	29
2.2 TRNC Laws on Foreign Workers	29
CHAPTER THREE.....	40
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	40
3.1. Research Methodology	40
3.2. Qualitative and Quantitative Research	41
3.3. Target Population	41
3.4. Sampling Techniques	42
3.5. Convenience Sampling	42
3.6. Data Collection Methods	43
3.7. Data Analysis Techniques	44
3.8. Ethical Considerations	45
CHAPTER FOUR.....	46
DATA PRESENTATION ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	46
4.1 Introduction	46
4.2 Research Participants	46
4.3 Precarity and Student Work Permit Regulation	48
4.4 Remuneration of International student workers	52
4.5 Employment Contracts	56
4.6 Health Insurance and Student Workers	57

4.7 Discrimination in the Workplace: Language, Racism and Culture as Barriers	58
4.8 Hours of Work	60
4.9 Political Participation among International Student Workers ...	61
4.10 Misconduct in the Workplace	63
CONCLUSION.....	67
SUMMARY	67
RECOMMENDATIONS	70
REFERENCES.....	72
APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE.....	83
APPENDIX 2:.....	89
Indicators of Discriminatory Practices and Probable Responses.....	89
PLAGIARISM REPORT.....	91
ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL.....	92

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Age ranges of international student workers	47
Table 2: Status of work of International Student workers	49
Table 3: TRNC minimum wage statistics	53

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Name of Universities of the participant student workers	48
Figure 2: Nationalities of student workers	48
Figure 3: Reasons for work for student workers.....	52
Figure 4: Salary range for international student workers.....	52
Figure 5: Reactions of students on employment orientation.	56
Figure 6: Responses of student workers on employer-employee relations ..	60
Figure 7: Hours of work for student workers	61
Figure 8: Responses of student workers on political participation.....	62
Figure 9: Operational model for student worker option in Precarity.....	63

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

This research is trying to understand why there is no political participation to mediate the rights of international student workers in the food industry of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Achiri (2019) notes that international student workers in North Cyprus face problems such as discrimination, sexual harassment and violence. In that regard an independent international student' representative body Voice of International Students (VOIS) has lobbied the Ministry of Labor of the TRNC for laws that protect the working rights of international students and administer access to working permits for the international students holding accountable employers who fail to pay them. However, it remains a key problem because the working conditions have not changed and many international students are still living in fear of voicing out because of their precarious working status. This research answers this question by setting up the following hypothesis: The precarious working conditions of working international students in the food industry of the TRNC denies them political participation. Specifically, this research will show that most of the students are working illegally, informally and unofficially, thereby violating the law, which puts them in precarious conditions and denies them political participation.

Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is to assess the responses of the international student workers to the working hypothesis since most of the students employed in food industry in TRNC are working illegally, informally and unofficially, thereby violating the law, such precarious conditions denies them political participation.

The food industry as defined by Sadiku (2019:128) refers to a collection of several types of industries; food processing, preservation and catering (restaurants, hotels, inns and fast food joints). In that regard the food industry is prone to labor law violation because of the nature of the industry. Dienstbühl

et.al (2008:23) reveal that the safety conditions of workers are violated with the majority of workers not using protective clothing whilst operating sharp objects, machinery or using chemicals or substances that might be a danger to the skin and health in general. Furthermore, the food industry does not require high skilled workers and employees find themselves working below their level of education in a dynamic and stressful industry to complete the job. Therefore, employees might work overtime and take up more shifts in order to meet job expectations.

Violation of law by international student workers refers to the failure to adhere to labor law regulation, which governs employment terms and provides a framework of standard working conditions regulating the terms of employment contracts, hours, wages and employment termination. International student workers in food industry violate the law because of the unwillingness of the employer to process work permits, command of the local language and cultural barriers, complex and costly work permit processes and ignorance of work permit processes among others. What may start as an informal summer work, may create fear of being caught, deported, fined and/or suspended.

Significance of the Study

Precarious work is defined as work that is denied permanent employee rights, unstable employment and unsafe working conditions (Sargeant, 2016). Precarity is therefore a state in which the employment of workers is insecure, receiving poor wages, economic deprivation from employee benefits (health/pension benefits) and limited workplace rights (ability to voice out grievances). International student workers are largely employed in narrow-wage and low skilled jobs that have put this group in precarious working conditions (Marginson et.al, 2010). Precarity is characterized by poor working conditions, such as low salaries and payment problems, long working hours, absence of student work permit, discrimination on the basis of race, language and culture and exclusion from health insurance. As a result, student workers are

vulnerable because of the above-mentioned deteriorating conditions. This research would contextualize these assessments in understanding why there is no political participation among international student workers in North Cyprus. It would assess the remuneration of international student workers, hours of work, contract benefits if any, student work permit possession and their active participation in lobbying for better working conditions.

According to Reilly (2012) international student workers are vulnerable in the workforce because of cultural and language barriers, which limits mobilization and participation in the workplace. In assessing the disadvantages of the ignorance of the employer or host language, Reilly highlights that it makes it difficult to understand and interpret the working conditions in the workplace and this would ultimately lead to the violation of Visa conditions. Similarly, this inability increases difficulties students face in investigating their labor rights and standards to access advice or engage with labor interest groups. Similar traits of language barriers exist in North Cyprus where student workers are ignorant of the host's language. The international student workers within the food industry in North Cyprus are not well versed with the Turkish language, which is predominantly used by the employers. Therefore, the international student workers fail to negotiate and communicate their grievances on poor working conditions (hours of work, salary payments), and to address injustices within the workplace to their employers because of language restrictions. It should be highlighted that the hindrance due to ignorance of language by international students places them in a precarious group.

Illegal and undeclared work help define the status of international student workers working informally in the food industry. Eurofound (2013) defines undeclared work as "work that is legal but is not declared to the authorities for tax, social security or labor law purposes". Therefore, undeclared work by employers is a violation of labor and tax regulations (Reilly, 2012:191). Furthermore, illegal employment also seeks to explore student workers that are not part of informal and undeclared labor. OECD (2014) defines illegal

employment of foreign workers as breaching and non-complying with legal or administrative regulations, neither with migration nor with labor rules. The effects of illegal and undeclared labor are that of student-workers breaking the law subject to penalties, cancellation of the student visa or deportation. These limitations of illegality might also be detrimental to student workers' rights and participation in mobilization and politics of issues that affect them.

It should also be said that precarious statuses also implicate political participation among employees. Kalleberg (2009) notes that the growth of precarious working conditions has not only affected the employee's role in the organization but other areas of social and political life. Hammer (2002) notes that political participation entails involvement in writing letters to public officials, joining active political organizations and attending political meetings among other things. Hirschman (1970) expands on the issue of political participation and introduces the concept of recuperation of organizations. He notes that the concept of voice is a recovery mechanism, where dissatisfied employees would use reserves of political power and influence whenever the vital interests are directly threatened. According to Hirschman (1970) this option is available to employees that believe they can make a difference.

Justification of the study

Political Implications

Leal (2002:385) assesses the reasons why migrant political mobilization is limited or non-existent. She highlights that poverty, cultural barriers and lack of political status; no legal documentation explain why migrant workers might be cut off from political channels and its activities. Furthermore, Reilly (2012) focused on culture and language as barriers to political mobilization. However, these studies on political mobilization focused on migrant workers and did not outline if similar conditions exist among international student workers especially in North Cyprus. This research therefore checks issues of culture, poverty and illegal documentation in the food industry in the TRNC and

attempts to derive unique reasons peculiar to North Cyprus as to why they do not participate politically.

Economic Implications

According to Sumption (2011:4) employers choose to hire foreign workers illegally or as undeclared labor to evade paying taxes and health insurances among other obligations. This research, however, would analyze the interplay of hiring cheap labor and its effects on the precariousness of international students. It will highlight the infringement of student worker's rights as a result of employers maximizing profit from hiring cheap labor.

Social and Cultural Implications

It is crucial to outline that cultural and language barriers that exist in the workplace inhibit student workers from interpreting and negotiating for fair working conditions (Reilly, 2012). The research would contribute to how language barriers and cultural differences that exist in the TRNC aggravate the relations between employers and international student workers in the food industry. Tourism is one of the leading sectors contributing to the economic development of North Cyprus thus providing more job opportunities for many international students. Both genders of international student workers (male and females) are represented in the food industry unlike other sectors, like construction that represents only the male international student worker.

Theory: Exit, Voice, and Fear

Albert Hirschman (1970) assessed the potential responses that people might have to decline services provided by corporations, firms, brands, governments and states. The people might exit, voice or stay loyal as responses to the decline in services provided by an employer, seller, political parties or states. The present study adopted these three options to explain the potential

responses of international student workers facing deteriorated working conditions in the workplace. It would also replace loyalty with fear as an option that student workers might take in managing dissatisfaction in the food industry in North Cyprus. He notes that the member can choose to exit the organization for a competing organization, and voice for change from within, which is closely tied to the last reaction loyalty where members continue with the organization or products hoping it'll recover or they're able to do something. Hirschman's analysis would contribute significantly towards understanding how international students react in precarious job settings towards the alternative ways highlighted above. However, following application of the model to precarious conditions of labor force (for example, Kolarska and Aldrich, 1980; Boroff, 1989; Greenberg and Edwards, 2009) that has replaced loyalty with silence, this research would replace loyalty with the cause of the lack of political participation, which is fear in order to explain how student workers react to deteriorating conditions in the workplace.

The thesis will also rely on the Public Choice Theory (PCT) to analyze how and under what circumstances people make choices. According to Hay (2004:49) in explaining the PCT theory notes that individuals are rational and behave in cost-benefit analysis of each choice and scout for one that maximizes benefit. The theory rejects community or group decisions and focuses on the individual. This suggests that groups do not make decisions only individuals do. The study would assess the responses of student workers in the TRNC and assess the choices on different options of exit, voice and fear in response to the deteriorated working conditions in the food industry of the TRNC. International student workers are fearful of deportation, imprisonment and losing the job as a result of their status as illegal workers without student work permits.

Research Contribution

The TRNC over the years has received an influx of international students from various countries and this change has brought legal and working regulation challenges. Students' identity in the TRNC is inclined to residence permits, and

attaining a work permit would require the student to change status. The research would assess why there is no political participation among international student workers working illegally, unofficially and informally in the food industry in North Cyprus. It also seeks to highlight how their precarious work status as student workers leads them to work in precarious conditions and therefore minimizes or denies them the opportunity to participate politically. The research focuses on the food industry because tourism is one of the leading sectors in North Cyprus providing more jobs for international student workers in catering and food services.

Scope of the Study

The TRNC regulation on work permits requires employers to apply for work permits on behalf of their prospective employees and to settle all expenses for the application. By this application the employer is bound by law to meet social security costs, health insurance, and paid leave and pension funds among other things. However, employers in the TRNC hire cheap labor and neglect regulation on recruiting foreign workers. The food industry in the TRNC has seen huge profits due to tourism and education and they rely on cheap labor and less responsibility to the social service department to stay afloat and make additional profits. Inversely employees have restricted or are denied rights that legally employed workers have, such as minimum wage, legal hours and health benefits among others.

Other factors of the illegal and/or unofficial recruitment reflects knowledge that international students are desperate for work. The international students are also interested in subsidizing their studies together with work to meet other expenses, therefore look for jobs to earn money. Being in that position employers know that students would be interested in such an opportunity regardless of the precarious conditions.

The research drew two indicators from the causal hypothesis. The responses of international students engaging in part-time and full-time jobs in the TRNC can be measured through violation of law of the TRNC government. The units of measurement are the number of students that are working, the status of work (informal, illegal, undeclared labor), working international students that have work permits. The other variable is the precarious condition, which denies them political participation and can be measured through the number hours students work per week, amount of salary given, number of students with contracts, number of students that have been fired or mistreated, number of students that have filed complaints to the police concerning their employees, and the number of students that have participated in worker's unions.

This study identified the following sample frame of 101 international students from 13 countries and six different universities. The respondents came from Near East University, European University of Lefke, Eastern Mediterranean University, Kyrenia University, Girne American University and Cyprus International University highlight the different universities the respondents are coming from. For this research undergraduate, masters and Ph.D. students are under study to show the dynamics of level of education and also age range. The age range of the student workers was between 18 years to 35 years. It would primarily focus on students that have worked and also those that are still working in the food industry in North Cyprus. The research adopted the non-probability sampling strategy, convenience sampling, which allows one to increase the validity because the students selected are relevant to meet objectives and research questions of this study. It will increase replicability because the students are available and following steps used can enable them to test research findings, reliability means results are repeatable because the research follows coherent steps, anyone can repeat the same process and get the same results.

Research Methodology

The hypothesis for this study is if there are working international students in food industry, they violate the law, and their precarious working conditions in this food/ catering industry denies them political participation. This section outlines plausible rival hypotheses that render a logical alternative to the original hypothesis. There are other factors that demonstrate the violation of law and how those precarious conditions inhibit them from politically participating. To note, overstaying on a student resident permit or not possessing a valid resident permit X_1 is a violation of Chapter 105 of the foreigners and immigration law, which is filed with penalties. A lack of this document will inhibit students from getting a job, access to housing contracts and access to health care. Furthermore, students renting or living in an accommodation without house contract that stipulate conditions of living X_2 may also undermine their political participation. For example, if students are unlawfully dismissed or duped by landlords and agents they cannot appeal to court or report to the police because of lack of written evidence and inability to hire expensive lawyers. However, it is a violation of law that places students in vulnerable positions and therefore limits their ability to voice out to address the injustices. It is the violation of law also that makes the international students complacent in their various work spaces in fear of losing a job or a deportation.

The precarious working conditions of international student workers inhibits them from political participation however, this data can be explained in some other way. International students are trying to work to mitigate living expenses during their stay in North Cyprus. The regulation has been set up in such a way that students prioritize their schoolwork and also decrease competition in jobs with locals. Inversely the employers have taken advantage of this and are willing to break the law due to the huge demand for work among international students. Employers in the food industry are rational actors who are interested in gaining profits from hiring inexpensively. Thus, they are confined in a situation that constraints them to abide by labor laws and state laws.

For this hypothesis the researcher would adopt a nomothetic study design to understand the nature of working international students in the TRNC. The characteristic of nomothetic design is to assess and prove generalizations or establish laws that apply to all people. Therefore, the study would analyze secondary data on foreign student workers, regulations and the interplay of the two. The next step would be to conduct an online survey from international students who have worked or are still working in the food industry to deduce responses. Furthermore, the researcher would consider TRNC regulations of foreign and student workers. The last stage would be to deduce the themes from the responses on how their precarious status determined their choice of actions.

The research methodology employed is a mixed method approach (qualitative and quantitative) to explain the precarious status of international students who decide to engage in part-time and full-time jobs in the TRNC. The sampling strategy for this research would be the non-probability sampling strategy convenience sampling, which allows one to increase the validity because the international students selected are relevant to meet objectives and research questions of this study. It will increase replicability because the demand for jobs is very high therefore students would continue working and following steps used can enable to test research findings, reliability means results are repeatable because the research follows coherent steps, anyone can repeat the same process and get the same results.

This research will use the obtrusive method in particular surveys to look for responses of student workers to prove the hypothesis. It also enables replicability because one can go back to the source and repeat the stages followed by the researcher to arrive at the same findings overtime and also enables the researcher to rule out other alternatives. Reliability in the obtrusive method of research is that it is a repeatable process as working international students are available on the island of the TRNC.

The method of data collection for the document analysis will rely on primary sources collected and compiled by the researcher. They are primary sources because it is the researcher's original work and responses of international students working in North Cyprus. In order to gain an understanding of the nature of International students working in the TRNC juxtaposed to the regulation of the TRNC it has been deduced that the clash of the two creates negative effects, such as precariousness in the job setting and therefore inhibits the students from standing up for their rights in the workplace. The type of data required for the purpose of this research is the literature on international students working in the informal sector, the employer-employee relations in the informal sector, mobilization and recognition of these international students, and how they choose to deal with precariousness, by voicing out, fear or by exiting. All this data must be produced and analyzed in order to confirm the hypothesis of the nature of International students working in the TRNC therefore violating the law leading them to precarious conditions and ultimately denying them political participation.

The design can be achieved through issuing surveys with the sampling frame of 101 international student workers and what their experience has been in working in the TRNC. The researcher would check all the responses if they've been filled in correctly and how they responded to questions and develop a coding manual to facilitate analysis. In this research, axial coding will be incorporated which will break down data into core themes and categories, conditions, context or strategies. The categories will have different numbers or letters representing the theme known to the researcher for easy analysis of data. The next step would be to consider the TRNC rules and regulation and how these structural forces can impede or accelerate the political participation of international students. The last step would be to conduct a document analysis and the applicability of the concept of fear. The analysis will also analyze the outstanding themes in the different articles and discuss them in reference to the working hypothesis.

Structure of the Study

The study consists of four chapters. The introduction has outlined the research problem and background of the study. Chapter one focuses on literature review and theoretical framework. Chapter two consists of the TRNC Labor law with the third chapter explaining the methodology and data methods and data analysis employed. Chapter four would present data, analysis and discussion and the Conclusion would consist of summary, recommendations and conclusions to the study.

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. Introduction

The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) over the years has seen an influx of international students from various countries around the world and this change has created legal and working regulation challenges and concerns. This section examines the nature of jobs undertaken by international students. International student workers in this research refer to foreign students that are employed informally and engage in part-time work in the food/catering industry in the TRNC. The evidence from reviewed literature below highlights that there is significant precarity in the service sector in different countries around the world where international students are working and indicators of vulnerability were identified as underpayment, non-payment, and breach of labor regulation by employers, illegal and undeclared work and its effects on political mobilization and participation (Anderson, 2011). The study also adopted Hirschman's 1970 framework of Exit, Voice and Loyalty and integrated it to explain the options that might be taken by international students in response to prevailing deteriorated conditions in the workplace. The concepts of 'bare life' and 'precarious life' by Giorgio Agamben (1998) and Judith Butler (2001) respectively were also incorporated to explain the invisible and unvalued precarious condition of international student workers in North Cyprus. Therefore, scholarly discussions from case studies in different countries seek to create a base for the research analysis of the characteristics of jobs undertaken by international student workers in the TRNC. The terms international student workers and student workers will be used interchangeably.

Before we delve into dynamics of the conditions of student workers, it is important to pay attention to the concept of precarity, which has been developed by various political theorists and applied to describe conditions of different full-time, legal and official labor force, such as part-time workers, subcontractors who are forced to agree with lesser conditions compared to their full-time counter-parts within the context of neoliberal globalization. The work of Judith Butler and Giorgio Agamben are especially illuminating in defining the nature of precarity.

The concept of 'bare life' was propounded by Agamben (1998) to explain conditions of legal workers in the contemporary phase of capitalism. He defines these workers as subjects who are invisible; denied both political and legal representation. According to Agamben (1998) every citizen has two separate qualities between *bios* and *zoe*. *Bios* refers to a legitimized political life and political representation and *zoe* refers to an animal, sacred life with no political participation (1998:3). Women, children, slaves and foreigners from the public realm explicitly reveal the act of exclusion because of their confinement to the private sphere they can only be recognized as biological beings (Havercroft, 2011). As a result, Agamben notes a process where individuals are stripped of citizenship and removed from *bios* (political life) and reduced to *zoe* (bare life). More importantly, today's politics has been transformed into the realm of 'bare life' into a concentration camp where anyone can have rights revoked anytime (Agamben, 1998:120) making all citizens appear virtually as *homo sacer* (ibid:111). The research has benefitted from the concept of bare life to explore the concept of precarity and political marginalization among international student workers in North Cyprus. International student workers have become invisible and unvalued and have been deprived of political representation because of their illegal identity, language, cultural and structural barriers among other factors. The study would also reflect on the reduction of life lived by international student workers from pure self-identity to bare life.

Judith Butler in *Precarious Life: the Towers of Mourning and Violence* (2001) highlights the conditions of heightened aggression and vulnerability that followed the 9/11 attack. According to Butler the political situation is one in

which fear and surveillance are working efficiently to control other voices. The book is premised on what has come to constitute a human being, namely that which counts as a liveable life and a grievable death. Anyone or anything that does not fall within those two categories as a life worth living or death worth grieving is no longer regarded as human (Butler, 2001). Similar to Agamben, Butler advocates ethical responsibility focused on mutual recognition and visibility of the excluded even if the only way to do it is to mourn them. In her analysis she was trying to create a sense of the public in which opposing views are not feared, degraded, dismissed but valued for the instigation of democracy. The research assesses why international student workers do not participate politically in experiencing precarious working conditions. These international student workers are marginalized politically and their lives are not 'livable' and worth paying attention to. Therefore are undervalued and unrecognized. As highlighted above, the student workers in such precarious conditions, might choose to remain in fear because of structural, cultural and language constraints that might inhibit them from participating and mobilizing politically.

1.2. International Student Workers and Precarious Work

International student workers are largely employed in narrow-wage and low skilled jobs that have put this group in precarious working conditions (Marginson et.al, 2010). Precarity is defined by Eberle, & Holliday (2011:372) as a "condition experienced by workers whose day to day existence is characterized by instability and insecurity". The term applies to various aspects of unsure, not guaranteed, flexible exploitation from "illegalized seasonal and temporary employment to subcontractors and freelancers" (Neilson and Rossiter, 2005:1). Campbell et.al (2016) notes that there is growing evidence of international student workers being paid in low wages below the minimum wage rates. According to a study conducted of Australian international students in 2005, 58% of these students worked as kitchen hands, waiters, cleaners, and petrol pump attendants: the hourly rate wage they earned was below the minimum wage according to the Australian labor laws on wages (Marginson et.al 2010:136). This finding is consistent with Nyland, et.al (2009)

Australian research on international student workers that reported low and illegal pay rates. In the study 58,1% of these student workers were paid below \$10 Australian Dollar (AUD) an hour and where the federal minimum wage was \$13,74 (AUD) (Hahn & Wilkins, 2008:21). It is crucial to note that the term 'precarious' does not strictly mean poor working conditions although it overlaps to include those features (Choonara, 2019).

The TRNC labor law (2006) Article 23 highlights that international student workers should be given minimum wage per hour and this research would assess the payment of wages or salaries in the context of international student workers in the service industry in the TRNC. However, as other literature has shown in other countries, such as Australia, this provision is violated, because international students "live in a host country without a right of long-term residence undertaking paid work during their stay" (Boese et.al, 2013:317). Mares (2012) depicts them as part of a group that is significantly growing of temporary migrant workers. Therefore, their involvement in paid work categorizes them as, 'student- migrant workers' (Neilson, 2005). In that sense, Anderson et al. (2011:59) argues that the working experiences of international students are illustrative of migrant workers as they are both defined by precarity of long hours, low wages and unsafe working environments. To reflect their semi-permanent employment status, Standing (2011:7) introduces the concept of the Precariat. He defines it as a distinctive socio-economic group, it is a neologism that combines 'precarious' and 'proletariat' to define a group of people whose employment situation provides with little or no financial stability among other work benefits (Standing, 2011:7). The poor treatment of international student workers, with widespread low wages or underpayment as one of the main factors at the workplace translates into social injustice, demanding a policy response (Nyland et.al, 2009). The literature above highlighted one of the modes of precarity, as low wages and how that relates student workers to migrant workers.

The TRNC the labor law regulates employment of foreign workers and in particular international student workers. The undeclared work by employers is a violation of labor and taxation regulations (Reilly, 2012:191). Eurofound (2013) defines undeclared work as “work that is legal but is not declared to the authorities for tax, social security or labor law purposes”. According to Campbell (2016) in their research on international students working in Australia in the restaurant and takeaway food service sector, student workers should receive pay slips that accurately highlight the hours worked and the salary earned together with tax deductions. Reilly (2012:191) extends the idea of undeclared work noting that, undeclared work carries with it a breach of visa regulations of international students. The student-worker becomes an illegal worker subject to penalties that would result in the cancellation of the student visa or deportation. In Reilly’s assessment, the longer the hours student workers spend on the job, the greater leverage the employer has on the employee if they complain about their working conditions and wage rates (Reilly, 2012:191). International student workers in North Cyprus are categorized as part-time employees and are prone to be part of undeclared labor. It should be said that the labor law of the TRNC (2006) Article 23 stipulates that employers are required to register their part-time student worker employees and should possess a social security number, which would directly result in payment of tax, which employers are required to pay. From the above study it was deduced that student workers are prone to become part of undeclared labor as a result of failure to adhere to labor law regulation.

In addition to the above, illegal employment would be explored together with undeclared work as the latter does not represent the entirety of international student workers. According to OECD (2014) illegal employment of foreign workers is defined as breaching and non-complying with legal or administrative regulations, either migration or labor rules. From the above, this refers to the employment of foreign workers with no residence or work permit or who are not in full conformity with the conditions of their permits, or who hold permits that are no longer valid (OECD, 2014). Furthermore, OECD (2014) suggests that potential gaps or inconsistencies in administrative rules and frameworks

such as legislation enabling foreign workers to move into a regular status contributes as barriers to applying for legalized work. In their analysis, they not only concentrate on slow and complex administrative status change as highlighted by (Schneider & Enste, 2000) they also center their argument on cultural and language barriers as inhibiting foreign workers from processing work documentation. As a result of these setbacks student workers may involuntarily find themselves in irregular situations or non-compliance with work and residence papers (OECD, 2014). The above discussion explored illegal employment and potential gaps that places foreign workers in precarious conditions.

One of the main reasons that business activities have been taking place in the shadows or illegally is the prevalence of burdensome and costly regulations of governments (Djankov et.al, 2003). Sumption (2011:4) notes that employers may choose to hire foreign workers illegally not because such workers accept low wages, but because employers can evade other costly regulations and taxes. Furthermore, the level and administrative complexity of taxation put in place by governments hinder employers from going formal in some business processes for example recruiting employees (Schneider & Enste, 2000). It is crucial to highlight that employers make decisions to maximize their gains and minimize losses. According to Article 23 of the 2006 TRNC labor law, employers are supposed to pay health insurance and taxes for the recruited student workers. The above literature as indicated above poses the experiences faced by employers that might inhibit them from formalizing businesses processes that includes recruiting foreign workers in adhering to labor law regulations.

It is crucial to highlight that the study also seeks to understand the responses of international student workers to precarious working conditions and assess indicators of vulnerabilities in the workplace. Student workers are mainly concentrated in peripheral jobs with low wages and job security and excluded from upmarket service jobs (Kellner et.al 2016, Knox, 2011). The insecurity of

student workers stems from the absence of or impractical contracts issued on the onset of the job. According to scholars, (Shelly 2007, Pai 2008, Minto 2009) student migrant workers obtain wages through 'word of mouth', taking up jobs in substandard conditions for lower wages, therefore they find themselves taking up jobs neglected by local workers. In a survey conducted in New Zealand, 4 in 10 student workers were paid illegally, with 'cash in hand' (Balin et.al, 2016). The precarious nature of these payments leaves student migrant workers excluded from contract benefits and exposed to hazardous working conditions (Kretsos, 2010:3). The agreement between the employer and employee must be set in writing in order to be effective. McKay et.al (2006) notes that for periods more than one-month, the employer must issue the student worker with a signed recording detailing the basic working conditions. He explains that the contract must contain the name and addresses of the employee, place of work, job description, level of pay, working hours and notice periods (McKay et.al, 2006:47). In Boocock et.al' s (2012) assessment there is no transparency and accuracy in measuring the well-being of all student workers to assess if employers are following the law if there is no written contract. They extend that the government database rarely captures the plight, fatalities and claims of precarious student workers (Boocock et.al, 2012). It can be deduced from the information given above that the issue of contract service is a source of vulnerability of international students who have no written agreements with their employers.

Undeclared and illegal work is also characterized by precarious working conditions in terms of unlawful working hours (Scully, 2009). Wu et al (2010) argues that student workers may also work in excess of their visa conditions due to financial obligations such as educational loans as well as meeting the costs of living in a host country. In a research conducted in Universities in New Zealand in 2016, it deduced that students admitted to working full time and also part time in clear violation of visa conditions which stipulated that student workers were to work at least 20 hours a week (Anderson, et al. 2011:59). In McInnis Hartley's (2002) assessment student workers are often unwilling to admit to working more than 20 hours per week because in Australia and New

Zealand this can lead to a mandatory withdrawal of visas. Therefore, these findings about excess working hours or substandard working conditions are likely to be conservatively reported (McInnis & Hartley's, 2002). According to the TRNC Labor law of (2006) Article 23, one of the conditions of hire for international student workers is to have them work for 4 hours a day, 24 hours a week, working hours beyond the stipulated hours is a violation of the law. The foreign experience as highlighted above suggests that student workers are vulnerable in adhering to the law of work permits on conditions of work in particular hours of work.

To note, international student workers are also prone to employer exploitation. McDonald et.al (2007) argues that student workers are vulnerable to employer exploitation because of limited work skills, high unemployment and ignorance of worker's rights. He explains how university student workers from Queensland, Australia who participated in the research were ignorant about the employee rights and obligations. The respondents had limited or incorrect knowledge while others have been threatened that if they follow up or demand re-evaluation of wages they would be reported to the immigration department (McDonald et.al, 2007). It is crucial to highlight that of these respondents none of them belonged to a union or a group in their work placements. Standing (2011:16) suggests that the members of the Precariat or union group must have common interests to be part of the group. The groups that are classified under the Precariat are those that are "near it, close to it or linked to it" a "class by itself" (Kallerberg, 2012:685). In Grunell and Van Her Kaar's (2003) assessment of student workers in low skilled jobs in the service sector in smaller firms increased the disadvantages associated with unionization, which would educate them on their rights and responsibilities in organizations. From the above study it can be deduced that the student worker's knowledge of employee rights and skills are crucial in maximizing the chances of political participation and mobilization with the lack of it leading to vulnerability.

It should be highlighted that student workers are vulnerable in the workforce because of cultural and language barriers which limits mobilization and participation in the workplace (Reilly, 2012). The insecurity associated with linguistic backgrounds of international students is relevant to their vulnerability in a number of ways. In Reilly's assessment the ignorance of the employer or host country's language makes it difficult to comprehend and interpret the work conditions in their visa and ultimately in violation of its conditions. Fudge (2012) also notes that this would affect the student worker's ability to understand workplace agreements and inhibits them from negotiating fair conditions of work with their employer at the beginning of employment and to stand up to their employer when unreasonable requests are made. In essence this inability increases difficulties students face in investigating their labor rights and standards to access advice or engage with labor interest groups. Similar traits of language barriers exist in North Cyprus where student workers are ignorant of the host's language.

It should also be said that eligibility requirements in student visas from the onset contribute directly to their vulnerability. The maximum numbers of hours per week restriction for international students during their course of study is complicated and students find themselves in breach of these requirements (Berg, 2015). Over half of international students are employed in informal or casual work with low rates of unionization and this form of work makes it difficult for law enforcement agencies to investigate non-compliance practices in these industries. According to Mills and Zhang (2011) there have been cases of employers exerting pressure on students to exceed their work restrictions. Once the visa requirements are breached, the possibility of the visa being cancelled and deportation will be extremely high. It can therefore be said that the eligibility requirements of the student visas for work are a form of precarity placing students in vulnerability.

1.3. Impact of Job Precariousness on Political Mobilization and Participation

Political mobilization is a response to circumstances considered intolerable by a group of individuals and typically take the form of community building and political participation (Eberle & Holiday 2011:372). The idea of political participation stretches across many decades with the development of mass society and political consciousness. This interest motivates the disadvantaged groups in organizations to participate in collective action and mass protests. Therefore, movements have typically emerged in response to discontent provoked by socio-political or socio-economic instability, economic crises, and industrialization as noted above. McAdams & Snow (1997) suggest that mobilization often occurs among the less powerful groups within a population. Once formed, social movements are often more dynamic than bureaucratic institutions (McAdams & Snow, 1997). As a result, movements manifest themselves through various channels. They either contribute to awareness of grievances, form interest groups that operate within the political spheres or lobby the government, and may also attempt to convince authorities to change policies by non-institutional means, protests, and boycotts. McCarthy and Zard (1977) note that resource availability is a key determinant of mobilization outputs or outcomes. They have identified three preconditions for mobilization, discontent, political oppression and organization. The study therefore becomes important in assessing the conditions under which international students can mobilize and participate politically in the context of their different legal statuses. It would also highlight the drawbacks to mobilization and political participation.

Furthermore, precarity as a concept may restrict access to social and political opportunities and on other incidents save to further discontent and motivate mobilization (Neilson & Rossiter, 2005). Hewison & Young (2006) suggests that unskilled and semi-skilled workers have been a target for regulation and repression. Unskilled migrant workers may face legal complications that may thus interfere with their ability to find and maintain decent employment. Leal (2002) non-citizenship is similarly restricted because tenuous status within a

legal system, migrant workers face few political opportunities, and little or no access to resources. Furthermore, other factors such as poverty and cultural barriers create a real experience of precarity that may challenge potential social mobilization (Leal, 2002: 385). Therefore, precarity may make mobilization problematic and at the heart of the migrant political immobilization that results from precarity is a lack of political status. Migrant's lack of proper documentation cuts them off from political opportunities and access to traditional participatory channels. Not only can they not vote, but also they are denied judicial recourse should the government or authorities infringe upon their human rights even at the most basic level (Leal, 2002: 385). Therefore, this research would seek to understand how the lack of proper documentation of international students implicates political participation and mobilization.

It should be said that part-time workers face a number of serious deterrents to mobilization (Arnold & Hewison, 2005). They argue that in addition to official prohibitions of the labor unions by migrant workers employers may impose their own hindrances for part-time workers. Their dismissal is random and can be accompanied by the employer notifying immigration officials. The threat of dismissal coupled with deportation makes mobilization of part-time workers a risky attempt (Arnold & Hewison, 2005). Though the disadvantaged part-time workers may enjoy state protection, international law that entitles all people, regardless of nationality or legal status to fundamental human rights guarantees, they still experience precarity at different levels. According to Human Right Watch (2012) in the case study of migrants and asylum seekers in Thailand, they highlight that the groups formerly stated transfer from a non-representative state to a nominally representative one, a move that should in theory improve their access to structural resources. However, the tenuous legal status might create barriers to mobilization and political participation (Eberle & Holliday, 2011:375).

The above literature has discussed the experiences of foreign student workers in their different host countries around the world and there is a correlation

among scholars on the precarity of student workers. It was assessed that student workers are part of undeclared labor with others working illegally due to lack of work permits and visa violations. Furthermore, they work unlawful long hours, receiving poor wages, and experience complex and inconsistent administration processes in applying for work permits. The student workers are therefore vulnerable to employer exploitation because of their poor knowledge of their rights, and cultural and language barriers that limit them from politically mobilizing and participating. This research will therefore assess the applicability of similar practices and conditions in the TRNC by examining the responses of international student workers who are employed informally in the service industry in the TRNC. It will check the impact of labor laws and tax regulations of the TRNC on international student workers working in undeclared precarious work. Furthermore, the responses of international students workers in the TRNC would be assessed in particular the average number of hours worked, employee contracts, and how language and culture might be a source of vulnerability in the workplace and how it denies them political participation.

1.4. Theory: Exit, Voice, and Fear

The research employed Hirschman's theory of *exit, voice and loyalty* to understand the nature of international students working in the TRNC. In his analysis he looks at the alternative ways to which individuals and groups react to the deteriorating conditions in the workplace, business and dissatisfaction with the organization. He notes that the member can choose to exit the organization for the competing organization, or voice for change from within which is closely tied to the last reaction loyalty where members continue with the organization or products hoping it'll recover or help repair the lapse.

Hirschman's model as noted above makes a distinction between three alternative ways of reacting to deterioration in business firms and in general to dissatisfaction with the organization. This study however will not focus on the 'deteriorating conditions' but assess the responses of international student

workers to prevailing deteriorated working conditions. The exit option translates to student workers leaving their part-time work because of dissatisfaction in long hours, poor wages, cultural and language barriers among other grievances and/or competing offer with better working conditions. At this point, the student workers would have established that the lapse or problem in the workplace could not be fixed. The option to voice reflects the extent of how the student workers are willing to trade off the certainties and the potential costs of exit against the uncertainties of staying within the precarious working conditions and mobilizing for change through associations like Voice of International Students (VOIS)¹ among others in prospect for change.

Fear as the third alternative is crucial because it is a choice that some student workers consider and adopt in precarious working conditions because of the heavy costs of mobilizing or complaining which might result in deportation or fines. This model is imperative because it sets out a framework and behaviors the student workers might engage in when dissatisfied with employment and employment relations.

To note the exit option was one of the central ideas of the Public Choice School of Economics. According to Witt (2011) the Public Choice Theory (PCT) is crucial in the exit option as it analyses how and under what circumstances people make choices. Hay (2004:49) suggests that PCT assumes that “individuals are rational and behave as if they engage in a cost-benefit analysis of each choice before plumbing for the most likely to maximize a given utility function”. One of the behavioral assumptions of PCT akin to economics is that individuals are self-interested (Witt, 2011:241). Self-interested implies that

¹ VOIS is a non-profit organization which aims to bring to light the problems faced by international students in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). It was founded in 2018 by Emmanuel Achiri, Fiona Kavakure, Ezinne Favour Ogwuegbu, Adeyinka Oladapo. It has conducted a series of dialogue and capacity building workshop sponsored by the EU to solve challenges faced by international students and works closely with the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Labor of the TRNC in negotiating for conducive learning and working environments for international students.

individuals each have their own preferences which affect decisions they make and those preferences may differ from person to person. In that respect, Shugart et.al (2010) notes that the individual becomes the fundamental unit of analysis. PCT rejects the construction of decision-making units such as people, community and society. This suggests that groups do not make decisions only individuals do. International student workers in the service in the TRNC are prompted to make decisions on different options of voice; exit and fear in experiencing precarious deteriorated workplaces. The study would assess the responses of student workers as to how self-preferences influence decision-making in response to precarious jobs.

Furthermore, Muller & Opp (1986) suggests that individuals are rational and seek to maximize their benefits. Rationality is the ability of individuals to rank all known alternatives in a transitive method. In that respect, a rational individual either values alternative A more than B and B over A, or is indifferent between A and B (Ostrom & Ostrom, 1971: 205). In addition, the individual therefore adopts maximizing strategies and the consistent choice of those alternatives, which an individual thinks, will provide the highest net benefit as weighed by his own preferences (Wade & Curry: 1970). Public and private choices in seeking rational and maximizing benefits differ because of the differences in the incentives and limitations in pursuing self-interests in A and B as noted above. International student workers choose to exit, voice or remain in fear among the available alternatives in light of personal circumstances and fully capture the benefits and bear the costs of personal choice. If on the other hand the employer proposes a plan that promises to protect the welfare of the student workers (increasing the wages, issuing of contracts), because the costs will be shared there is no guarantee that the student workers welfare will be improved. In essence the study would operationalize the responses of international student workers on the rationale behind resorting to exit, voice or remain in fear.

Fishburn (1984) identifies the level of information possessed by a representative individual as crucial in decision-making. He assumes that three levels of certainty, risk and uncertainty are measurements of how likely decisions are to be made. Certainty is when an individual knows all available strategies. Risk and uncertainty are also influenced by a clear knowledge of the costs and benefits of decisions. Everyone must have access to valid information upon which to make decisions, all market participant's rich or poor, blue or white collared jobs face the same costs for transacting their choices. From the above, Witt (2011) however suggests that PCT places most people in a much weakened capacity for political mobilization. In this sense the international students who engage in part-time jobs in the TRNC possess knowledge and make decisions based on this information. Considering these factors of poor working conditions, earning poor wages, no contracts and long working hours to mention but a few, some international students would choose to exit the organization, scout for other jobs or completely leave the job market. Therefore, this research would assess responses of international student workers and how information on choice of exit voice and fear is crucial in decision-making.

Furthermore, *Voice* on the other hand is a complex political channel. According to Hirschman (1970:30) voice is another "recuperation mechanism, which is likely to be met with a mixture of incredulity and raised eyebrows". Therefore, voice becomes an attempt to change the practices and policies of organization from which one belongs to. International students and migrant workers lack the capacity of citizens to participate in the political system that determines their working rights (Reilly, 2012:187). Among migrant workers, international students have characteristics that make them particularly vulnerable, as they are predominately from developing countries. Because of their lack of citizenship, international students' contracts of employment may be terminated if there is a slight breach in law. It is important to point out that the position of precarious international student workers does not give them the leeway to file petitions and report malpractices of employers. The status of being an illegal worker with no correct documentation denies them the mandate to exercise

their rights. The situation is twofold in that: the employer is complacent in maintaining the low standards of the organization knowing that the recipients are in no position to voice out. The study would seek to assess the responses of international students on the channels through which they communicate their grievances and advocate for change. It would also evaluate the student workers' response to the effectiveness of Voice of International Students (VOIS), a student association that advocates for change in policy reform and also address issues that affect student workers in the workplace.

Hirschman's (1970) contribution provided a framework within which investigators could examine people's responses to the deteriorated performance and administration responses to members or customer's responses. Barry (1974) based on Hirschman's framework introduced the concept of silence and voice for members that chose to stay within the organization. This study would replace the concept of loyalty and silence with fear as an option that international students take in response to employment vulnerabilities. According to the Fair Work Ombudsman (2015) international students are reluctant to complain to the employer for fear of being fired or immigration consequences. In a research conducted by the Fair Work Ombudsman on Australian international students, employers responded to student's complaints in a number of ways. Employers would either offer fewer shifts to individuals, who complained, replace them or would organize visa cancellation. These results suggested that the experience of international students in the workplace is crowded with fear, leaving little or no room to complain even if they believe there is evidence. In the report students acknowledged that there is difficulty in accessing the job market therefore settling for those jobs regardless of vulnerability (FWO, 2015). International students are highly exploitable because of their migrant status and the fear stems from the uncertainty that comes with the job. The research would analyze under what conditions the student workers in the TRNC would choose to remain in fear and how this impedes them from being politically active and mobilized.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LABOR LAWS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDENT WORKERS

2.1. Introduction

This section provides an overview of the labor laws that govern the employment of foreign workers and in particular international student workers. The research employed the Law of Foreign Working for Foreigners (Regulation No.63/2006 and 25/2012) under article 23 and the TRNC Labor Law (Regulation No.25/2000) of the 94 (1) article of the constitution, the 'Labor Law' adopted in 1992 by the TRNC Assembly. The different articles of the labor law of the TRNC and law on foreign workers employed in this research assess the requirements of international students as foreign workers who choose to work and outlines the procedures for legal employment. Legislation is imperative as it shapes the context in which international students work in. However, it is also instrumental in driving student workers towards precarious work if breached. Therefore, the section would also assess how legislation potentially places student workers in vulnerable situations with the application of the law.

2.2 TRNC Laws on Foreign Workers

According to Article 23 of the law on foreign working of foreigners, 63/2006 & 25/2012 international students studying in different universities across the TRNC who decide to work are required to apply for a student work permit. In order to apply for a student work permit the company or organization registered in the TRNC must complete the application form prepared by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and submit the required documents. Under this regulation are the following requirements:

- i) Applicant employers are responsible for filling the form completely and submitting the documents as required.
- ii) It is mandatory for the employee to keep track of whether the employer has completed the paperwork for the student work permit. The international student is required to stop work if the employer does not complete the work permit procedures and lodge a complaint to the ministry.

The international student workers as noted above have a responsibility to follow up with the application process of the student work permit. It suggests that negligence could result in the law on work permits being violated. The previous sections indicated that some employers decide to violate labor and tax regulations by not declaring to the authorities the labor hired which places student workers in precarious conditions (Eurofound, 2013).

The condition of hire for international students is articulated in Article 23 of the Law on foreign working of foreigners (2006). The below conditions were stipulated:

- i) Students are required to work for 4 hours a day a total of 24 hours a week.
- ii) It is forbidden for students to work overtime more than periods specified in paragraph.
- iii) Employers are required to take the necessary precautions to ensure that the working hours of foreign students will not hinder their education.
- iv) Foreign students cannot be employed in the workplace under night clubs and similar places act, and the casinos, betting houses (bet office) and the workplace that provide services related to these workplaces and their applications are not processed and rejected.

It should be noted that the violation of any of the conditions within this law is illegal and international students who fail to adhere to this law can be fined, prisoned or deported. The employer is also liable for any financial damages incurred by foreign nationals due to the failure of the latter to fulfill the law regulation other than their own defects. Furthermore, international students who find themselves working in prohibited industries create a precarity that sets them at a vulnerable position with both the law and employers. Employees who become illegal in the TRNC are required to pay a daily minimum wage of 84.65 TL daily from the date they are punished by law and penalty for employing illegal workers in the TRNC is 5TL daily (Kibris Turizm Elemani, n/d). Therefore the breach of visa regulation and student worker's permit potentially increases the chances of the student worker not to complain about unlawful long hours given the heavy fines to pay and possible criminal record and deportation.

According to the TRNC Labor Law establishment of minimum wage workers have a right to a salary after providing services. The "22/ 1975 minimum wage law" as amended by laws 22/1982, 37/1993, 45/1994 and 47/2001. The minimum wage is paid to workers in return for a normal working day and adequate nutrition. The minimum wage determination commission reviews it at least once a year. According to this law an employer or his employee cannot pay less than the minimum wage determined and announced. As of 1 February 2020, the minimum wage is as follows: Hourly 22.04TL (Turkish Lira), Daily 176.31TL, Weekly 881.54TL and Monthly 3.820 TL (Gross) and 3.323TL (Net). The above salaries are only applicable to workers that possess the work permit. Therefore, the research would seek to understand the vulnerability and precariousness in the payment of wages for students working informally and illegally without student work permits.

It is crucial to highlight the documents that are required in applying for a student work permit for the first time. By law these documents given to the employer

by the student workers are supposed to be submitted in their entirety or else the request is not processed. The following constitute the requirements:

- i) Two copy of student employment request form.
- ii) Documents showing that the workplaces are not indebted by the social security, Provident fund and Tax office.
- iii) Original and photocopy of the student certificate.
- iv) Photocopies of the passport.
- v) Certificates of registry of the employee from the Social Security, Provident fund and Social Security.
- vi) Medical Report
- vii) Contract of service and employee card.

From the above the documents required for the application of a student worker's permit are both complex and tedious and some students and employers choose to bypass this process. Illegal employment as noted by the OECD (2014) is breaching and not complying with legal or administration regulation. When both parties (employers and international students) situate themselves in undeclared labor they violate the law. However, as noted in previous chapters the employer is responsible to process and pay for the application of the student work permit which they might be unwilling to do, therefore placing the students in vulnerable and precarious conditions.

Furthermore, it is crucial to explore the above noted process for foreign students in applying for a student work permit.

1. The first requirement of the process is for the employer to fill in the student employment request form. The form enables the employer to apply for the employee to be under their work guardianship. The inability to complete the form in the student worker permit application will result in rejection. Therefore, student workers are reliant on their employers to complete the form and this becomes a source of precarity if the latter is not forthcoming.

2. The second requirement is documents proving that the company does not have outstanding payments with reference to the social security, Provident fund and Tax office. The task to prepare and present these documents to the officials can only be by the employer. This also places the students in a vulnerable position as employers are not willing to complete this process.
3. The foreign student is supposed to provide the student letter that acknowledges that he/she is an actively enrolled student. The students are provided with letters every semester that signifies their registration status. This becomes a source of vulnerability as some student workers fail to present this letter due to debts in tuition fees. The universities are not at liberty to provide such a letter without clearance of tuition fees.
4. Passport copies are to be provided by the foreign student in applying for the student work permit. The requirement is an active passport that shows the travel activity of the student and legality of entrance into North Cyprus. If the passport has expired or lost the application will be rejected. This becomes a problem for student workers who are likely facing such prohibitions.
5. Certificates of registry of the employee from the Social Security, Provident fund and Social Security are to be provided by the employer. The certificates are applied for by the employer and ensure that the employee possesses a security number that enables them to participate in the provident fund. The above also places the student worker in a vulnerable position if the employer is not willing to complete this process.
6. The medical report required for a student work permit should be provided every time the student worker applies or extends the work permit. The student is required to take a student resident permit yearly and this is independent from the student work permit. Therefore, the student is then faced with a dilemma to conduct both medical costs at very high costs.

7. The contract of service and employee card is also a prerequisite in applying for a permit. The employer is responsible for processing the above-mentioned documents. It is a tedious and expensive procedure, which requires the employer to pay for an employee card. The contract of service holds the employer accountable for paying the employees a minimum wage, observing lawful hours of employment, payment method and time and termination conditions and notice period. Therefore, the employers would be prompted to bypass this process to avoid being held accountable by law in adhering to the employer-employee contracts.

From the above one can therefore say the eligibility requirements and process to apply for a student work permit carry potential vulnerabilities. The student worker and the employer have a role to play as far as applying the student work permit is concerned with the latter carrying the upper hand.

Article 5:25/2000 of the TRNC labor law outlines the notification of the recruited worker. By law employers are required to process employee cards for each worker hired at a fee stipulated by the Council of Ministers. In that respect from the employment date of the employee the employee cards are to be processed and completed within fifteen days at the latest. Section 4 of article 6 constitutes information that make up the employee cards and these includes:

- i) Information about the identity of the worker.
- ii) The state date.
- iii) The nature of the work.
- iv) The worker's situation.
- v) Duration of the service contract.

The law on employee cards is applicable to all employees and should be applied respectively. The article articulates that there is a procedure that needs to be completed when a worker has been hired. International student workers who decide to work in the TRNC are therefore expected to possess employee

cards by virtue of being employees. Failure to possess the workers card of student workers is a complex issue, which places the student workers in conditions of being illegal.

Article 9:25/2000 of the TRNC labor law provides a framework of the written contract form. It pinpoints issues that must be found in service contracts that are signed between an employer and an employee at the start of a written agreement and it includes the following:

- i) The name and surname of the employer.
- ii) Identity card number and passport number if the worker is a foreign national should be highlighted.
- iii) Office address
- iv) Contract term in certain service contracts.
- v) Working hours and wages
- vi) Payment method and time
- vii) Worker's social insurance and provident fund number
- viii) Special conditions put forward by the parties
- ix) Place and date of service contract, date of start and signature of parties.

As noted above the legislation has provided a guideline of what entails a service contract. As noted in the previous chapters, contracts set in writing are very effective. In light of the above there is little to no transparency and accuracy in word of mouth contracts. Absence of service contracts or certain requirements as stipulated above potentially increases the risk of international students being in a vulnerable position to be able to exercise their rights as workers.

The regulation of employment in Article 11:25/2000 of the TRNC labor law recognizes the notification on termination of service contracts. It is obligatory

for one party to notify the other party in writing before termination. The labor law postulates that the termination can only be completed on the conditions set below:

- i) For a worker whose service period has lasted up to 6 weeks, 1 week after the notification has been made to the other party.
- ii) For a worker whose service period has lasted from 6 months to 1 year, 2 weeks after the notification has been made to the other party.
- iii) For a worker whose service period has lasted from 1 year to 2 years, 4 weeks after the notification has been made to the other party.
- iv) For a worker whose service period has lasted from 2 years to 5 years, 5 weeks after the notification has been made to the other party.

The above highlighted that there must be a time frame that is set for employees to serve their termination period. In Article 12 if the employer decides to terminate contracts of employees it must not be done abruptly but must be written and paid notice must be served. The party that does not comply with the notification requirements stated must pay compensation. The employer may terminate the employment contract by paying the wages of the employee for the notice periods. In case of termination due to unfair reasons, the provision of paragraph 3 Article 13 of the TRNC labor 1992 are applied which states that in the event that the contract of service is terminated by the employer for unjustified reason and in violation of this law, three times the wages of the notice period shall be paid to the worker as compensation. While the act recognizes the conditions for termination of employees by employers, it is an area of significant concern as the lack of proper contracts and student work permits might inhibit the working students from following up on the requirements of the law.

Problems related to employment conditions include the issue of unlawful termination. According to Article 12:25/2000 of the TRNC labor law states that the worker has a right to approach the competent court to decide the invalidity of a termination. The court is responsible for evaluating if the reason for termination is valid or it was made due to illegal or unfair reasons. It is also responsible for assessing if the notice periods for termination of contract are respected. In that respect the worker has the right to claim compensation for any losses, materially and morally that were lost from the start of dismissal or termination of the contracts. In the event that the contract of service after being evaluated by the competent court is determined that termination by the employer was done through unjustified reasons and in violation of the law, three times the wages of the notice periods in Article 12 of the law shall be paid to the worker as compensation. International student workers as part of the Precariat are prone to face unlawful termination particularly to those without correct documentation of employment and therefore it becomes a grey area of concern.

In addition to the above Article 14:25/2000 of the TRNC labor law expands the idea of termination and suggests that the employee or worker has the right to terminate the service contract without notification. It highlights that the worker is allowed to terminate the contract provided that it is in writing and without waiting for the notice period only under these conditions:

- i) In the event that the work that is the subject of the contract of service constitutes a danger to the health and life of the worker for an unknown reason during the contract and due to the nature of the work.
- ii) In the event that the employer misleads the worker by showing false qualities or conditions about one of the issues stipulated in Article 10 on written contract form as highlighted in the above paragraphs or providing inaccurate information about one of the matters stipulated in Article 10.

- iii) In the event that the employer does not calculate or pay the wages of the worker in accordance with the law or the terms of service contract.
- iv) In the event that the employer doesn't give the documents specified in Article 6 of the employee card as noted above.
- v) If the employer makes words or acts against the worker or one of his family members that do not comply with honor dignity and moral rules.

According to these legislations workers in the TRNC, which includes international student are permitted by law to terminate contracts indefinitely if there is any presence of one of the above. Student workers are bound to experience poor working conditions in violation of contract agreements by employers. In cases that these laws are breached the student workers have rights to successfully exit the companies without lawsuits from employers. However, this is complex because as noted in the previous chapters the behavior to exit, fear and loyal to participate in changing such conditions is inhibited by factors of incomplete paperwork, cultural and language barriers among other things.

Conflicts over payments and remuneration of workers are included under Article 19:25/2000 of the TRNC labor law provides the definition of wages. According to this legislation wages cover the amount paid in cash to a person by the employer and third parties in exchange for a job service. It explains the duration under which wages are to be paid and it states the following:

- i) Workers' wages are paid at least once a month. However, this period can be reduced up to a week by service contracts or collective agreements. The delay in monthly payments cannot exceed one week.
- ii) Women and men who work at the same quality and equal efficiency in a workplace cannot be paid in different wages because of gender and cultural differences. In the event that the service contracts or

service relationship ends in a way, the wages of the worker must be made within 7 days at the least.

The remuneration of wages of student workers as noted from previous sections is a source of precarity. International student workers have received low wages, underpayments with other employees exceeding the lawful payment dates that surpass one week after the month end. Because of lack of contracts and inconsistency work regulation students cannot complain about late payments in wages. Furthermore, some student workers experience precarity in receiving wages based on their gender and culture different to those of their employers. It can therefore be noted that the regulation on wages is a crucial issue that sets student workers in vulnerable positions.

Furthermore, Article 20 & 21:25/2000 of the TRNC labor law discusses the procedure of paying wages to workers and legal fee deductions. The employer is required by law to issue pay slips to all workers hired that breakdown the amount earned and signed at each payment by the employer. From the wages paid to workers, the employer cannot deduct wages from the employee's pay slip without a court decision, except for reasons revealed in laws, collective agreements or within the service contracts. If deductions are made as a result of a disciplinary action that decision is not made unilaterally by the employer but in concert with others. The workplace disciplinary committee specified in the service contract imposes the penalties and it is obligatory for the legal representation of one of the employees to take part in the formation of such a disciplinary board under the chairmanship of a representative from the directorate of labor. The worker will be notified in writing of the deductions made from wages and what the disciplinary committee concluded. The problems associated with precarious wage deductions and the cumbersome process to address the imbalances might hinder student workers from contesting their rights.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Methodology

The use of research methodology to this study is imperative because it tells the researcher which technique or method to be used out of the various existing methods and analyses texts and images in a social setup rather than figures and statistics (Mackey& Gass, 2015). The study made use of both qualitative and quantitative research to assess the responses of international students studying and working in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).

Findings of the research should be consistent across the board when research is repeated (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2009). They argue that the study conducted should be replicable meaning not getting the same results as before suggests an error and questions the credibility of the research. The aspect of recreation as noted above largely depended on methodology. The choice of the approach a researcher selects has an impact on findings. The study preferred to use a quantitative research methodology because it is instrumental in understanding international student's reasons, opinions and their experiences in engaging in part-time work in North Cyprus.

3.2. Qualitative and Quantitative Research

The study adopted the mixed method approach. Kothari (2004:5) suggests “qualitative research has its roots in social sciences and is concerned with understanding the social world, why people behave as they do, their fears, beliefs and knowledge”. According to Domegan & Fleming (2007) qualitative research investigates and discovers issues about the problem at hand. They define it as descriptive research, which is based on human observations and responses whereby data can be obtained through interviews, questionnaires and surveys (Domegan & Fleming, 2007). Furthermore, the quantitative research methodology made use of Google docs, an Internet based survey program in a bid to understand the experiences of international students studying and working in the food industry in the TRNC. It is crucial to highlight that quantitative research is cost effective because it allows the use of smaller sample sizes, which equate to lower research costs (Kothari, 2004). Therefore, it does not necessarily cover large numbers of people but instead also deals with small numbers. The research surveyed 101 respondents (international students studying and working in North Cyprus) and the number was manageable for quantitative research.

3.3. Target Population

David and Sutton (2011:149) define target population as the total number of elements that are under study. Yin (2014) suggests that information desired from a research is obtained from this group by use of various data collection methods. Therefore, the target population represents all units under study (ibid). The sampling frame included 101 international students living and working in North Cyprus. These students were chosen because the research is based on their responses to the deteriorated conditions of the workplaces in which they conduct part time jobs in the food industry in the TRNC. The respondents included (34 males and 66 females) international students from 20 different countries with different educational levels ranging from Undergraduate, Masters to PhD. The respondents were chosen because they are a community of students in which the researcher is part of therefore easier to conduct research. This sampling frame was crucial because it was

accessible online and provided anonymous responses to help understand the working conditions of international students.

3.4. Sampling Techniques

Sampling according to Flick (2014:168) is the procedure followed by the researcher to select a specific population. It is a representative number of the whole target population that is manageable to conduct research and representative of the population of interest (Cresswell et.al, 2011). O' Leary (2017) posits that the crucial aspect of sampling is to ensure that the sample is not biased. David & Sutton (2011) suggests that for the study to be more efficient the sampling methods should be in tandem with the research. There are two approaches to sampling namely probability and non- probability sampling, the research approach is quantitative therefore non- probability is the most suitable in this study. Convenience sampling was employed in the study to choose sample units from an entire population of international students working and studying in the TRNC.

3.5. Convenience Sampling

Convenience sampling is defined by Yin (2014) as selecting subjects that are characterized by their easy access to the researcher. Convenience sampling is non- probability sampling where the chances of being selected are based on easy access and willingness to participate (Dörnyei, 2012). Convenience sampling technique was employed in this study in coming up with 100 respondents. Through Google docs, an Internet based program the researcher shared a link of the survey to friends, friends of friends and student body groups via WhatsApp and Facebook mainly. International students that were surveyed are both those that are still working in North Cyprus and those that have left the workplace. This technique is therefore appropriate because it accommodates respondents who are readily available and willing to volunteer; therefore, this minimizes bias in the study. In addition, since the researcher and the respondents are in North Cyprus and have access to the Internet it was inexpensive and did not take much time to conduct research.

Furthermore, the emergence of the Covid-19 inhibited the researcher from distributing surveys traditionally therefore resorted to circulating the survey online. This enables the researcher to gain initial primary data about the deteriorated conditions that international students are working under and its implications in political participation. Most importantly, since the responses are anonymous, convenience sampling enables us to recruit those students who are willing to contribute to this research.

3.6. Data Collection Methods

Boyle et.al (2009) defines data collection methods as tools that are useful in collecting information. Data collection can be done verbally, and non- verbally (Flick, 2014:44). Non- verbal data is attained through questionnaires/survey and observations, while verbal data can be achieved from interviews and focus groups (ibid). Qualitative data collection methods are an advantage to the study; therefore, the research made use of an online survey a non-verbal data collection to extract nominal information to attain results.

The research employed an Internet based survey titled Google docs. The survey allowed the researcher to draft 52 closed and open-ended questions to the target population. The questions were drafted to deduce relevant information on the international students' experiences in their respective workplaces in relation to working conditions. Due to different backgrounds that the target population comes from and commitments the researcher extended the time to ensure total results from all members present in the target population. The research employed the nominal scale to categorize the variables into distinct groups. Nominal is qualitative in nature, which entails that numbers are used to identify or categorize objects. Furthermore, ordinal scale was also employed to measure non- numeric concepts such as satisfaction, clarity of information and feedback from working conditions. The online survey was crucial to the research because they are more reliable. While the individual preserves anonymity, they become free to answer any questions unlike interviews. The target population preserved their identity and

did not disclose it by means of writing their names; they just provided their demographics. This was important to the problem under study because it liberated the international students to give as much in- depth knowledge as possible, without fear of being identified. The respondents managed to outline answers to the research questions of the study.

3.7. Data Analysis Techniques

This section outlines what data analysis is, the techniques employed and how important it is to the study. Silverman (2013: 140) defines data analysis as the process of analyzing and explaining or interpreting people that are under study. The research made use of two data analysis techniques which are regression and factor analysis in assessing the responses of international students working and studying in the TRNC.

The study employed the factor analysis to analyze statistical data from Google docs on responses of international students working in the service industry. The coding strategy for this research is open coding which entails breaking down and categorizing the data. It means going through the data and bringing out essential categories that can be coded into the different themes (Rivas, 2012). The student workers were divided into three distinct groups: illegal work, unofficial work and informal work. From these groups the research sought to understand the conditions in which these groups' works checking elements of precarity. The indicators of vulnerability among the groups were grouped into low salaries, no employment contracts, discrimination or racism and language barriers, long hours of work and exclusion from health benefits. The indicators will be checked visa via the type of work the student does, the availability of student permit and the legal status of student workers. Themes were employed in the research as a way of summarizing and sharing the data with selected themes deduced from the data gathered.

3.8. Ethical Considerations

Fouka and Mantzourou (2011) note that research ethics is important and requires that researchers should protect the dignity of their target population by publishing well-researched information. Research ethics are employed to increase the strength of the research and to protect the rights of the participants (Stake, 2008). The study employed ethical principles of beneficence, advocacy and safety, anonymity, plagiarism and informed consent. To uphold ethics during the study, the researcher did not use names of participants. The researcher asked for permission to conduct research from the participants before research was conducted. The researcher also assured the participants that their rights and freedom of expression were being maintained.

The chapter outlined the research methodology that the researcher adopted. It also highlighted how research was conducted through the use of the data collection method and how data was analyzed. The target population and the sampling techniques were also discussed. The next chapter focuses on data presentation and analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The chapter presents, analyses and discusses the data gathered quantitatively by the study in assessing the working conditions of international students working in the food industry in North Cyprus. The data collected was obtained through an online-based survey (Google docs) from 101 international students (62 females and 39 males) from 13 countries. In assessing the responses, the study employed a quantitative approach through factor analysis. Pie charts, graphs and tables were used to explain statistics and deduce themes and concepts. The study would present findings based on all survey data collection methods, analyze it and then discuss it to produce a new body of knowledge that would be added to the already existing one.

4.2 Research Participants

This section describes the respondents who completed the Google docs online survey of international students working in North Cyprus in the food industry. 169 international students participated in the research but only 101 met the criteria of having worked in the Northern Cyprus food industry. The sample included 39 males and 62 females with ages ranging from 18-35 years. The data reveals that more females are engaged in the food industry compared to males who have a slightly lower response rate. The table below also shows the majority of student's ages ranging from the 23-27 years' group and accounts for 61% of the respondents.

Age Group	Number of Students
18 years – 22 years	15
23 years – 27years	62
28 years – 31 years	17
32 years – 35 years	7

Table 1: Age ranges of international student workers

The international students surveyed are studying and working in North Cyprus at university level and they were placed into three distinct categories. Undergraduates made up 72.3% of the respondents, Masters 19.8% and Ph.D. accounted for 7.9% of the respondents. The respondents are coming from six different universities with the highest number coming from Near East with an average of 51.5%, Cyprus International University 34.6%, University of Kyrenia 2% European University of Lefke 9.9%, Eastern Mediterranean University 1% and Girne American University 1%.

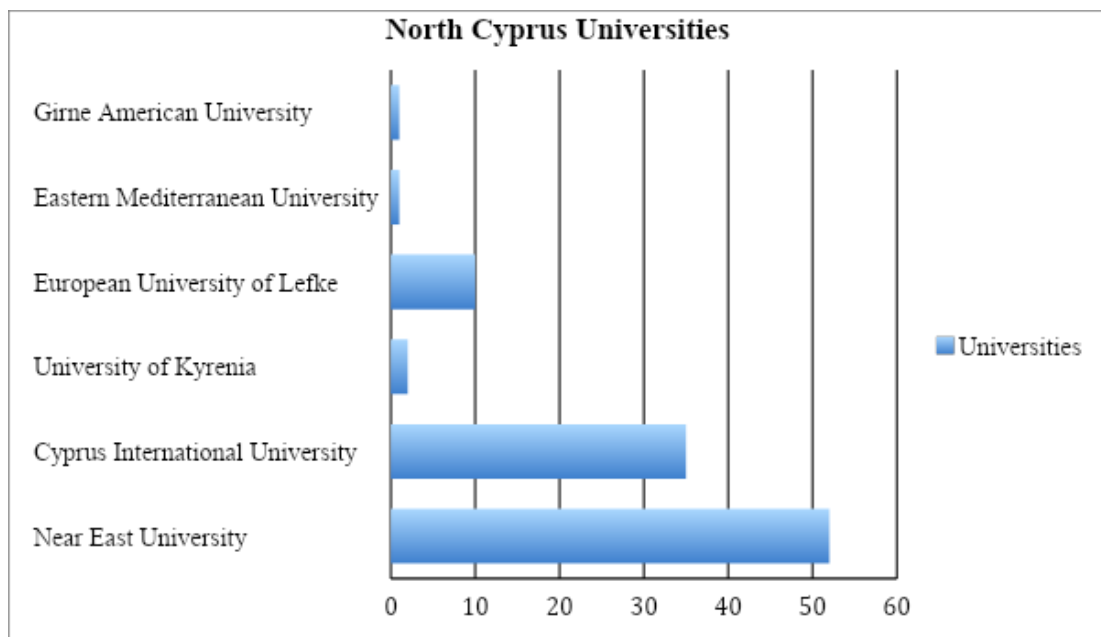


Figure 1: Name of Universities of the participant student workers

Students from 13 countries participated in the research sample. The students from Zimbabwe composed the largest group with 58.4%, followed by Nigeria 14.8%, Congo 5.9% with Kenya, Russia, Turkmenistan, India, Cameroon, South Africa, Zambia, Ghana, Gambia and Kyrgyzstan constituted 20.7% together. The graph below shows the breakdown of respondents by country.

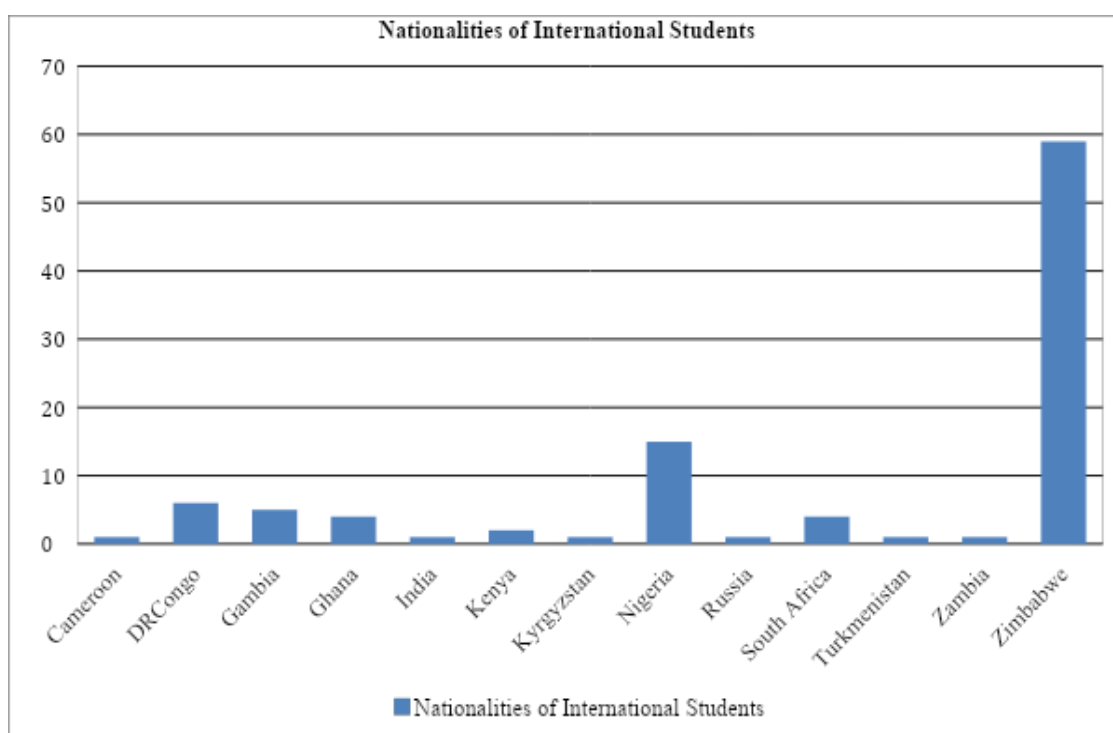


Figure 2: Nationalities of student workers

4.3 Precarity and Student Work Permit Regulation

The working conditions of international students in North Cyprus have placed them in a vulnerable position. According to Vosko (2010) precariousness in employment is a multidimensional concept. This entails that the job characteristics of precarious work involve uncertainties such low level of regulatory protection, discrimination and low level of employee control over wages, hours and working conditions with a cognate concept of poor job quality. The below findings reveal the indicators of precarity with the lack of student work permit being an indicator and a cause for precarity.

The student work permit is a prerequisite for students to work in the TRNC. Of the 101 respondents 75.2% did not possess student work permits, which makes them illegal workers with 24.8% working legally. The table below summarizes the responses on the option that applies:

Status of Work	Percentage of students
Informal work	58.4%
Illegal work	24.8%
Unofficial work	16.8%

Table 2: Status of work of International Student workers

Within the research the terms were defined as:

Informal work- when working without a formal agreement, without health benefits and often on temporary basis.

Illegal work- when foreigner workers work without residence or work permit or who are not in full conformity with the conditions of their permits thereby avoiding tax payments.

Unofficial work- unauthorized work, which is not approved by the authorities for tax, social security or labor law purposes.

From the above table the study highlighted that more than half of the student workers admitted to be engaged in informal work however, from the definitions pointed above and laws of the TRNC illegal work accounts for the majority of student workers in North Cyprus. The findings need to be viewed in light of Article 23 of the law on foreign working of foreigners, 63/2006 & 25/2012 which outlines that international students studying in different universities across the TRNC who decide to work are required to apply for a student work permit. Therefore, it can be deduced that failure to possess a student work

permit is defined as illegal work and is defined as violation of the law.

In essence, the survey also inquired on the willingness of the employer to process the student work permit and from the responses 69.1% of employers were not willing leaving 30.9% willing employers. It is crucial to note that according to Article 23 of the law on working of foreigners 63/2006 & 25/2012 in order to apply for a student work permit the company or organization registered in the TRNC must complete the application form on behalf of the student prepared by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and submit the required documents. The findings highlighted that almost a tenth of the 101 students that were surveyed were caught by the law enforcement bodies without student work permits and how they dealt with it: "I was prisoned for a week and paid penalties." Another student working revealed that: "It was stressful and my employer explained everything to them."

The above examples present student workers as being in vulnerable positions because of violation of law. The findings highlight that the role of the employer is crucial in creating a favorable environment for the student worker. Students are placed in precarious situations and the settings of the workplace become uncertain and very risky.

The study also made an assessment on the knowledge that international student workers possess with regards to student permit regulation and 53.5% admitted to not having knowledge of the regulation. This finding is consistent with McDonald (2007)'s assessment on international students that student workers are vulnerable to employer exploitation because of ignorance of worker's rights and this increases disadvantages of international student workers if they do not have full knowledge of regulation. In that light students who also participated in the survey have also admitted to having faced difficulties in applying for a student work permit. From the data collected there

seems to be a correlation between the experiences faced by student workers:

- *“It is too expensive and there is no money”*
- *“Not enough information and no proper channels were availed to me.”*
- *“ The procedure is too long and complicated”*
- *“Lack of documentation like the student residency permit”*

And some responded:

“When you are working for a short period, having to pay for a student work permit just takes away a huge chunk of your salary.”

From the responses above it can be deduced that student workers in North Cyprus have had difficult experiences in the workplace and this has placed them in uncertain conditions. While different reasons have been provided the absence of proper channels, complex administrative rules and relevant information has inhibited student workers from moving from the precarious group to legal workers.

Wu et al. (2010) contributes to the discussion as he highlights that student workers may also work in excess of their visa conditions due to financial obligations such as paying educational loans as well as meeting the costs of living in a host country. This also explains the data collected by the survey. What best describes the reason for international students working in the food industry in North Cyprus can be explained by the following popular reasons: To pay rent and bills 62.4%, to gain experience 12.9%, to pay tuition fees 8.9%, to support family back at home 5% and the other unpopular reasons live saving money and summer training. As noted above 62.4% of student’s desire to work in order to pay rent and bills thus mitigating living costs. This data explains how there is a high level of precarity among international students who are forced to work more hours than the ones prescribed by law in order to survive in a foreign country. The pie chart below illustrates the reason why students take up jobs and how they end up in precarious conditions.

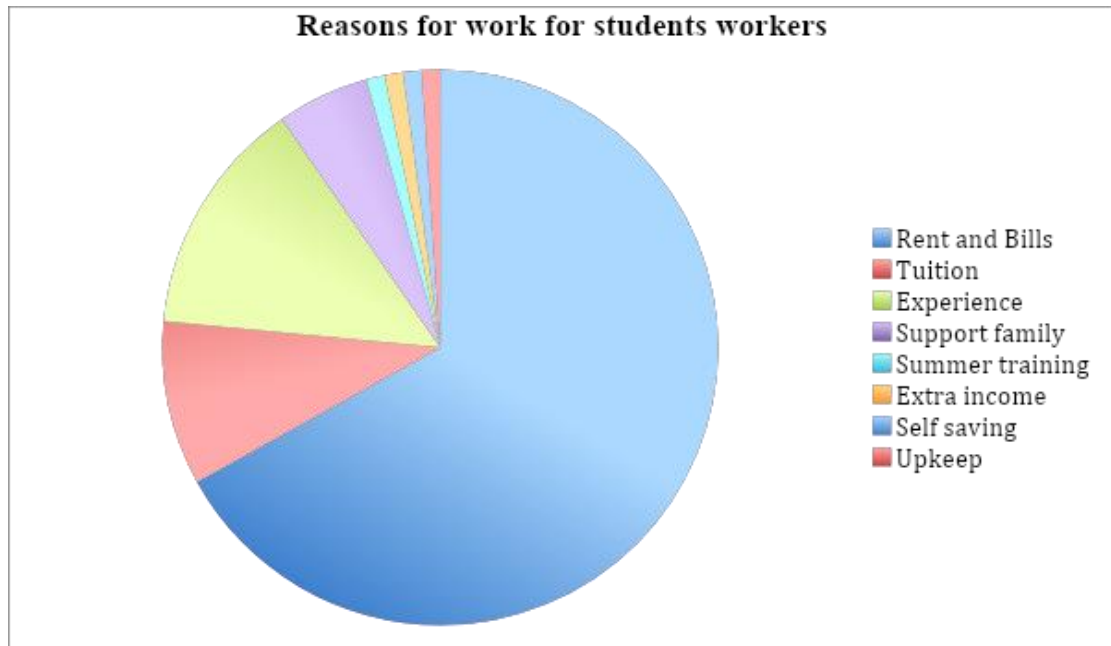


Figure 3: Reasons for work for student workers

4.4 Remuneration of International student workers

The study sought to assess the payment of wages or salaries of international student workers in the service industry. Through the online survey with 101 international students the study found out that the student salaries fall in four distinct categories as indicated in the pie chart below.

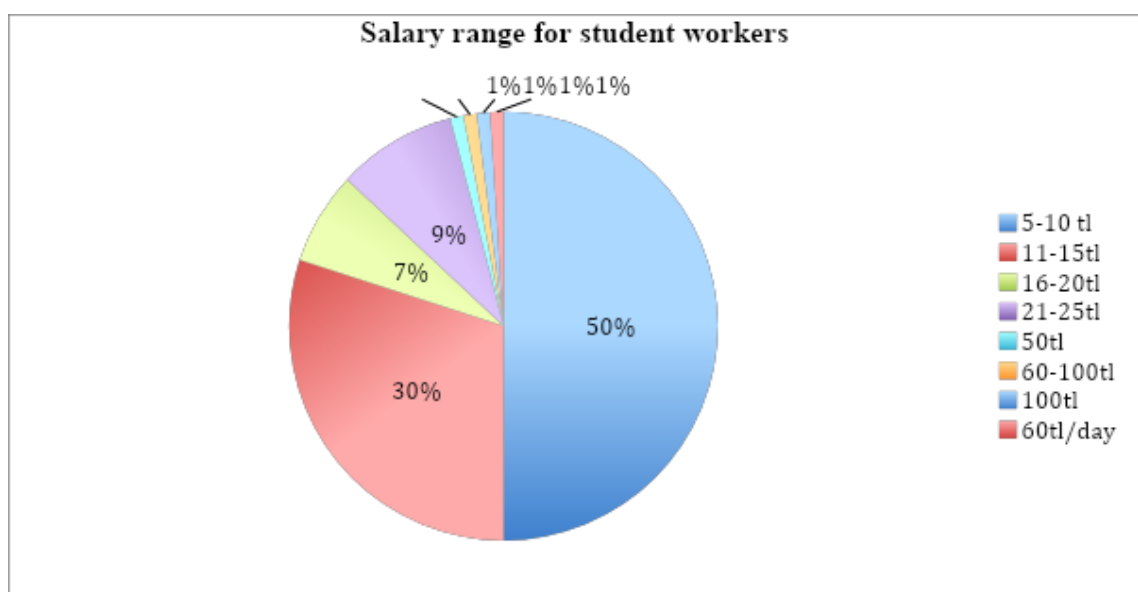


Figure 4: Salary range for international student workers

From the findings 50% of student workers in the food industry are paid between 5-10 Turkish Lira (TL) salary per hour with the second highest being 11-15TL. The students that received 5-10TL and 11-15TL per hour were working part-time and did not possess the student work permit. Nearly 22% of the students possess work permits, however only 5.9% of that number was paid the minimum wage. According to the “1975 Minimum Wage Law” section 22/1975 Minimum Fees Law as amended by Laws 22/1982, 37/1993, 45/1994 and 47/2001 it stipulates yearly the minimum wages for workers. The minimum wage is paid to workers in return for a normal working day and an employer or his employer cannot pay less than the minimum wage of males and females who do the same job under the same conditions. The official minimum wage as determined by the Minimum Wage Commission officially enacted as at February 1, 2020 for workers that possess work permits is as follows:

Timeframe	Minimum Wage (Gross)
Hour	22.04TL
Day	176.31TL
Week	881.54TL
Month	3.820TL
Month (net)	3.323TL

Table 3: TRNC minimum wage statistics

From the above findings from the survey it can be deduced that on average international student workers in the 5-10TL salary range earn a third and two thirds to those that belong to the 11-15TL of the official minimum wage. These results need to be contextualized in light of Marginson et.al (2010) in his study conducted on Australian international students who earned below the minimum wage according to the labor laws on wages. They worked informally

as kitchen hands, waiters and cleaners. The same characteristics are prevalent in North Cyprus. International students work as waiters/waitresses, cleaning & washing as well as doing food deliveries among other jobs. From the above it can be deduced that international students who are working part-time, illegally and informally belong to the Precariat because their employment situation provides with little or no financial stability. It can also be deduced that widespread underpayment or low wages translates into a social injustice demanding a policy response.

The international students were also surveyed to inquire about their knowledge of the official minimum wage and it was realized that 59.4 % had no knowledge of the minimum wage with 40.6% having an idea. In an analysis of international students in Queensland, Australia the student workers who participated in the research were ignorant about the employee rights and the legal wages workers should receive. The respondents had limited or incorrect knowledge while others have been threatened that if they follow up or demanded reevaluation of wages they would be reported to the immigration department (McDonald et.al, 2007). From the findings it can be established that student workers are not aware of their employee rights and knowledge of issues that affect their wellbeing in the workplace and this impedes the chances of political participation and mobilization with the lack of it leading to vulnerability.

One-quarter of the responses indicated elements of precarity in payment of salaries. From 101 respondents, 24 student workers admitted having experienced salary payment problems. From the responses the students outlined that:

“They always wanted to deduct our pay for reasons like missing cutlery...” (The response was from a female, part-time and illegal worker in the cleaning and washing sector).

Another student also highlighted that:

“They did not pay and I left without it”, the other “kept quiet about it”

The above comments made by the student workers support the findings of Boocock et.al’ s (2012) assessment that there is no transparency and accuracy in measuring the well-being of all student workers to assess if employers are following the law if there is no written contract. While these views were not representative of the majority of respondents, they may have been more representative of the experiences of the international student community than the data reveals. It is important to highlight that 13,7% of students faced salary payment problems and because of their precarious nature of working illegally without proper documentation it inhibits them from reporting and demanding reform within the workplace and beyond.

In essence payslips also account for the worker’s remuneration and state deductions or taxes if any. From the survey of 101 international students in North Cyprus 86.1% revealed that they did not receive pay slips while 13.9% received. In Campbell (2016)’s assessment of international students working in the restaurant and takeaway service sector, student workers should receive pay slips that highlight the hours worked and salary earned together with tax deductions. The respondents to the survey of student workers in North Cyprus also highlighted a high level of precarity in deductions on the salary. 51.5 % of the respondents pointed out that the employer did not clearly specify any deductions on the salary and 48.5 % agreed to it. Furthermore, it was also noted that the decision to include deductions was largely unilateral (employer) with 65.3% responses against 34.7% who agreed that it was mutual (between the employer and employee). In light of the above findings Article 20; 21:25/2000 of the TRNC labor law discusses the procedure of paying wages to workers and legal fee deductions. The employer is required by law to issue pay slips to all workers hired that breakdown the amount earned and signed at each payment by the employer. From the wages paid to workers, the employer cannot deduct wages from the employee’s pay slip without a court decision, except for reasons revealed in laws, collective agreements or within the service contracts. It can therefore be said that student workers are vulnerable

because of their illegal status as 'part time and illegal workers' and it impedes their chances of publicly addressing the injustices that occur in the workplace in accordance to remuneration and pay slips.

4.5 Employment Contracts

The research centers its assessment on the working conditions of student workers and this section analyzes their legal working conditions in the food industry organizations in North Cyprus. An employment contract is that which exists between an employer and employee and sets out terms such as conditions of work, hours among other benefits. The findings revealed that only 9.9% of student workers received contracts upon employment leaving 90.1% to face the pitfalls of ignoring the legal responsibility of having a contract. From the survey conducted with 101 students they reacted differently to how clearly the employer explained workplace regulation and it was divided into three parts; wages, hours and conditions of work as indicated in the graph below.

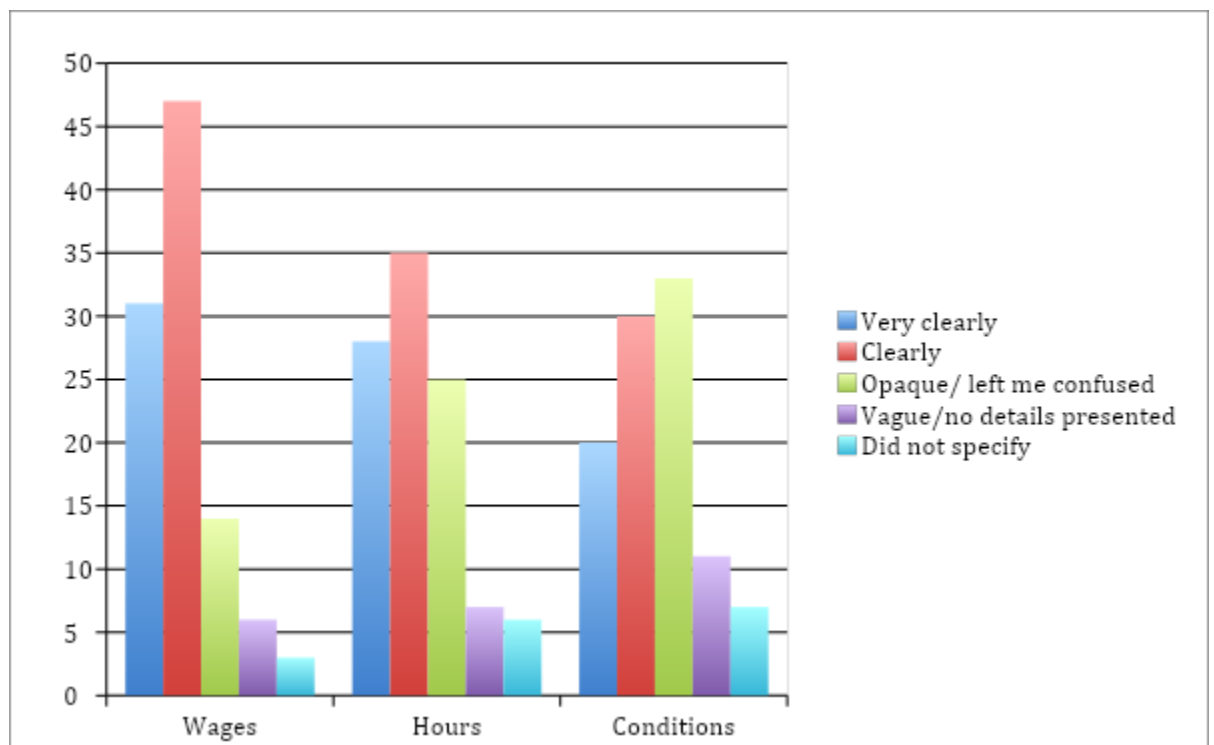


Figure 5: Reactions of students on employment orientation.

The above graph highlights irregularities in the workplace. From 101

respondents, 77% highlighted that the employer clearly and very clearly explained the payment for work while the remaining 23% were left confused and ignorant. In terms of hours 62.4% also indicated that the information was also very clear and clear however, 38% had difficulties in knowing the amount of hours they had to work. The last assessment was for the working conditions and the number plummeted sharply with 49 % of student workers agreeing to clear communication and the rest of the 51% were also left confused and ignorant. The above findings are consistent with (Shelly 2007, Pai 2008, Minto 2009) who point out that student migrant workers obtain wages and instructions through 'word of mouth', taking up jobs in substandard conditions for lower wages. From this assessment the insecurity of student workers stems from the absence of or impractical contracts issued on the onset of the job and therefore student workers base their arguments on word of mouth.

In addition to the above as highlighted in previous sections Article 9:25/2000 of the TRNC labor law provides a framework of the written contract form. It pinpoints issues that must be found in service contracts that are signed between an employer and an employee at the start of a written agreement and it includes working hours and wages, payment method and time and special conditions put forward by the parties. As indicated above in the remuneration section, students faced difficulties in getting their salaries because they did not have a written agreement upon which to base their arguments. In light of the high figures of 90.1% of students who do not possess employment contracts they are potentially increasing the risk of the inability to exercise their rights as workers.

4.6 Health Insurance and Student Workers

The study also surveyed 101 international student workers to assess if they were insured medically by their employers. From the responses it was realized that 93.1% did not have health insurance. The 6.9% that have health insurances are also in possession of the student work permit. In total 24.8% of

student workers within the survey are in possession of the student work permit. However, the difference of 17.9% highlights that some student workers who are in possession of the student work permits are also working under precarious conditions. It should be highlighted that having health insurance is closely tied to employment contracts and student work permit. The student worker's inability to gain a written agreement both within the organization or in line with government regulation (student work permit) ruins the chances of being able to take part in decision making that affect their lives most importantly their health. This means that students are at a disadvantage if they are injured at the workplace.

4.7 Discrimination in the Workplace: Language, Racism and Culture as Barriers

The prevalence of discrimination in the food industry is primarily tied to issues of culture and language differences as deduced from student worker's responses. The international student workers reside and work in a Turkish populated environment and workspace. The respondents revealed that discrimination exists on the basis of race:

Yes, racism exists. They overwork you because they know that you won't do anything and you are really in need of the job plus they know you don't understand their language and even if you report it to the authorities will obviously favor their fellow Turkish.

Another student who had been subjected to racism a number of times offered another example of racist behavior:

Lower salaries, looked down upon for being black and given chores considered low standard because I am African and because I am the only African working I was blamed for other people's mistakes...

The majority of respondents admitted to having faced racism in the workplaces in the food industry and suggested other dimensions to explain discrimination:

“Failure to understand the language resulted in insults from the employer and employees.” Another student noted that: “Yes, I feel sometimes they call us names we don’t understand and they will be laughing at us whilst we are around”

The examples highlighted above are in line with Reilly (2012) who stated that ignorance of the employer or host country’s language makes it difficult to comprehend and interpret the working conditions of their visa. Furthermore, the inability to communicate in the same language as your employer would inhibit student workers from negotiating fair conditions of work and stand up to their employer when unreasonable requests are made (Fudge, 2012). From the data it can be noted that there is a significant amount of precariousness in the workplace. Language, culture and racism act as barriers, which often limit international students from voicing out their grievances instead student workers are placed in the shadows and often negatively subordinated to their employers.

It is imperative to highlight that language and culture do not only cause a sense of dissatisfaction among student workers but has implications in political participation. 64.4% of the 101 respondents revealed that they experienced a sense of dissatisfaction in the workplace and being able to counteract the discontentment, student workers tend to challenge certain areas of the workplace such as employment contract, hours of work and conditions of work as highlighted in the graph below.

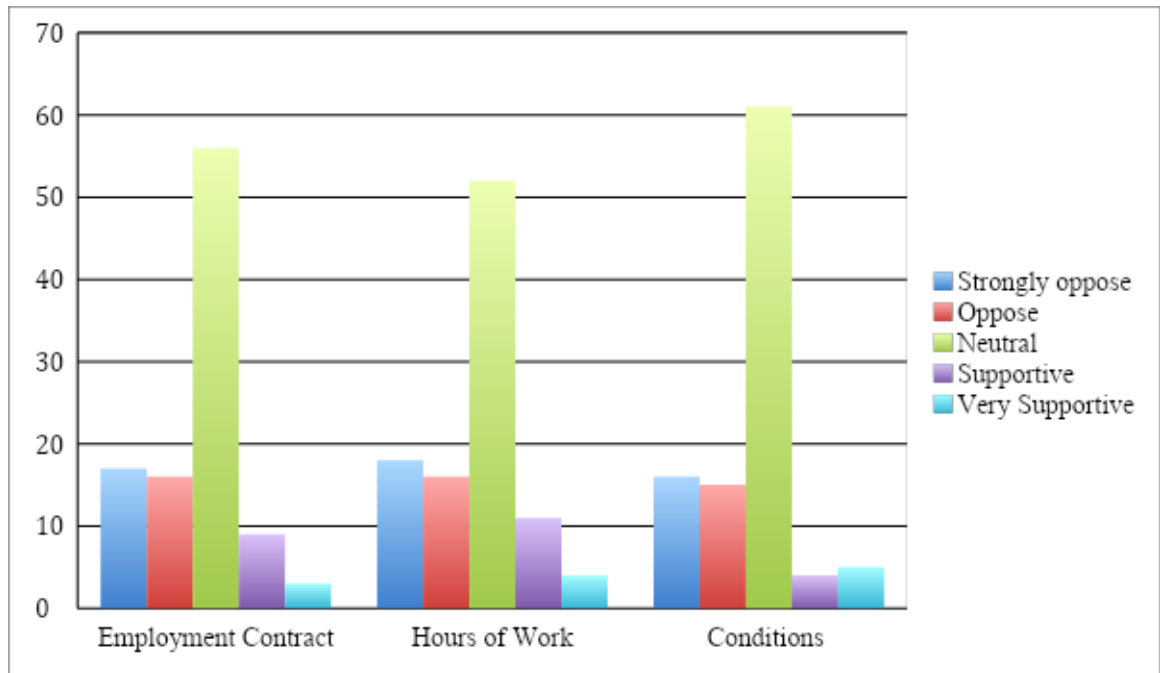


Figure 6: Responses of student workers on employer-employee relations

From the findings above it can be noted that most student workers agree that employers are neutral in dealing with certain opposing views that student workers present in the areas of employment contracts, hours of work and conditions. However, it should be stated that though the figures of strongly oppose are slightly low, the support for student workers is relatively very low too. The employers are responsible for supporting and creating a friendly conducive environment for student workers in North Cyprus and through employment contracts and effective communication between both parties is it possible.

4.8 Hours of Work

One of the research questions for the study was to understand the working hours of student workers in North Cyprus. From the 101 respondents it was deduced that over half of the international students exceed the legal working hours as indicated in the graph below.

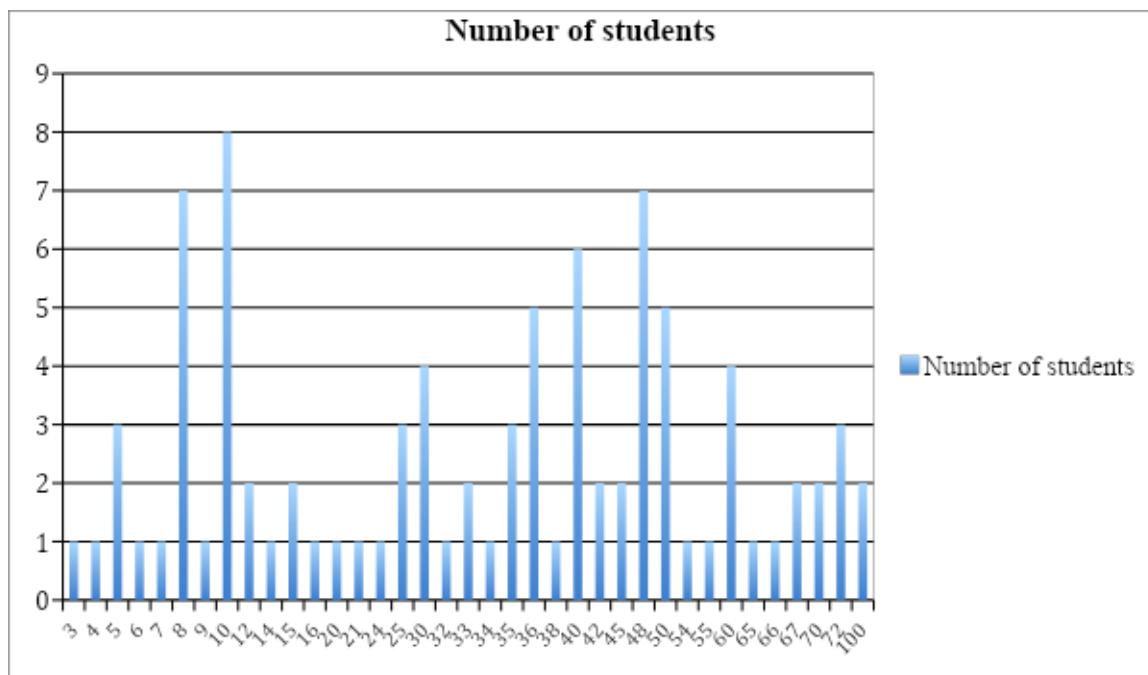


Figure 7: Hours of work for student workers

According to Article 23 of the Law on foreign working of foreigners (2006) students are required by law to work for 4 hours a day a total of 24 hours a week. Students that exceed 24 hours are in violation of the student work permit or the law. The research also sought to identify if students are aware of the legal number of hours they are supposed to work and it was discovered that 83.2% have no knowledge of the number of student working hours. The remaining 16.8% responses came from 37 students who admitted to knowing the legal number of hours of work. However, only 2 student workers were able to stipulate 24 hours while the rest did not state the correct hours. The findings reveal that student workers have no knowledge of their precarious identity by virtue of ignorance of the right number of hours to work. These findings about exceeding working hours are likely to be conservatively reported by student workers with fear of deportation or imprisonment by law enforcement bodies.

4.9 Political Participation among International Student Workers

The research was also aimed at assessing the student worker's role in political participation and possible risks associated with political mobilization. The

charts below highlight the opinions of 101 student workers in the food industry.

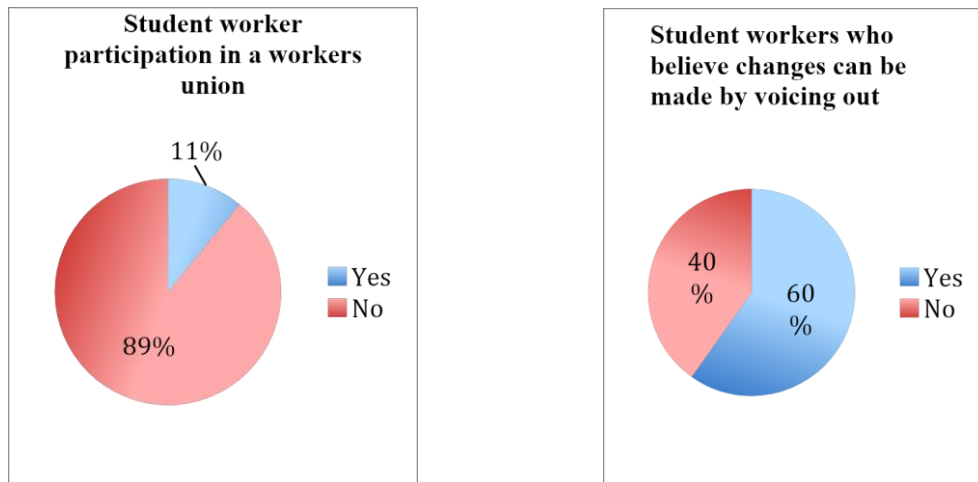


Figure 8: Responses of student workers on political participation

The data reveals that 89% of students have never been part of a worker's union (general experience). McCarthy and Zard (1977) identify two preconditions for mobilizations to be discontent and political oppression. The previously stated statistics in other themes have highlighted precarity in the workplace faced by international student workers. Dissatisfaction in the workplace as a result of deteriorated conditions in the hours of work, lack of contracts and health benefits, sexual harassment and lack of student work permit affects the student worker working in the food industry in North Cyprus. In light of these findings McAdams & Snow (1997) note that workers union are an essential body that contribute to awareness of grievances, form interest groups that operate within the political spheres or lobby the government, and may also attempt to convince authorities to change policies by non-institutional means, protests, and boycotts. From the above it can be said that worker's unions are an important part of the student worker's life to gain insight and also help change policy.

The data also revealed that 60% of the 101 respondents believe that their

voices as self or within a union can help change the deteriorated working conditions. However, the other 40% believe this is not possible. The status of being an illegal worker with no correct documentation denies student workers the mandate to exercise their rights. The employer is complacent in maintaining the low standards of the organization knowing that the recipients are in no position to voice out. As outlined by Hirschman (1970:30) voice is another “recuperation mechanism, which is likely to be met with a mixture of incredulity and raised eyebrows”. This means that voice attempts to change the practices and policies of organizations from which one belongs to. The initiative of political participation is important as it helps student workers to be fully aware of their rights as well as be in a position to exercise them fully moving them from a vulnerable position to a more empowered one.

4.10 Misconduct in the Workplace

The issue of misconduct is crucial to the study as it sheds light on the deteriorated working conditions in the food industry in North Cyprus. From the data gathered the respondents gave varying views however leading to one central theme of fear.

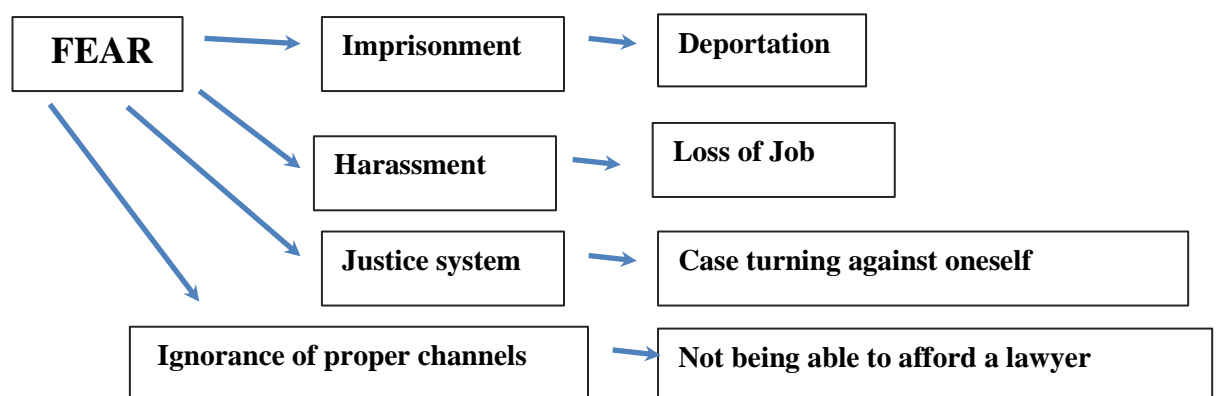


Figure 9: Operational model for student worker option in Precarity.

From the 101 responses from international student workers three quarters admitted to have experienced misconduct and the model above represents the

fears that they have in reporting misconduct by an employer. One of the students highlighted that: *"I know I will not be supported. Police won't do anything because International students are none existent."* And another commented: "I have no student permit to base accusations, chances are no one will listen."

The responses from the student workers are in line with Leal (2002)'s assessment of the disadvantages and restrictions of non-citizenship as migrant workers face few political opportunities, and little or no access to resources. According to the Fair Work Ombudsman (2015) international students likewise are reluctant to complain to the employer or law enforcement bodies for fear of being fired or facing immigration consequences. The theory of fear as the research has deduced from Hirschman's (1970) exit, voice and loyalty, replacing loyalty with fear has been assessed as stemming from the uncertainty that comes with the job. In dealing with dissatisfaction in a workplace according to Hirschman (1970) an individual has three options. The study has propounded another option that student workers take which is fear instead of voicing out or exiting the food industry. It has been realized that student workers are afraid of voicing out or standing up for their legal rights because of racism, language barrier, and precarious working settings and residence status. From the above it can be noticed that misconduct in the workplace is prevalent and this instills fear and reduces the ability of student workers to participate or mobilize.

To note the findings are also consistent with Agamben' (1998) concept of bare life. International student workers can also be classified as 'zoe' because of their sacred life with no political or legal representation and participation (Agamben, 1998). The sovereign is responsible for dictating who is in or who is out within the citizen prism reduces individuals to a bare life of inactivity and passivity. The international student workers working under precarious conditions experience the same marginalization as outlined by Agamben. They

are confined in the private sphere and only recognizable as biological beings. This therefore highlights that their illegal status as workers contributes significantly to their insignificance as political beings and advocates of their rights at work. The findings from the responses of international students highlighted that 'international students are non-existent'. Butler (2001) explains the concept of being human being; having a liveable life and a grievable death and anything that does not fall within the two categories is no longer regarded as human (Butler, 2001). Therefore, international student workers work under precarious conditions that invoke a feeling of irrelevance. With that ideology and other structural forces (employers, law enforcement bodies, immigration department) international student workers are therefore inhibited from advocating for change within the workplace.

Furthermore, student workers were also surveyed to understand under what circumstances they would leave their positions in the food industry companies. From the responses the student workers would discontinue working under the conditions of sexual harassment, abuse, discrimination, racism, health conditions, better job opportunities, excessive hours, salary cuts and if the job interferes with one's studies. From the responses, two thirds were based on issues of misconduct in the workplace. In that light, the Public Choice Theory (PCT) is crucial in explaining the stay or exit option for international students. PCT assumes that individuals are rational and self-interested and individuals who have their own preferences, which affect the decisions they make (Witt, 2011:241). International students calculate the costs and benefits of staying in a deteriorated workplace and juxtapose it to the cost and benefits of leaving. The findings have maintained that student workers as individuals make decisions based on their personal choices as well as maximizing gains from a decision taken. In this case anything that interferes with the student's safety and wellbeing is considered a red flag, which student workers consider in exiting the organization.

To note, sexual harassment has been revealed as one of the uncertainties that student workers experience in the workplace. Among the 101 respondents, six respondents revealed that they had been sexually harassed. Exposure to sexual harassment was significantly more common among women with 5.9% ages 18-22, 23-27 and 28-31. Misconduct by male employers has been revealed as one of the precarious conditions that female student workers find themselves in. It should also be highlighted that because of the precarious identity of the workers, it is difficult for victims of sexual harassment of any kind to access the legal system. International student workers as highlighted above experience precarity because of their illegal status in the workplace. Lack of student work permit inhibits the victims of sexual harassment from filing a formal complaint. Therefore, these student workers can be defined as the 'Precariat' because of their risky and uncertain working conditions.

This chapter outlined and discussed findings from a survey with 101 respondents (international students working in the food industry in North Cyprus). The results from the findings are in tandem with the objectives and research questions. The responses have emphasized the levels of precarity that exists in the food industry and the dynamics associated with it. The weaknesses of the study are based on the small sample, which might affect the reliability of the survey. Furthermore, convenience sampling might also not be representative of the whole population. The researcher's inability to know the extent of the population in the food industry sector might come as a weakness to the research. The findings of the research prompted the recommendations and conclusion of this study. Recommendations and areas of possible further research would be looked into in the following section.

CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

The chapter below summarizes the study based on the research findings. A conclusion and recommendations are in tandem with the research problems and findings. The rise of precarious working conditions faced by international students working in part-time and full-time jobs in the food industry in North Cyprus portends the need to examine the conditions in workplace. While their vulnerability in the workplace has been limitedly been reported, the research has been able to develop a survey to understand the responses of student workers. Literature has revealed the dire conditions of the workplace and its effects on the political participation and mobilization of student workers around the world. This thesis wanted to check if similar conditions and responses to them are happening among the working students engaged in food and catering industry in the TRNC. Therefore, the study adopted the working hypothesis of if there are working international students in the food industry then they violate the law, and this precarious condition denies them political participation.

The study adopted the mixed method approach (qualitative and quantitative) to collect and analyze data. The data collection method used was an online-base survey Google docs to draft and share the survey through the convenience sampling method. The survey employed factor data analysis. The research had some weaknesses that include a small sample size to represent all the student workers and its confinement to one industry and might not be the same responses with other industries were students workers engage in work. Furthermore, due to lack of time and with the outbreak of the global pandemic Covid 19 it inhibited the researcher from conducting face to face interviews with students to get feedback therefore had to rely on online surveys for data.

The objectives of the study were to assess the responses of international student workers engaging in part-time and full-time jobs in the food industry in North Cyprus. International students are termed precarious workers because

of their instability and insecurity in the workplace. The student worker's involvement in paid work links them to migrant workers because their working conditions are illustrative of migrant workers. Low salaries or poor remuneration is an indicator of precariousness in the workplace. According to the TRNC Labor law 2006 article 23, international students should be given the minimum wage. However, the findings reveal that 50% of student workers receive a third of the official minimum wage therefore their employment situation offers no financial stability. It should also be said that according to 62.4% of student workers, one of the common responses on the reasons for students taking up paid work is in order to pay rent and bills. The aforementioned data are basics for survival for any human being therefore forcing students to take up any work regardless of the amount of remuneration. Therefore, students are inhibited from lobbying for increased remuneration or better working conditions because of their precarious status in the workplace.

Furthermore, the absence of a student work permit is one of the major indicators of precarity. Legally, students are required to apply for a student work permit with the guidance of the employer with the latter filling the paperwork and paying for the application processes. From the findings, it has been discovered that 75.2% of international students in the food industry did not possess work permits therefore, the student work permit conditions and stipulations are disregarded because of its absence. In addition to the above, from the responses gathered only 30.9% of the employers were willing to help student's process their work permits. The literature sheds more light on the rationale on employers in maximizing their gains and minimizing losses in the workplace. Processing student work permits for employers is mandatory by law to follow the conditions of the visa; observe hours of work, minimum wage salary and health insurance among others. Therefore, hiring international student workers illegally lessens the burdens of employers in paying taxes however increasing the costs and levels of precarity among student workers.

The analysis also found out that in view of the responses student workers are not fully aware of their rights and crucial information that workers are supposed to know. The survey questioned their knowledge of the number of hours they can work as well as the minimum wage that they are supposed to earn. It was revealed that 59.4% had no idea of the minimum wage and therefore this questions their knowledge on political participation or mobilization if they are ignorant of the precarity that exists. To note, 83.2% of the student workers had no knowledge of the number of working hours. Of the remaining percentage, only two students were able to state the correct hours of 24 hours a week broken down to four hours a day and this is according to Article 23 of the Law on foreign working of foreigner 2006. In light of the above the less knowledge the student workers have on issues that affect their lives in the workplace, the low levels of political participation.

The research also integrated and tested the concept of *fear* as an option that students take in handling deteriorating working conditions. It was established that student workers are afraid of imprisonment, harassment, deportation, justice system and loss of one's job among other reasons. The fear of student workers is stemming from their precarious identity as illegal workers and barriers such as discrimination, racism and sexual harassment. The concepts of 'bare life' and 'precarious life' highlighted the invisibility and unvalued conditions of international student workers. Their illegal status as workers and structural constraints (employers, law enforcement bodies) create a precarious working condition that contributes to a bare life. The lives of international student workers are defined by political marginalization and invisibility of their exploitation. In light of the above international student workers are therefore a precariat group that is not only defined by uncertainty and risk in the workplace but also marginalized and nonexistent politically to advocate for their rights and working conditions as workers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The researcher following the findings of the study had to pass on the following recommendations:

- The above study has significant public policy implications for state regulators and university administration in particular. Largely 38.6% of students received information above employment of student workers from testimonials of friends. 13.9% and 11.9 % were able to get information from the government website and university administration respectively. Regulators in the government and universities need to reassess their provision of information regarding employment rules and produce making it reachable to everyone. Though information is available on websites, more should be done to inform and educate the students.
- The research also recommends the student bodies that represent international students to educate international students on their rights in the workplace through dynamic programs and initiatives that can help students share their experiences in the workplace. It is also vital to orient student workers on the places, individuals or associations that students might go to for support or counseling if they face any harassment or any form of abuse in the workplace.
- The research also recommends a student workers union that would help address the grievances of international student workers. The union would act as a bridge between the international student workers and labor law enforcement bodies to redress the conditions in the workplace and ensure that rules and regulations are being adhered to.

Further work should also account for the role of safety and health practices of the food industry in North Cyprus as a probable cause of precarious work among international student workers. The food industry covers a broad range of activities from manufacturing, processing and packaging. Some risk characteristics might include using machinery without protective clothing, ventilation and areas of work to the quality of products they use on their skin whilst working. These factors might be possible for further research in

identifying the extent of precarity of international student workers in the food industry in North Cyprus.

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APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Working International Students in the Food Service Industry or Catering Industry in the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC).

Participant Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form

Dear Participant,

You are asked to participate in a research study that we are carrying out in order to understand the nature of work undertaken by international students in the Food Service Industry/ Catering Industry in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) and assessing the responses to the working conditions. The data collected through this study will be used to understand how these working conditions prevent international students from politically participating (taking part in shaping decision making in issues that affect their livelihood as students and part-time workers). By filling in the following survey, you agree to participate in this study.

Please note that your participation in the study is voluntary and whether you agree to participate or not will have no impact on your grades for the courses you are/were enrolled in. The survey is anonymous. The data collected during the course of this study will be used for academic research purposes only and may be presented at national/international academic meetings and/or publications. You may quit participating in this study at any time by contacting us. If you opt out of the study, your responses will be deleted from our database and will not be included in any further steps of the study. In case you have any questions or concerns, please contact us using the information below. The survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes to

complete.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Assel Tutumlu

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Graduate Student Sharon Karinda

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Survey Questions

General Information

- i) What is your gender? (Male/Female)
- ii) How old are you? (18-22) (23-27) (28-31) (32-35)
- iii) Which university do you attend?
(Near East University) (University of Kyrenia) (Eastern Mediterranean University) (Cyprus International) (European University of Lefke)
If other please specify
- iv) What is your level of education? (Undergraduate) (Masters) (PhD)

- v) Are you a student or graduate? (Student/ Graduate)
- vi) What is your country of origin?
- vii) Have you ever worked in food/ catering industry while studying in North Cyprus? (Yes/No)
- viii) If yes, select the option which applies to you (informal work) (illegal work) (unofficial work) ²
- ix) Were you working full time or part time? (Full time/ Part time)
- x) How many places have you been employed in the Food Industry whilst studying in North Cyprus? (1/2/3/4/5) if other please specify
- xi) How many employees were or are currently employed at the company?
- xii) What was the longest employment experience? (0-2 months) (3-6 months) (7-10 months) (12months+)

Employment Documentation

- i) What type of work are you doing/were you doing? (Waiter/waitress) (Cook/ Assistant) (Cleaning/washing) (Food deliveries) (Teller)
If other please specify
- ii) Do you possess a student work permit? Yes/No
- iii) If No, how willing was/ is you employer in processing the student work permit?

² **Informal work** refers to work in which an employer hires an employee without an established working agreement. Employees don't receive health benefits and are often hired temporarily.

Illegal work refers to employment of foreign workers with no residence or work permit or who are not in full conformity with the conditions of their permits thereby avoiding the payment of taxes.

Unofficial work refers to unauthorized work that is not approved by the authorities for tax, social security or labor law purposes.

- iv) Do you feel/have you ever felt fearful of voicing out your concerns about possessing a student work permit to your employer. (Yes/No)
- v) Have you ever been caught by local law enforcement bodies as a result of the absence of a student work permit? (Yes/No)
- vi) If Yes in your own words how was the situation handled?
- vii) Have you been charged with penalties for not possessing a student permit by local law enforcement bodies? (Yes/No)

Student Work Permit Regulation

- i) Are you familiar with the student work Permit regulation? Yes/No
- ii) Who have you consulted for inquiries on the work permit regulation processes? (University Administration) (Employer) (Government Website) (Testimonials from other students) if others please specify.
- iii) What are some of the difficulties that you have faced/still facing in applying for a student work permit?

Employment Remuneration

- i) Are you/ were you paid the same as full time staff for the same type of work? (Yes/No)
- ii) Specify the salary you received per hour.
- iii) How was the salary payment plan, daily/weekly/monthly?
- iv) Who proposed this salary payment arrangement?
- v) Did you ever experience any payment problems? If so in your own words, how was it resolved?
- vi) Were you given pay slips that revealed the salary received? (Yes/No)
- vii) How clearly did your employer explain if there were any deductions on your salary?

- viii) If deductions were present, was it a mutual agreement or the employer unilaterally decided?
- ix) Do you have knowledge of the official minimum wage for employees?
- x) What best describes your reason for working? (To pay tuition fees)
(To pay rent & bills) (To support the family back at home)
(Experience)

Employment Contracts.

- i) Upon recruitment how clearly did your employer describe the expectations of the job in terms of wages, hours and conditions of work?
- ii) Did you receive a contract upon employment? (Yes/No)
- iii) If yes what was the content of the contract? If not, which fears prevented you from requesting for one?

Employment Hours

- i) How many hours do you/did you work per day/ week?
- ii) Did you get compensation for overtime work? (Yes/No)
- iii) Do you have knowledge of the legal number of hours you are supposed to work as a student? (Yes/No)
- iv) If yes please indicate the number of hours?

Employment Health Insurance

- i) Were you / are you included in the employer's health insurance?
(Yes/No)
- ii) Were you/are you satisfied with your employee benefits? (Yes/No)

Employment Treatment

- i) Did you experience any discrimination as a result of the difference in language or culture? In your own words please specify this discrimination.
- ii) Have you ever experienced a sense of dissatisfaction in treatment by your employer?
- iii) How well did/ does your employer handle opposing views on following regulation to do with observing hours of work/salaries & employment contract?
- iv) In your own words what prevents you from reporting misconduct by an employer?
- v) Under what conditions would you drop the job? Please specify.

Employment Notice

- i) How would you describe the motive for choosing to leave the company you were working for?
- ii) Did you serve the notice period? (Yes/No)
- iii) Were you at any point dismissed unfairly from a job? (Yes/No)
- iv) How easy was it to report the dismissal?

Employee participation

- i) Have you ever been part of a worker's union? (Yes/No)
- ii) Do you think your personal voice/ within a union can help change the company uncertain working conditions?

APPENDIX 2:**Indicators of Discriminatory Practices and Probable Responses**

Discriminatory Practices	Conditions	Responses
1. Poor wages below the government minimum wage.	Information on the official minimum wage and wages of higher paying jobs in the same profession.	The student worker might choose to exit and shop for a higher paying job.
2. Negligence by employers to apply work permits for student workers.	Student worker's pressure on employers to apply for work permits affect student worker-employee relations.	The student worker might choose to stay within the company in fear of being reported to immigration.
3. Inconsistent and complex administrative government rules.	The student worker through research would examine the process and weigh the costs and benefits.	The choice to stay and work without a student work permit. Costs involved.
4. Cultural and language barriers.	Possess information based on experiences of discrimination. ie. Limited access to promotion and employee benefits.	The student worker might choose to leave the organization depending on the magnitude of barriers, weighing the costs and benefits of staying.
5. Costly government regulation for work permits application.	Knowledge of the costs involved in processing student work permits. Permit application paid by employer however, costs might be	Might likely stay in undeclared labor because the wages might not increase by possessing a work permit and possible

	deducted from the employee's wages.	deductions on the low wages.
6. Student workers offered peripheral jobs and excluded from upmarket service jobs.	Information on better paying jobs with better benefits.	Choice to exit for better paying jobs.
7. Absence of employee contracts and benefits.	Asking other employees of employee contracts and comparing the benefits.	Force employees to exit for other jobs or negotiate for benefits.
8. Unlawful long working hours.	Knowledge of lawful working hours per day and per week.	Stay loyal and in fear because of labor law violation on unlawful working hours.
9. Threat of dismissal and unlawful termination.	Precarious working legal status of student workers would inhibit from formally following up on the termination terms.	Student worker might choose to exit depending on the gravity of the matter. On termination the worker will not be able to file a complaint.
10. Treated less favorably due to foreign identity.	Information on limited rights as foreign student workers.	Might exit and join union and advocate for better working conditions.

PLAGIARISM REPORT

20182119 Sharon Karinda, THE PRECARIAT: RESPONSES OF WORKING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN THE FOOD/ CATERING INDUSTRY IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS (TRNC).

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ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL



22.05.2020

Dear Sharon Nyarai Karinda

Your application titled “**The Precariat: Responses of Working International Students in the Service Industry in the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC)**” with the application number YDU/SB/2020/735 has been evaluated by the Scientific Research Ethics Committee and granted approval. You can start your research on the condition that you will abide by the information provided in your application form.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Direnç Kanol

Rapporteur of the Scientific Research Ethics Committee

Note:If you need to provide an official letter to an institution with the signature of the Head of NEU Scientific Research Ethics Committee, please apply to the secretariat of the ethics committee by showing this document.