

NEW ACTORS OF NEW POVERTY: THE “OTHER” CHILDREN OF ÇUKUROVA

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

BY

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**IN PARTIAL FULLFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY**

MAY 2007

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ABSTRACT

NEW ACTORS OF NEW POVERTY: THE “OTHER” CHILDREN OF ÇUKUROVA

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May 2007, 160 pages

This study aims to analyze the socio-economic characteristics, living and working conditions, educational profiles and the future expectations of the child workers, who have been living in tents for many years and working as agricultural workers at Karagöçer and Kapıköy areas of Tuzla Municipality (Karataş District) of Adana Province since the early 90s after having been forced to vacate their villages in Şırnak. Thesis tries to expose the poverty, deprivation and social exclusion experienced by families and children presently living in tents in Karagöçer and Kapıköy. It is also aimed at exposing the ways in which these people are deprived of their social and political rights as citizens.

The main research question of the study is the motives behind the child labour observed in Karagöçer and Kapıköy. The study has found that the phenomenon of child labour in this area is the direct consequence of poverty, deprivation, social exclusion and denial of citizenship rights that these families had to face as a result of forced migration early in the 90s. Therefore, the study underlines, in conceptual terms, how their unfavourable circumstances lead to deep child poverty and

consequently child labour and thesis also tries to bring attention to the children's situation by referring to their families' poverty, deprivation, social exclusion and lack of citizenship rights. In this respect, the theory section of the thesis focuses on the relation of child labour and child poverty within the conceptualization of new poverty, internal displacement (forced migration), social exclusion and citizenship rights.

One of the main argument of this thesis is that children from Şırnak who work in fields in Tuzla constitutes a different category of child labour. Even though they are paid child workers working in the agricultural sector and they live like migrant seasonal agricultural workers, they are not, since they are settled in the region for a long time. Another important argument of the study is that families of these children after the evacuation of their village did not migrate to urban areas like most of the internally displaced people did but moved to rural areas. In this sense, they are also in disadvantaged condition compared to other internally displaced people since they can not benefit from many social services, which is easy to reach in urban settings. Therefore, this study makes clear that the children and their families examined in this study are the part of the worst form of poverty in Turkey.

Keywords: Child labour, child poverty, new poverty, social exclusion, citizenship, forced migration, seasonal agricultural works and workers

ÖZ

YENİ YOKSULLUĞUN YENİ AKTÖRLERİ: ÇUKUROVA’NIN “ÖTEKİ” ÇOCUKLARI

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Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Anabilim Dalı

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz-Hoşgör

Mayıs 2007, 160 sayfa

Bu çalışmada 1990’lı yılların başında Şırnak’taki köylerinin boşaltılması sonucu Adana’nın Karataş ilçesine bağlı Tuzla Belediyesi sınırları içerisinde bulunan Karagöçer ve Kapıköy bölgelerine göç eden, uzun yıllar bu bölgede çadırlarda yaşayan, tarlalarda çalışan tarım işçisi çocukların sosyo-ekonomik durumları, yaşam ve çalışma koşulları, eğitim durumları ve gelecekte beklenenleri incelenmiştir. Ayrıca bu tez ile Karagöçer ve Kapıköy bölgesindeki çocukların aileleriyle birlikte yaşamış oldukları yoksulluk, yoksunluk ve sosyal dışlanma olgusu vurgulanmış, bu insanların her türlü sosyal ve politik haklardan nasıl mahrum kaldıkları irdelenmiştir.

Araştırmanın temel sorusu Karagöçer ve Kapıköy bölgelerinde yaşanan çocuk işçiliğinin nedenleridir. Araştırma sonuçları bölgede yaşanan çocuk işçiliğinin nedenlerinin 1990’lı yılların başında yaşanan köy boşaltmaları sonucu ailelerin Tuzla’ya göçleri ile başlayan yoksulluk, yoksunluk, sosyal dışlanma ve vatandaş olarak sosyal ve politik haklardan yararlanamama olduğunu göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, tüm bu olumsuz koşulların nasıl çocuk yoksulluğuna ve buna bağlı olarak da çocuk işçiliğine yol açtığını kavramsal olarak açıklamakta ve çocukların

işçilik durumlarını ailelerinin içinde bulunduğu yoksulluk, yoksunluk, sosyal dışlanma ve vatandaşlık haklarından yararlanamamaları üzerinden aktarmaktadır.

Çalışmanın temel önermelerinden birisi araştırmaya konu olan çocukların farklı bir çocuk işçisi kategorisi oluşturmalarıdır. Her ne kadar bu çocuklar tarım sektöründe çalışıyor ve mevsimlik tarım işçisi çocuklarla benzer koşullarda yaşıyor olsalarda, uzun yıllardır bölgeye yerleşmiş olan ailelerin çocukları olarak mevsimlik, geçici tarım işçisi konumda sınıflandırılmamalıdır. Araştırmanın bir diğer önemli önermesi ise bu çocukların ailelerinin diğer zorunlu göç mağduru ailelerden farklı olarak şehirlere yerleşmek yerine kırsal bir bölgeye yerleşmiş olmalarıdır. Bu nedenle bu insanlar şehirde erişilmesi kolay olan pek çok hizmetten de mahrum kaldıkları için zorunlu göç mağduru diğer ailelerden daha dezavantajlı durumdadırlar. Tüm araştırma bulguları bu ailelerin çocuklarıyla birlikte Türkiye'nin en yoksul kesiminin bir parçası olduklarını göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çocuk işçiliği, çocuk yoksulluğu, yeni yoksulluk, sosyal dışlanma, vatandaşlık, zorunlu göç, mevsimlik tarım işçiliği ve mevsimlik tarım işçileri

to the “other” children of Turkey

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my love, respect and gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör for her trust to me and to the subject in every stage of the thesis. Beyond her guidance, advice, criticism and encouragement, her trust brings this thesis into existence. This study would not be completed without her invaluable support.

I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mesut Yeğen and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erkan Erdil for their constructive criticisms and encouragement to continue working on the subject. I would also like to thank Ertan Karabıyık, whose presentation on child labour in cotton production in Karataş has given me the idea on deciding what to cover in thesis and to Hilal Galip for her help on data analysis.

I should also express my thanksgiving to my brother Bülent Özbek, without his support and help I could not get the degree of master in sociology and to my family for their love and support.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends who make me feel valuable and special with their interests during the thesis period.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Children have always taken part in economic activities in society. Most children work in one way or another in almost all societies even though the types of work they do and the forms and conditions of their involvement vary among societies and over time. They have been helping their families at home, in the farms and in small shops for the survival of the families. In this sense, work done by children can be seen as an essential part of the socialization process and a means of transmitting acquired skills from parent to child. However, the notion that child labour is a social problem came into existence when paid child labour became common. Since the 20th century with industrialization, child labour has become an important phenomenon and serious problem throughout the world, first in developed countries then in developing countries (ILO, 2002). Therefore, this interpretation of child labour and the accompanying idea that the child should be protected against it is a relatively recent development.

The definition of children's work is highly variable and differs according to cultural and economic circumstances. Children's or adolescents' participation in work that does not affect their health and personal development or interfere with their schooling is generally regarded as being something positive. These activities contribute to the children's development and to the welfare of their families, provide them skills, attitudes and experience, and help to prepare them to be useful and productive members of society during their adult life (ILO, 2002). However, there exists a slight difference between the terms child labour and child work. According

to ILO literature, child work becomes child labour when children are exploited physically, psychologically, morally or intellectually. In this sense, child labour is work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and dignity and that is harmful to their physical and mental development. Moreover, whether or not particular forms of work can be called child labour depends on the child's age, types of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries (ILO, 2002).

It is estimated that ten percent of the world's children are working full-time. Even if it is not possible to give a definite number, according to ILO statistics about 250 million children between the ages of 5 and 14 are working and 283 million children between the ages of 12 and 17 can not go to school since they work. Africa and Asia together account for over 90 percent of total child employment and child labour is also common in South America.

The child labour issue is also the reality of Turkey. According to the October 1999 Survey of State Institute of Statistic, in total 3.071.000 children are working both in business and domestic chores. When the two types of work are considered together, about 28.9 percent of the children work in Turkey. The rate of participation to the labour force of children is significantly higher in rural areas (14.9) in comparison with the rate in the urban regions (3.6%) (Özcan, Akşit, Dayıoğlu, Hoşgör, 1997). The 1999 SIS Child Labour Survey found 942,000 children to be employed in the agricultural sector. The children engaged in agricultural work make up the largest portion of the child labourers in Turkey.

Child labour is generally a rural and agricultural phenomenon all over the world. Most children start work by helping their families, before they go out to work for others. They do so partly because of poverty. But also in many societies cultural values and expectations view this as a natural and right way to introduce a child to the roles and responsibilities linked to being a member of a family and to growing up. This occurs throughout the world in millions of agricultural families (ILO, 2002). Children in developing countries tend to be of economic value and, as a result, become a desirable asset for struggling parents. Children can significantly contribute to family income. Therefore, child labour is an intrinsic component of survival in a developing country.

The vast majority of child labour is in agriculture, accounting for seven out of every ten working children (ILO, 2002). It is especially prevalent in rural areas where the capacity to enforce minimum age requirements for schooling and work is lacking. UNESCO estimates that about one of every five primary school-aged children was not enrolled in school. A similar situation is also the reality of Turkey. According to the October 1999 Survey of State Institute of Statistic, 78.8 percent of the children aged between 6-17 attend school in Turkey. The same percentage decreases to 74.2 per cent for rural areas (SIS and ILO, 1999).

Agriculture initiates children into work earlier than other kinds of economic activities. Children work long hours, are often exposed to hazardous chemicals and are made to use dangerous tools and machinery that are detrimental to their mental and physical development. Child labour in agriculture is not only common in the developing world; it even exists in the United States and Europe. In most countries children assist their families in small scale fishing, family farms and subsistence agriculture. Girls are often kept away from school to work as domestic sphere. The children - almost always girls - work very long hours, have no chance to go to school, and are isolated from family and friend environments. They often are treated like slaves and sexually and physically abused. Many children, especially girls, living in agricultural communities drop out of school to work in their villages or the nearby towns (ILO, 2004).

In this framework, the aim of this thesis is to analyze the socio-economic characteristics, living and working conditions, educational profiles and the future expectations of the child workers, who have been living at Karagöçer and Kapıköy (Tuzla/Karataş/Adana) in tents for many years and working as agricultural workers.

In general, there are two types of child workers in the agriculture sector; the ones who work in their family farms as unpaid family workers and the others who work as paid, seasonal, temporary and migrant workers in the farms. The child workers living and working in Tuzla are different from these two groups. They have different characteristics. They are paid child workers working in the farms but do not migrate and are not seasonal workers. They are living in tents in Tuzla for many years and working as child workers with their families in the region. Even though they settled in the region many years ago, they still live in tents, most of them do not

have electricity, clean water or legal residency (i.e., they are not registered as local residents). They do not have hygienic and healthy bathrooms, toilets or kitchens. Since they do not have legal residency they can not make use of any services like infrastructure and healthcare. Therefore, although they are not migrant, seasonal or temporary agriculture workers they live as such, without benefitting from any services. In this sense, children, who came from Şırnak with their families and live in Tuzla and those who were even born in these tents in Tuzla are different from other seasonal migrant child workers in the agricultural sector. That is why these children among many child workers in the agricultural sector are chosen as the unit of analysis of the research in order to introduce this different kind of child worker to the literature.

As it is the case all over the world, in Turkey, poverty, underdevelopment, the structure of the economy and the macro-economic policy framework, the growing unregistered sector, income distribution, fertility, migration, unplanned urbanization, education and cultural factors such as the traditions in agricultural communities are the main reasons contributing to the phenomenon of child labour (ILO, 1997c). In this study, I tried to analyze specific reasons behind this different kind of child labour in Tuzla.

1.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted so as to cover children since the focus of the study is the poverty of children and their consequent predicament to work in crop fields. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in field research to analyze the causes of the emergence of child labour in Tuzla.

As to qualitative part, there were in-depth interviews with children, parents, elder siblings, school principals, teachers, village headmen and health workers. These in-depth interviews proved to be quite useful in providing factual data on the opinion and feelings of working children, how they perceived their present living conditions and what they thought about their present status and future possibilities. Furthermore, interviews with families, siblings, school principals, teachers, village headmen, doctors and nurses were also useful to develop ideas on how these different groups approached the issue of child labour and poverty.

The interviews applied to 27 people and each interview last between half and one hour. During the research, it is interviewed with 8 children, 2 brothers and 2 sisters, 2 father and 2 mother, 2 directors of schools, 2 teachers, 2 nurses, 1 doctor, 2 village headmen, 1 employer, 1 project director. With the children, issues related with their living and working conditions, educational level, future expectations and general feeling about their life were discussed. From families, their life stories were obtained; “why they came to Tuzla”, “how was their daily life before” and “how is it now”, “what is the difference”, “what are the problems that they face”, “what do they think about their life”. Directors of schools and teachers offered information about the children’s educational levels, their adaptation to school; problem that they and child workers face during education and children’s living conditions. Nurses and the doctor give information about health problems of the children’s and their families. They also explain the problem that they face when dealing with ill children and families. Lack of residence was the main issue talked with village headmen. Also it is interviewed with Hüseyin Elbek, who is the representative of Türk-İş Mediterranean region and was the coordinator of the project applied for improving working conditions of cotton workers and getting children out of work life. He talked about the changes in cotton production in Adana and Tuzla and he also explained how working condition of workers in this region got worst.

Besides in-depth interviews, my 20 months-long involvement as a social worker in the project “Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Seasonal Commercial Agriculture Through Education” which was jointly carried out by the ILO and General Directorate of Primary Education (Ministry of National Education) gave me the opportunity of acquiring deeper information about the region, developing close communication with families and children and with many government officials as well. This 20 months-long work in Karataş area helped me conduct close observations on many relevant aspects of the issue including seasonal commercial agriculture in Karagöçer and Kapıköy locations of Tuzla; poverty, deprivation and exclusion reigning in the area; denial of social and political rights; approaches and opinions of groups and persons from different circles and disciplines. These interactions with children and their families and also interviews with related institutions strengthened the field research. This experience helped me to realize that

child labour in Tuzla region is very much related to families' poverty, social exclusion and lack of citizenship rights which are the consequences of forced migration from their villages.

In the quantitative part of the survey, a questionnaire consisting of 54 questions to be posed to children was developed. These questions were geared to obtaining information regarding the socioeconomic status, educational achievement and future expectations of children from Şırnak. Even if the research question of the thesis is related to child workers in Tuzla region, research is also carried out on their families since child labor in the region is very much related to poverty of the families, which is the result of the forced migration experienced by these families. Data obtained from questionnaire were analyzed through the SPSS programme.

According to the definition of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) children in the age group 6-17 who are working are considered as child labourers. In this survey, on the other hand, the sample was taken from the age group 12-17 in order to extract more reliable data and conduct meaningful communication with children concerned. In Tuzla, there are about 30 families of Şırnak origin and these families have 84 children in the age group 12-17. Hence, the universe of the survey consists of 84 children, of whom 30 females and 31 males were taken as sample. This proportion is quite reasonable in terms of making generalisations. Furthermore, nearly equal weight of males and females in the sample made it possible to compare gender-related data. The research was carried out between March 2006 and April, 2006.

The questionnaire is mainly based on interviews outcomes and my own field observations. Most of the questions are close-ended and some of them are open-ended. For the questionnaire, it is also benefited from the previous survey called "*Baseline Survey on Worst Forms of Child Labour in the Agricultural Sector: Children in Cotton Harvesting in Karatas, Adana*" which is implemented by the coordination of Ertan KARABIYIK in the region to collect data related to seasonal agricultural workers in Karataş region for the elimination of child labour project prepared by ILO.

Since all three techniques of a survey, interviews and my own observations in the region were applied during the research, information and data regarding children

and their families are much more concrete, reliable and suitable to making generalizations. In sum, all these provided a sound ground to analyse the real situation of Şırnak origin families and their children and to obtain reliable information and data.

1.3 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

During the research and from the observations made in the region it is understood that the main reason for the emergence of child labour in Tuzla is the poverty of the families and this poverty is the result of the forced migration of the families in 1992. These children are the members of families who are internally displaced people and now these people live in poverty; feel themselves as socially excluded and can not benefit from political and social rights as they had to leave their villages and came to Tuzla to work in fields with low income and without any social security. Therefore, this thesis also aims to bring attention to the children's situation by referring to their families' poverty, deprivation, social exclusion and lack of citizenship rights. In this respect, the theory section of the thesis focuses on the relation of child labour and child poverty within the conceptualization of new poverty, internal displacement (forced migration), social exclusion and citizenship rights.

The theoretical discussion begins with a conceptualization of child labour, child poverty and their relation with new poverty. In this section, a definition of child labour is given and the causes and the consequences of child labour are discussed. Then, statistics and general characteristics of the child labour in Turkey are explored. Lastly, the relation between child poverty and new poverty is discussed. Then theory part continues with the theoretical framework on poverty and new poverty. Firstly, poverty, which is a reality of all countries throughout the history of humanity, is discussed. Since poverty is conceived of in different ways, and it is a concept which can have different meanings for politicians, policy makers, researchers and social scientists, in this part of the theory chapter, the different definitions of poverty are given, mainly focusing on the absolute and relative definitions of poverty. Poverty is a concept with multifaceted characteristics. Therefore, after defining absolute and relative poverty, the concept of new poverty is

introduced since this concept reveals the multifaceted characteristics of today's global poverty much better than other traditional definitions of poverty.

New poverty conceptualization is related to the division between absolute poverty and relative poverty, as relative poverty signifies the existence of inequality and social exclusion. In the new poverty concept, relative poverty, inequality and social exclusion are three significant dimensions. That's why these three concepts are discussed in the theory section, mainly focusing on social exclusion, which is the main indicator of new poverty. Social exclusion is a process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully in social life, by virtue of their poverty, their lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination (Adaman and Keyder, 2006). It has four dimensions; economic exclusion, spatial exclusion, cultural exclusion and political exclusion, which have an interrelated effect on each other. The European notion of exclusion embraces multidimensional processes and points to the malfunctioning of the institutions that should guarantee social integration. The European Commission defines social exclusion in terms of the denial or non-realization of social rights. Therefore, in this sense social exclusion can be interpreted in terms of incomplete citizenship. That's why after defining social exclusion as incomplete citizenship; a discussion of the concept of citizenship is introduced, which is very much related to relationships between individuals, groups, rights, duties and state institutions. In this part, the citizenship theory of Marshall is explained and three basic rights are defined (civil, political and social rights) as important components of full citizenship. Then the relation between poverty and citizenship is pointed out and two important questions are asked. First, how does poverty affect an individual's citizenship status? Second, to what extent does social citizenship offer something of worth to those who are living in poverty? The answers are derived from Marshallian social citizenship concept. Then, internally displaced people who generally experience social exclusion due to their ethnic backgrounds are described. Details of these people's economic, social and cultural conditions in Turkey are given by focusing on the internal displacement of Kurds in Turkey as a process of social exclusion.

In the third chapter, information about seasonal agricultural work in Turkey in general and in the region of Çukurova in particular, is given. Since the field

research was carried out in Tuzla, which is a typical example of the agricultural tradition of Çukurova, an overview of the characteristics of agriculture in the region are given, including information about the number of seasonal workers, the mobility of workers during the year, and the diversity of crops and local culture. Additionally, employer (ağa), intermediary (elci) and worker (ırgat) relations in seasonal agricultural work in Adana are described. This chapter ends with a description of the characteristic agricultural production and seasonal agricultural work in Tuzla.

In this section, the migration process of the families, their living conditions and the quality of life in the tents in which they reside, their nutrition and health conditions, educational levels, working conditions and income are all explained. This chapter ends with a discussion of their problems regarding legal residency, health insurance, and lack of political and social rights.

In the fifth chapter, data related to child workers are examined. In this chapter, socio-demographic profiles of the children are given. Their gender, age and marital status is mentioned. Their educational profile, school attendance and dropout rates are explored, giving special attention to the condition of girls as a disadvantaged group. It is also explained how the children from Şırnak who live in tents in Tuzla are more successful in school than the children of migrant seasonal agricultural workers. Then information about the children's nutrition and health conditions is given and their working conditions are described. Lastly, social exclusion of children and their future expectations are expressed.

In the conclusion chapter, the field research results related to children and families are discussed. It is stated that children from Şırnak who work in fields in Tuzla constitutes a different category of child labour. Even though they are paid child workers working in the agricultural sector and they live like migrant seasonal agricultural workers, they are not, in fact, migrants. Moreover, it is pointed out that these children work in fields with their families because their families fell into poverty after their villages were evacuated. Their parents became unemployed and were not able to cover family expenses so they had to migrate to Tuzla and work in other people's fields as paid workers and live in tents. Therefore, the child labour story of children from Şırnak began with the evacuation of their villages. They became child labourers at the end of the forced migration process which resulted in poverty, social exclusion and lack of citizenship rights. As child workers they

became the new actors of new poverty in Tuzla. That's why the study concludes with the idea that, it is the responsibility of the local institutions of the social state to protect these children, do something to eliminate or decrease the poverty of their families and provide legal residency to give them a chance to take advantage of social services provided by the state.

CHAPTER II

CHILD LABOUR AND CHILD POVERTY IN THE CONTEXT OF NEW POVERTY

2.1 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CHILD LABOUR

2.1.1 Definition of Child Labour

In the 20th century and with industrialization child labour has been an important fact and serious problem throughout the world, first in developed countries then in developing countries. It is estimated that ten percent of the world's children are working full-time. Even if it can not be possible to give definite number, according to the ILO estimates, there are 250 million children 5-14 years old who are in economic activity in developing countries alone. For close to one half of them (120 million), this work is carried out on a full time basis, while for the remaining one-half it is combined with schooling other non-economic activities. Among the school-going children, up to one-third of the boys (33%) and more than two-fifths (42%) of the girls are also engaged in economic activities on a part time basis.

Defining child labour is not simple and straightforward. It is a concept which can mean different things in different societies and at different times. Definition of children's work is highly variable and differs according to cultural and economic circumstances. There is no universally accepted definition of "child labour". Varying definitions of the term are used by international organizations, non-governmental organizations, trade unions and other interest groups. International conventions adopted by the United Nations and the International Labour Organization define "child" as anyone below the age of 18, and "child labour" as some types of work performed by children below age 18. And yet ILO conventions variously define the

appropriate minimum age of work as age 15 or under 14 in developing nations; while, in another convention, the definition of the "worst" forms of work applies to all children under age 18. Governments, adding to the confusion, do not always use 18 as the cut-off point for defining a "child." International organizations such as UNICEF, and some social scientists make a distinction between "child work" (not objectionable) and "child labour" (objectionable).

When the talk is about child labour what we are concerned with are children who are denied their childhood and future, who work long hours for low wages, often under conditions harmful to their health and to their physical and mental development, who are sometimes separated from their families and who are often deprived of education. Therefore, child labour is the employment of children and the extraction of their productivity for the economic gain of another (George, 1990).

The impact on working children's personality, health, psychology, emotions and morals varies depending on the geographic location, type of occupation, sex and the age of the child involved. While in some cases the impact may be positive, overwhelmingly the results are negative, as child labour is often paired with forms of economic, physical, psychological or sexual exploitation, which threaten the basic rights of children as human beings (Beyazova, 1999).

Rodgers and Standing (1981) define five different categories of child work. The first group of child activities encompasses domestic tasks that are associated with family and personal services. The second group encompasses the non-domestic and unpaid work common in subsistence economies such as farm labour and hunting and gathering. The third category of work performed by children is bonded labour, which is common in South East Asia and West Africa, where children are sold outright for a sum of money to work in domestic work or other sectors such as manufacturing and mining. Another common form of bondage is family bondage, where children work to help pay off a loan or other obligation incurred by the family. Wage labour, which should be classified according to whether the child is employed as a part of a family labour force or individually, comprises the fourth group. Agricultural field labour is a good example of children working as a part of a family labour force. Similar patterns are present in manual work in industry or domestic service. The fifth group is comprised by marginal economic activities which are

typically irregular and temporary, as exemplified by shoe-shining, looking after cars, and selling small items such as newspapers and sweets (Beyazova, 1999).

2.1.2 Causes and the Consequences of the Child Labour

Poverty, income distribution, fertility, migration and unplanned urbanization, education, malnutrition and the status of women, cultural factors such as the traditions in agricultural communities as well as the structure of the economy and the macro-economic policy framework, and a growing unregistered sector, are all closely related with child labour (ILO, 1997c).

Poverty is widely considered the top reason why children work at inappropriate jobs for their ages. Child labour can be considered as one of the phenomena caused by underdevelopment and poverty. Poverty is the major factor which is itself the product of underdevelopment. In developing countries, even though children are not well paid, they still make important contributions to family income. But poverty is not the only cause for child labour. Culturally derived attitudes and values, rigid cultural and social roles in certain countries also help to sustain child labour. Schooling problems also contribute to child labour. Parents search more profitable alternatives because of the inaccessibility of schools and the lack of education quality. Large numbers of children are unpaid workers in family enterprises. Therefore, families themselves are another major factor which causes child labour. Households in which adult members are unemployed or under-employed often need the money their children can earn (ILO, 1997b). There is an obvious need to mobilize all family labour resources when households rely for survival only on their own labour, especially where the work available is irregular and poorly paid. Thus, the search by children for income earning opportunities is typically part of a family strategy. Child workers may make significant contributions to family income that is often critical for family survival. Children in poor families sometimes contribute up to a quarter of household income (Anker and Melkas, 1996).

Children rarely make their own decisions about employment, but are rather at the mercy of decisions made by parents or other family members who are compelled to evaluate the trade-off between education as a long-term familial investment and child employment as an immediate benefit (Chandrashekar, 1997). The decision-

makers within the family tend to drive children towards employment when it is determined that the opportunity cost of education is either too high or outweighed by the meagre financial benefits when compared with the potential contribution of children's earnings to the household.

Poverty and child labour are interlinked in a vicious cycle. Since working children have limited or no access to education, opportunities for upward social mobility are reduced, resulting in the depreciation of the human capital needed for economic and social development, and thus the perpetuation of poverty (ILO, 1997b).

Generally speaking, the prevalence of child labour is found among those populations that are not only economically disadvantaged but also culturally and socially marginalized. Such populations include indigenous and tribal groups discriminated against on grounds of caste or race as well as migrant families and individuals (Dube, 1981).

In rural areas, the participation rate of children is much higher than in urban centres. Based on methodological surveys carried out in four countries by ILO, the propensity for children to engage in an economic activity is on average as twice as high in the rural communities (Ashagrie, 1998). The children engaged in economic activities in rural areas usually deal with agricultural or similar activities. In urban areas, child labour is mainly found in trade, services (especially domestic work) and in the manufacturing sectors.

2.2 CHILD LABOUR IN TURKEY

Turkey is a developing country possessing important economic and social problems. Together with the basic problems of underdevelopment, like unemployment, illiteracy etc. brings about the harsh conditions of living. Like all over the world, the economic problems, pollution growth, migration and unplanned urbanization an inefficiency in education systems, cultural factors such as the tradition in agricultural communities, enculturation in peri-urban poor areas and a growing unregistered sector all contribute to the increasing problem of child labour in Turkey (ILO-TİSK, 1997). The small scale enterprises of the unregistered economy are a significant source of child labour where children are employed for long hours for low wages without any social security (Karabulut, 1998). As the

unregistered economy grows, increasing numbers of women, young and child workers are exposed to various risk factors in lack of legal or social protection.

There are four principal categories of working children in Turkey: 1. Child labour in rural areas and agriculture. 2. Children working in small establishment and workplaces 3. Children working in streets. 4. Domestic child workers (Bulutay, 1995). Particularly in the case of Turkey, a distinction can be made between children working in the formal versus the informal sector, the latter being more prevalent due to a range of reasons such as the proliferation of the unregistered economy, the marginalization of the work force and the deficiencies of legal regulations (Beyazova, 1999).

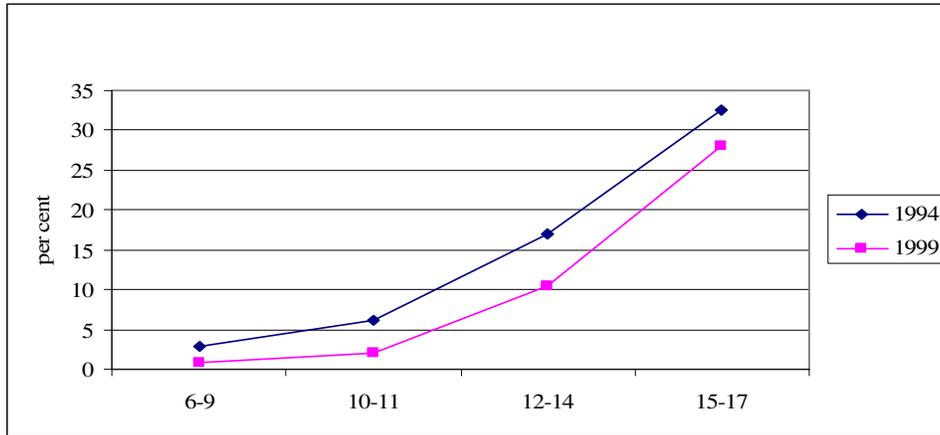
Dayioğlu and Gündüz-Hoşgör (2004) state that child workers in Turkey can be categorized under four headings: place of residence, age, gender school participation. Rural children constitute the overwhelming majority of working children in Turkey. Although only 40 per cent of the 6-17 year-olds resides in rural areas, they constitute 66.2 per cent of the working child population. Out of 6.5 million rural children, 1.1 million are in the labour force. Majority of the rural working children are employed as unpaid family workers in agricultural establishments, which does not require much education or experience. Therefore, agricultural work is relatively more open to children.

Table 2.1 Employment of children by region

(per cent)	Market work	
	1994	1999
Turkey	14.5	10.2
Ages 6-17 years	8.5	4.2
Ages 6-14 years	32.5	28.0
Ages 15-17 years		
Urban	7.4	5.8
Ages 6-17 years	3.1	1.9
Ages 6-14 years	20.4	17.2
Ages 15-17 years		
Rural	22.5	16.6
Ages 6-17 years	14.7	7.7
Ages 6-14 years	46.1	44.8
Ages 15-17 years	14.5	10.2

Source: SIS (2002). Child Labour 1999.

Child labour shows variation by age group. Dividing the 6-17 year-olds into four age categories, the lowest rate of participation is observed for the youngest age group, the 6-9 year-olds, at 1 per cent and the highest rate for the 15-17 year-olds at 28 per cent (Figure 2.1) since the end of compulsory education is 15 years of age. The drastic increase in the employment rate observed for the 15-17 year age group most probably because of the fact that many children could not further their schooling beyond basic education (Dayıođlu and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2004).



Source: SIS (200'). Child Labour 1999.

Figure 2.1 Employment rate of children by age groups in 1994 and 1999

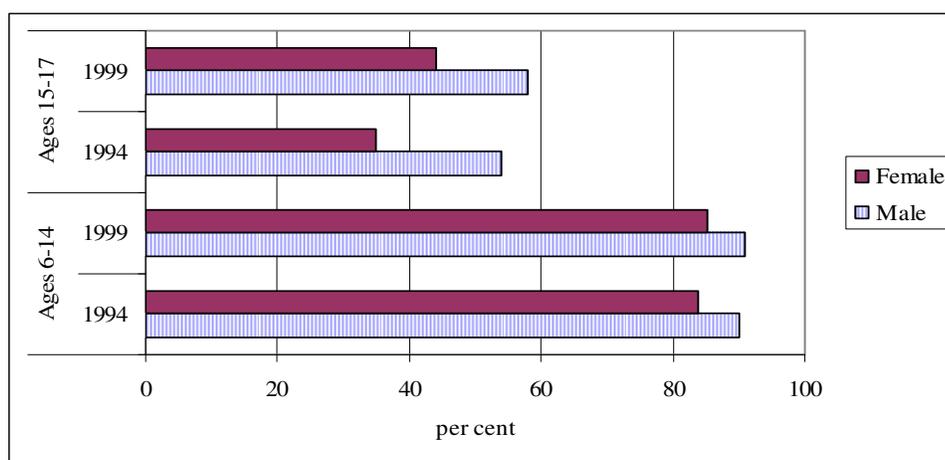
More boys than girls are employed. There is drastic difference between the participation rates of male and female children in urban areas where the employment rate of the former is recorded at 8.4 per cent and that of the latter at 3 per cent. The gender gap in employment rates is relatively smaller in rural areas. While the employment rate of male children in rural areas is 18.2 per cent that of the female children is 15 per cent (see table 2.2) (Dayıođlu and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2004).

Universal schooling, even in basic education still can not be achieved in Turkey. Figure 2.2 shows that the enrolment rate among school-age children was still considerably below 100 per cent in 1999. The situation is worse for older children, almost half of whom are not at school. The enrolment rates of female children lag behind their male counterparts. The overwhelming majority of employed children (82 per cent) are not enrolled in school. This ratio seems particularly high because it includes children who are 15 years old or above for whom secondary schooling is not compulsory (see figure 2.2) (Dayıođlu and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2004).

Table 2.2 Employment of children by sex (per cent)

	Market work	
	Urban	Rural
Male		
Ages 6-17 years	8.4	18.2
Ages 6-14 years	2.7	8.0
Ages 15-17 years	24.8	51.3
Female		
Ages 6-17 years	3.0	15.0
Ages 6-14 years	1.0	7.3
Ages 15-17 years	8.9	38.6

Source: SIS (2002). Child Labour 1999.

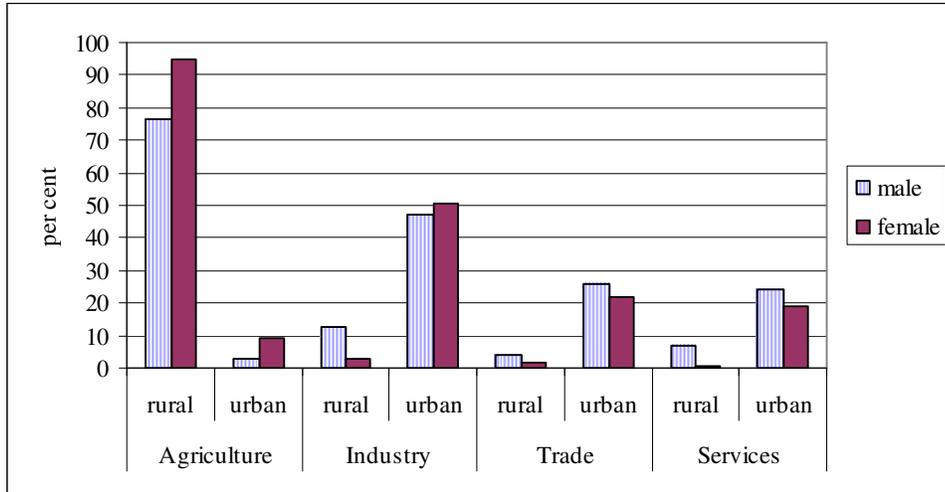


Source: SIS (2002). Child Labour 1999. Ankara: SIS.

Note: 1994 figures for older children are authors' (Dayıoğlu and Gündüz-Hoşgör) computations based on CLS 1994, SIS.

Figure 2.2 School enrolments of children by age and sex

In rural areas, agriculture is the predominant sector for both the male and female working children. However, it is a relatively more important sector for girls, where 94.7 per cent of them are employed as compared to 76.5 per cent of boys (Figure 2.3). Industry is the second most important sector for rural working boys, employing 12.8 per cent of them. The proportions employed in services and trade are relatively small (Dayıoğlu and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2004).



Source: SIS (2002). Child Labour 1999.

Figure 2.3 Distribution of working children across industries

The children engaged in agricultural work make up the largest portion of the child labourers in Turkey and the rate of participation to the labour force of children is significantly higher in rural areas in comparison with the rate in the urban regions. Agriculture initiates children into work earlier than other kinds of economic activities. Children work long hours, often exposed to hazardous chemicals and made to use dangerous tools and machinery that are inappropriate to their mental and physical development. The 1999 SIS Child Labour Survey found 942,000 children to be employed in the agricultural sector, however, the survey provided no information specifically relating to seasonal workers, nor are other sources of quantitative information available regarding working conditions, wages, educational or socio-cultural status of children engaged in seasonal agricultural work. It is possible to estimate, based on the population as a whole and the characteristics of seasonal agricultural households, that there are somewhere in the range of 160,000-240,000 children in the 6-14 age group engaged in seasonal agricultural work as a worst form of child labour. (Gülçubuk et al. 2003).

Deprived of sufficient capital and machinery, households with small agricultural enterprises are commonly forced to rely on their children as a source of labour. In cases where households cannot earn subsistence from their own

agricultural holdings, seasonal migrant work becomes their only alternative (Gülçubuk et al. 2003). In this situation, households, including children, move to other regions for between three to seven months a year to engage in seasonal agricultural work. Seasonal agricultural work is considered to be one of the worst forms of child labour in Turkey. Children engaged in this work face hazards stemming from their working and living conditions, both of which are far below basic minimum standards for decency.

2.3 CHILD POVERTY AND NEW POVERTY RELATIONS

UNICEF's report on the global situation of children, "The State of the World's Children 2005: Childhood Under Threat" provides striking facts regarding child poverty and well-being. According to the report, 1 billion of the total 2.2 billion children in the world live in poverty, which means every second child is exposed to deprivation (UNICEF 2004). One out of three children lacks adequate shelter, one out of five children has no access to safe water and one in seven children lacks health services. A significant number of children, in particular girls, do not attend school, and many of these children lack access to communication and information. Child mortality rates are strikingly high to the extent that the number of children who die before the age of 5 is equal to that of those who survive even in some of the wealthier countries. Gender discrimination is also identified as a significant factor in child poverty (Dikici-Bilgin, 2006). The fact that the statistics do not exclude the children in the comparatively developed countries reveals the scope of child poverty.

These findings point to a dilemma in the historical course of human well-being. On the one hand, the global economy has expanded and technology has advanced to the extent that many goods and services in nutrition, health and education, which were once considered luxuries for ordinary people, have become readily accessible to the mass of the world's population (Dikici-Bilgin, 2006). However, poverty has not been eliminated totally. In fact, in the last few decades, the overall rate of global poverty has risen, particularly amongst the world's children (Bradshaw, 2000). Children are not only increasingly the victims of poverty but are also exposed to social exclusion (UNICEF 2005).

It is to be questioned why, despite a general increase in life standards, child poverty not only persists but also prevails in both developed and developing countries. As mentioned before, poverty in general and among children in particular is not a new problem for humanity. The children of poor families have become used to suffering under the vicious cycle of poverty, most of them being forced to work either on the household farms or outside in order to contribute to the family income.

Low income is one of the most important factors contributing to child poverty. Families with low income are not able to consistently meet their basic needs, which has a negative impact on the expenditures devoted to children (UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2000). Despite the economic disadvantages perpetuated by such practices, developing countries continue to experience high fertility rates, low age of first marriage, low mean age of child-bearing, high birth rates outside marriage and large families (Bradshaw and Barnes, 1999). Under such conditions, familial support for the well-being of children is compromised and children suffer extreme levels of poverty even in the developed countries (Dikici-Bilgin, 2006).

When considering the conceptualization of poverty as being either absolute or relative, child poverty can historically be affiliated with both. As absolute poverty refers to the material deprivation from basic needs, children of poor families also suffer from absolute poverty (Bradbury and Jannti, 2001). However, the contemporary form of poverty suffered by children is much more related to the relative poverty experienced by their families coupled with deep-rooted inequality and social exclusion (Bradshaw, 2000). The factors behind child poverty such as low income, income inequality, demographic transformation and the decline of available welfare incentives indeed reveal that the current situation of children is affected by the factors that led to the emergence of new poverty in general (Dikici-Bilgin, 2006). This aspect of the contemporary form of child poverty is perhaps the most direct consequence of the new conditions of poverty and the most striking change in its visibility.

Besides gender and inequality dynamics, the contemporary form of child poverty has less to do with purely economic factors but more to do with social exclusion related to membership in disadvantaged racial, ethnic and religious communities (Dikici-Bilgin, 2006). It is also possible to talk about permanent versus

temporary poverty in the context of child poverty. Race and ethnic origin are both important factors determining whether poverty is of a temporary or permanent nature. Temporary forms of child poverty mostly derive from temporary unemployment of family elders or divorce. On the other hand, children from minority ethnic groups mostly face permanent poverty (Huston, 1991). Black children, for example, face the risk of facing chronic poverty much more than white ones. A similar situation is true in Turkey when it comes to Kurdish children. Especially Kurdish children who face with forced migration with their families live in permanent poverty just after migrate to big cities and other places.

The children and families examined in this thesis are also Kurd who are internally displaced due to conflict between the Turkish military and the Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK) militants. Therefore, poverty of these children and their parents is the result of internal displacement and the child labour is the result of this new poverty which occurs just after the evacuation of their villages and their migration to Tuzla. In this respect, child labour issue in Tuzla is examined in the context of its relation with new poverty. Therefore, at the next section conceptualization of new poverty will be elaborated. However, before giving the definition of new poverty and explaining its dimensions and its relation with citizenship and ethnicity, classical poverty concept will be discussed to make clear why it is preferred to focus on new poverty in explaining child labour and child poverty in Tuzla.

2.4 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF POVERTY

2.4.1 Definitions of Poverty

The history of poverty is as old as the history of humanity. As an economic concept at the first sight, poverty basically refers to a problem with income level. The perpetuation of poverty is linked closely to the dominant local and global political paradigms, the social values attached to certain sections of society, factors such as age, race, ethnicity, gender and geography and the flows of the world economy (Dikici-Bilgin, 2006). According to the Rural Poverty Report (2001), globally 1.2 billion people are in extreme consumption poverty. More than two thirds of them are in Asia. South Asia alone accounts for nearly half of them. About one

fourth is in sub-Saharan Africa. Three quarters of the poor work and live in rural areas; significantly more than a half are expected to be in rural areas by 2025.

Research indicates that the elderly and children are the largest risk groups of poverty (Dziewiecka-Bokun, 2000). People from the disadvantaged race/ethnic groups are more likely to suffer poverty. Existence of gender inequality leads to income inequality between males and females. Women leading single-parent households are more likely to be poor (Burchardt, 2000). Moreover, poverty varies from country to country, as well as within different region and communities (Cornia, 2001).

These multifaceted characteristics of poverty are accompanied by the fact that poverty is a dynamic process. Although it refers to a state of living conditions of particular groups in a defined geographical unit for a certain time period, it is subject to constant change over time and space and requires shifting conceptualizations (Dikici-Bilgin, 2006). The history of 19th and 20th century social policies is a history of identifying more people as poor due to the factors beyond their control. Poverty began to be defined with its economic, social, environmental or political causes and perceived as beyond individual control. Poverty is generally defined as deprivation; but whether this is material deprivation alone or whether it has its multidimensional aspects with social and psychological as well as economic ones, varies by scholar, by country and over time (Kamerman and Kahn, 1997). Similarly, whether deprivation is assessed in relation to some fixed or absolute standard of minimal necessities or whether in relation to some normal or average standard of living has also fluctuated over time and across countries.

The simplest definition of poverty refers to the lack of the basic means necessary for survival. In common sense, the poor are the ones who cannot feed and cloth themselves properly. In fact, when poverty is defined it should be taken into account that it has many different dimensions such as material deprivation, physical disability, isolation, weakness, lack of participation and insufficient time (Aktan and Vural, 2002). Hence, poverty can be conceived in different ways: through income measures (GNP per capita, number of people below a poverty line); as relative poverty or social exclusion; as incorporating multiple dimensions of deprivations or as a part of a broader global crisis.

Material deprivation means that a person or household does not have enough income, sufficient private consumption opportunity and there is not enough public goods and services provided. Physical disability is related to lack of nutrition, starvation and defect. Isolation is the result of illiteracy, lack of education opportunity, not being able to benefit from services and to be marginalized. The weakness of the poor means that they do not have chance to escape from poverty and change their situation; vulnerable to social, economical and natural crisis; do not have proper job and house. They do not take active stances in political life and can not make their voices heard. They consume all of their time to provide for their physical needs, not having enough time for cultural activities (Aktan and Vural, 2002).

In sum, the various concepts of poverty can be classified by the extent to which they embody an absolute or a relative definition of poverty and the extent to which they focus on the narrow but more readily measurable income poverty or on a broad multidimensional phenomenon encompassing social and psychological dimensions as well as economic ones. It is important to recognize that poverty can be conceptualized on various paths, such as absolute and relative poverty (Kamerman and Kahn, 1997). Each of them leads to a different understanding and significance of the term and to a different definition.

2.4.1.1 Absolute Poverty

Conceptualizations based on an absolute definition of poverty require a definitive poverty line set by criterion of the basic requirements necessary for survival in terms of minimum daily calorie intake and the proportion of income level required to purchase vital consumption goods (MacPherson and Silburn, 1998). Such an absolute definition only pays attention to an individual's daily required nutrient intake of 1500 calories necessary to sustain an adult human life (Wright, 1993).

Absolute poverty is claimed to be an objective, even a scientific definition, and it is based on the notion of subsistence. Subsistence is the minimum requirement to sustain life, and so being below subsistence level is to be experiencing absolute poverty because one does not have enough to live on (Alcock, 1997). The definition of absolute poverty is thus associated with attempts to define subsistence.

Basic needs were defined by the ILO in the mid 1970s as consumption of food, access to shelter and clothing as well as access to services of safe drinking water, sanitation, transport, health and education, all of which imply the satisfaction of individual qualitative needs necessary to survival and well-being (Ardıç, 2002). Hence, income poverty means not having enough income to survive and meet minimum living standards, covering basic needs. Income poverty measurement defines the poverty line according to the minimum income which covers basic needs; in other words the minimum income that provides minimum living standards (Alcock, 1997). A person whose income and consumption level falls below this line is defined as “poor.”

Absolute definition of poverty is used for comparing the status of countries in terms of poverty. It gives chance for comparison since this definition does not take into account the different conditions of countries and income differences. It determines global poverty line which can be applied to every country (Aktan and Vural, 2002). Global poverty line is the minimum consumption level under which anybody can survive.

2.4.1.2 Relative Poverty

Absolute poverty is defined as “...severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to social services” (UN, 1995). The last sentence of this definition leads to the definition of relative poverty. Relative poverty implicates the existence of conditions defined for absolute poverty and moves beyond by referring to the inability to benefit from or have access to services, goods and opportunities most people in that society or elsewhere take for granted (Gordon, 2000 cited in Dikici Bilgin 2006).

The absolutist approach to poverty in the early 20th century, which only considered the physical survival of the individual, began to be challenged by reference to the notion of “subsistence” in the mid 20th century. Although it is still a very restricted notion, it is a start of recognizing that “there are legitimate costs which enable a person not only to survive, but to live as a member of a community within which he or she is able to take part in and contribute to normal social

activities” (MacPherson and Silburn, 1998). In the case of absolute conceptions, the poverty line or the standard of living is usually measured in terms of income or consumption of households, while in relative conceptions it is determined in relation to prevailing social standards, which vary historically and culturally.

One of the best known debate of the notion of relative poverty comes from a work on poverty in Britain at the end of the 1970s by Peter Townsend. According to him:

...individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diets, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely accepted, in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities (Townsend, 1979).

Townsend (1979) defines poverty and deprivation in both economic and social terms. Townsend distinguishes between two types of deprivation: material (relating to food, clothing, housing and so on) and social (associated with family, recreation and education). The major focus of Townsend’s approach to poverty is on social interaction rather than on material aspects. His interest lies in examining who in the UK is excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities (Townsend, 1979). He then went on to outline a list of indicators that could be used to determine and measure levels of deprivation amongst different individuals and groups in terms of diet, home environment, working conditions, family activities, community integration and social participation (Townsend, 1987).

All relative definitions of poverty are based upon comparison in general with existing living standards of a society. It is individual people who are the victims of deprivation and exclusion. Individual people experience poverty. However, by and large individuals do not live their full lives only as individuals. For a start, most individuals live with other individuals in families or households where they pool their resources to some extent and share their wealth, or their poverty, with each other (Alcock, 1997). Some conceptualizations of relative poverty evaluate the poor as individuals, families and groups of persons whose material, cultural and social resources are so limited as to exclude them from the minimum acceptable way of life

in a given society. The notion of relative poverty is based on the idea that human beings are social entities (Alcock, 1997). According to the relative poverty concept, poverty is not just not being able to reach resources and survive, in fact it is related to whether a person or household has minimum living standards accepted by society or not.

Under the title of conceptualization of poverty, different definitions of poverty are given especially by focusing on absolute and relative poverty. The discussion of poverty will continue with the conceptualization of new poverty and social exclusion since they are the main reasons of child poverty and child labour in Tuzla.

2.5 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF NEW POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The conceptualisation of new poverty is related to the distinction between absolute poverty and relative poverty as relative poverty signifies the existence of inequality likely to stem from social exclusion. In new poverty conceptualisation the term social exclusion refers to the role of political, social and cultural aspects of exclusion in contrast to the emphasis on economic exclusion which dominates the traditional conceptualisation of poverty (Gordon and Townsend, 2000). Relative poverty, inequality and social exclusion are significant dimensions of new poverty conceptualization.

The most unique characteristic of new poverty is that the expansion of economic growth goes hand in hand with the increase in inequality and poverty. In this new form, poverty manifests itself not only as lack of income, hunger, malnutrition, ill health, limited or lack of access to education and other basic services, and increased mortality from illness, but also as increased homelessness and inadequate housing, unsafe environments, social discrimination and exclusion (Dikici-Bilgin, 2006). Moreover, whereas opportunities for active participation in decision-making, civil, social and cultural life are available to society at large, such access is denied to those defined as the new poor.

New poverty emerges as an interaction between social exclusion, inequality and poverty. Inequality in society stems from the fact that despite economic growth,

poverty not only persists but also certain members of society have minimal share in income distribution and are in fact socially excluded from enjoying the benefits of a stronger economy (Dikici-Bilgin, 2006). If poverty traditionally refers to the lack of material resources, social exclusion refers to cultural and political deprivation in addition to economic exclusion. A person might not be poor in the sense of having a somewhat regular income to sustain his/her basic needs, but still might be excluded for the reasons related to race, ethnicity, gender, disability and age (Blakemore, 2003).

Social exclusion is a process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully in social life, by virtue of their poverty, their lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination. This distances them from jobs, income and education and training opportunities as well as social and community networks and activities. They have little access to power and decision-making bodies and thus often feel powerless and unable to take control over decisions that affect their day to day life. Social exclusion is therefore treated as a multidimensional concept, including not only income, but also other indicators that define the conditions of the life-world. Thus, social exclusion occurs at the intersection of economic, cultural, political and spatial dimensions (Adaman and Keyder, 2006).

Economic exclusion includes short-term or long-term unemployment and/or lack of credit opportunities due to having fallen out of the labour market. This brings about such problems as malnutrition, poor health conditions, poor standards of living (homelessness in the extreme), barriers in access to education facilities, lack of care facilities in old age, and so on. The most extreme case of economic exclusion may be “exclusion from life” as the bottom line is hunger, which in the end damages the mental and physical capabilities of the individual. Poverty is thus justified and made permanent. (Adaman and Keyder, 2006).

Spatial exclusion is the situation of experiencing problems with and barriers to accessing and benefiting from certain spaces. Spatial exclusion has two major intertwined components. The first one is that the majority of society excludes, discriminates or disregards particular individuals based on the place/geography in which he/she lives. This perspective may create the phenomenon of “forgetting” people living in certain spaces. The second component, which is independent of the

financial opportunities available to individuals/households, occurs because of the poor quality and quantity of the public services provided in a particular geography, as a result of which one cannot fully participate in social life. (Adaman and Keyder, 2006).

Cultural exclusion is the state of not being able to be fully involved in the social and cultural life independent of economic capability. It includes not being allowed into the existing activities of social life and facing barriers or being unwelcome by the majority due to a difference in ethnicity, race, or religion, lack of fluency in the dominant language, accent, different dress codes or sexual orientation (Adaman and Keyder, 2006).

Political exclusion is the state of not being able to enjoy citizenship rights, especially political and legal rights, fully or partially, and facing direct or indirect barriers to involvement in political life. This situation could lead to certain groups experiencing a lack of security in the public sphere, being distanced from politics, or being excluded from political life at the extreme level. This would result in questioning the existence of an environment in which one can participate in discussion and decisions. (Adaman and Keyder, 2006).

Each form of economic, cultural, political and spatial exclusion strengthens the other. For example, political exclusion could result in economic exclusion by causing one to be out of political decisions about distribution and allocation processes. On the other hand, economic exclusion could cause cultural and political exclusion as it results in barriers to integration in society due to economic difficulties (Adaman and Keyder, 2006).

Social exclusion refers to a process of social disqualification or social disaffiliation leading to a breakdown of the relationship between society and the individual. This notion refers to the Durkheimian concept of specific social bond solidarity. The solidarity debate rejects social class conflict and liberal individualism. It is based on the relationship between two types of responsibility. In this context, the state has a key role to play in preserving the social bond between individual and society and promoting social integration (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1999). The responsibility of the state is to alleviate poverty and protect individuals against risks associated with industrial society.

Social exclusion is a concept which has been used in the European context of social analysis and policy. The most obvious connotation of this concept is that social inclusion can be achieved through social policy. What is desired here is social integration; therefore exclusion is regarded as a problem with a necessary and possible solution. Within the framework of the EU states, social policy and usually welfare state policies continue to play a role in lessening social inequality (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1999). When the concept of social exclusion is discussed within this context, it expresses the fact that welfare state policies are no longer as successful as they used to be. Welfare state policies could allow these people to survive, but are not sufficient to integrate them in society.

The European notion of exclusion embraces multidimensional process and points to the malfunctioning of institutions that should guarantee social integration. Thus the focus of analysis shifts from individuals to communities and institutions to which the individuals belong or from which they are excluded (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1999). The European Commission acknowledges the phenomenon of social exclusion as follows :

“It states the multi-dimensional nature of mechanism whereby individuals and groups are excluded from taking part in the social integration and identity.”

2.6 RELATION OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION WITH CITIZENSHIP, POVERTY, ETHNICITY AND FORCED MIGRATION

2.6.1 Reflection of Social Exclusion on Citizenship

The European Commission defines social exclusion in terms of the denial or non-realization of social rights. It emphasizes each citizen's right to a certain basic standard of living and to participate in the major social and occupational institutions, for example, employment, housing, health care and education. Social exclusion occurs when citizens are disadvantaged and unable to secure these social rights (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1999). According to Marshall's (1950) classic formulation of civil, political and social rights this is necessary condition for fulfilling citizenship rights. In this context, the denial of social rights constitutes a major failure, even if civil and political rights are effective.

Citizenship is very much about relationships between individuals, groups, rights, duties and state institutions; it is also about relative degrees of incorporation and empowerment. In any event amongst its possible attributes, effective citizenship certainly means being included in the systems of rights and welfare provisions that are mediated or managed by state agencies (Dwyer, 2004). In this sense, three salient points made by Lewis are: the citizen is one way of imagining a link between the state and the individual; the concept of citizenship implies membership of some form of community, in turn the notion of community opens up questions of inclusion and exclusion; citizenship is a social status that allows people to make claims in relation to state-organized welfare services (Lewis, 1998 cited in Dwyer, 2004).

As mentioned by Dwyer, Marshall (1949) outlined a citizenship theory in which the three interlinked elements of civil rights (i.e., to liberty and equality in law), political rights (i.e., to vote and participate on the political process) and social rights (i.e., to basic welfare and full participation in society) assumed a central importance. According to Marshall, every citizen, irrespective of their class position, shared a common “equality of status” with others who were also members of a shared (national) community. The status of the citizen entailed not only rights as previously noted but also certain duties/responsibilities. In this respect, Marshall defines citizenship as follows:

Citizenship is a status bestowed upon those who are full members of a community. All those who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which that status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal of citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed (Marshall, 1949).

Lister further characterizes citizenship as a concept in which a key issue is the relationship between citizenship as a status, that brings with it enjoyment of civil, political and social rights, and citizenship as a practice, that requires the acceptance and performance of wider communal responsibilities and duties (Lister, 2003 cited in Dwyer, 2004).

In Marshall’s citizenship theory, civil rights include freedom and inviolability of the person, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, equality before the law,

and prohibition of discrimination on the basis of gender and origins. Political rights refer to the rights to vote and stand for public office, as well as freedom of assembly, association and information. In modern societies, it can be argued that access to comprehensive information is becoming one of the most important political resources. However, formal possession of political rights does not guarantee political participation (Dwyer, 2004). The social isolation of ethnic minority members combined with their over-representation in socially disadvantaged categories means that their access to political power is restricted. Social rights means the right to work, equality of opportunity, entitlement to health services, welfare benefits and social services and provision of free education of a high standard. Perhaps the core of the notion of social rights is that of separating achievement from entitlement; everyone should be entitled to the minimum standard seen as appropriate for a given society, whether they are able to make an economic contribution or not (Dwyer, 2004).

Civil rights and political rights must be backed up with some level of entitlement to welfare in order for the notion of citizenship to be meaningful for all members of a given community. According to Marshall (1949), the founding of the welfare state in the late 1940s gave rise to the notion of social citizenship based on the universal right of citizens to a full set of state-guaranteed social citizenship and social and economic provisions. Marshall claimed that social citizenship would ensure the inclusion and full participation of all members of society, even the poorest and most marginalized (Morris, 1998). This notion of social citizenship retains a useful purpose. It has the potential to provide a standard by which the status of certain individuals or groups can be weighed in relation to access to the agreed upon welfare rights and resources that should be generally available to all those who are regarded as citizens within a specific community. Social citizenship, therefore, offers the capacity for an exploration of the dynamics of social division and exclusion along the lines of important dimensions such as class, gender, race, disability and age, when assessing both the levels and causes of inequality within a society (Dwyer, 2004). As a result, Dwyer states that citizenship concept of Marshallian thought can be summarized as follows:

- Citizenship implies an equality of status universally enjoyed by all who are full citizens.

- Citizenship is fundamentally ordered around three rights elements: civil (legal), political and especially social rights.
- Citizenship is about rights and responsibilities.
- Rights are embedded in social institutions.
- Social citizenship is in conflict with capitalism. It provides a guaranteed minimum of welfare and also a limited measure of equality for all citizens.

It is certain that in the context of social exclusion there is also a strong relation between citizenship and poverty. Not being able to benefiting from basic citizenship rights, in some cases, can be the reason of poverty or poverty of people may cause people not to be able to benefit from basic rights. Thus, poverty can be eliminated or diminished by helping poor people to benefit from their basic citizenship rights. By providing suitable conditions for all citizens it can be possible to eliminate conditions which causes poverty. In this respect, social exclusion discussion will be followed by the relationship between citizenship and poverty.

2.6.2 Relationship Between Citizenship and Poverty in the Context of Social Exclusion

Marshall's groundbreaking study of citizenship was, of course, mainly concerned with how the limited equality of social citizenship would affect or alter ongoing class-based inequalities in society. In this sense, Dywer (2004) indicates that there are two key questions about citizenship: First, how does poverty affect an individual's citizenship status? Second, to what extent does social citizenship offer something of worth to those who are living in poverty?

Lister (1990) argued that poverty impacted negatively on the civil, political and social rights central to citizenship status. In respect of civil rights, she stated that inadequate systems of legal aid and advice limited the ability of poor people to access justice. Lister also noted that poor people were becoming increasingly marginalized from the mainstream political process. Townsend (1979) also note that poor people are excluded from the ability to participate fully in their community, that is, lack of resources means that they cannot fulfil their expected roles as citizens in both public and private spheres.

Marshall's definition of social rights implies two linked aspects of social citizenship. The first indicates that each citizen can expect a basic minimum of financial support from the state, that is, "the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security". The second more expansive element, "the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live a civilized life according to the standards prevailing participate fully in society" (Marshall, 1949). Certainly someone living in absolute poverty could not be considered a citizen in any meaningful sense. A consideration of relevant contemporary evidence also suggests that poverty, when relatively defined, has a serious negative impact on the citizenship status of poor people (Dwyer, 2004).

From the Marshallian concept of citizenship, we can distinguish two main categories of people who can not fully integrate into society. Firstly, many immigrants experience a situation of social segmentation. Their position is frequently vulnerable due to the incomplete incorporation into economic life and their social systems (Dwyer, 2004). People in this category have an insecure position and their social citizenship is not guaranteed. Secondly, certain minority groups suffer from social exclusion. These are generally racially or culturally distinct minority groups, who are particularly tender to marginalization because of the weak legal position, racial stigmatization, lack of human capital and specific historical conflicts (Dwyer, 2004). Members of these groups do not enjoy social citizenship. As Mingione (1996) argues their disadvantage diminishes social bond and the strength of citizenship as an integrating force in contemporary society.

Even though with the declining of welfare states many people in increasingly polarized societies began to experience social exclusion, the probability of individual or collective exclusion is higher for members of ethnic minorities and highest of all for minority women. Social exclusion of minorities weakens the social bond and questions the strength of citizenship as an integrating force in contemporary society (Dwyer, 2004). The exclusion of ethnic minorities from citizenship is brought about through discourses and practices in which gender, race, class and culture are interlocked. This has important consequences. Excluded groups cannot become full citizens simply by achieving formal equality, because this will not in itself overcome discriminatory discourses and practices.

Exclusion of ethnic minorities from citizenship rights and living in poverty is usually seen among the Kurdish citizens of Turkish Republic. In Turkey, generally Kurdish people who internally displaced are also socially excluded and they are the people who can not practice their basic citizenship rights and live in extreme poverties. Hence, in the next section forced migration in Turkey will be discussed by focusing on its reflection on ethnicity, social exclusion and poverty.

2.6.3 Reflections of Forced Migration in Turkey: Ethnicity, Social Exclusion and New Poverty

Economic exclusion or a permanent state of unemployment has been progressively leading to cultural exclusion, which has been reinforced with political exclusion, especially in cases where these people are originally immigrants, or from different ethnic backgrounds (Castles, 2000). This whole syndrome is generally referred to as social exclusion. Many studies show that there is social, cultural and political exclusion directed towards certain ethnic groups. In many cases it is seen that people are excluded due to their ethnicity.

The migration from rural to urban areas in Turkey began in the 1950s. There were “push” and “pull” effects behind the migration in 1950’s. Increasing population in agriculture and the mechanization of agriculture resulted in excess labour in the rural areas, and this created a “push” from the rural areas to the cities. The newly growing industry around the cities requires new labour demand from the rural population as a “pull” factor. Therefore, the motives behind urbanization in 1950s in Turkey were push and a pull effects. (Yükseker, 2006). However, the dominant component of urbanization in the mid 1990’s was the forced migration rather than push and pull effects.

According to the data provided by the Ministry of Interior Affairs, by the end of the January 2005, there were 357,000 people who were displaced as a result of internal armed conflicts in the 12 provinces (Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Hakkari, Mardin, Muş, Siirt, Şırnak, Tunceli ve Van) in East and South East Anatolia. On the other hand, some international organizations declare the number of mentioned population between 1 and 4,5 million (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2006).

According to the international definition, “internally displaced persons (IDPs)” are persons or group of persons who involuntarily left their home or habitual settlements especially as a result of or in order to protect themselves from the consequences of armed conflict, in general, any condition including violence, the violation of human rights or the natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (Source: United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement). Only persons who have been forced or obliged to leave within their countries are accepted as “internally displaced”. Those who have migrated due to economic reasons or who have voluntarily migrated are not included in this definition (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2006).

In Turkey, internally-displaced people are generally Turkish citizens of Kurdish ethnicity. In the rural areas of the eastern and south-eastern provinces more than 900 villages and 2,500 hamlets were vacated by either the security forces or the PKK during the height of the “low intensity conflict” between the Turkish military and the Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK) militants, (Yükseker, 2006). The majority of these people migrated to provincial centres like Diyarbakır and Van, to coastal cities in the south (Mersin, Adana and Antalya) and to the major metropolitan centres of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir where income earning opportunities existed.

Internal displacement causes many socio-economic, political and legal problems. These problems result in many obstacles in exercising citizenship rights, participating fully in the labour market, accessing health services and educational opportunities,. The eviction of several hundred thousand people from their rural homes created serious political, social and cultural problems not just for the internally displaced people but also for local people in the region they moved in. Many people with very low levels of human capital, found themselves in the shantytown in urban areas.

Most of these people were not be able to convert their agricultural assets into money. Many internally displaced people, who moved to poor and run-down neighbourhoods of Istanbul, Diyarbakır and Adana have been exploited by entrepreneurs and landlords as cheap labourers and helpless tenants (Göç-Der, 2001; Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001; Başak Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı, 2004; Ayata and Yüksek, 2005; Kirişçi, 2005 cited in Yüksek, 2006). Even though these people found jobs in

cities, as a result of this exploitation they still unable to meet their basic needs and they live in constant need of support. Therefore, working is not enough for the economic well being of these people. Insufficient level of minimum wages is the main reason of this situation besides informal employment, irregular income, lack of social security networks (Yükseker, 2006). As a result, these people are falling out of social life through poverty.

The evacuation of villages during the clashes between the PKK and the Turkish army cut off tens of thousands of people from their sources of livelihood based on agriculture and animal husbandry. Many people in mountainous regions were engaged in subsistence agriculture, while others living in the plains were practicing partially market-oriented farming. However, forced migration makes people to work for cash incomes and supply their basic needs -food and housing- in the market economy (Yükseker, 2006). Many of them became unemployed or unemployable in the city since the men were not qualified workers. The men have very little education and do not have skills suitable for urban employment. They have been informally integrated into the urban labour force without social security and job stability. Moreover, the women are not literate and many of them do not even speak Turkish. Because of the high rate of illiteracy and inability to speak Turkish women can not adapt to city life. Furthermore, the school-age children have to work in order to earn money for the survival of their families. This in turn contributes to their own future social exclusion. The psychological trauma of displacement, social and cultural exclusion, urban poverty, poor housing, sanitation and nutrition conditions have all contributed to a general deterioration in the physical and psychological health of many IDPs. At the same time they can not benefit from healthcare system because of joblessness, lack of social security and Green Cards, and the difficulty of communicating with doctors in Turkish -especially for women- in an unfamiliar urban environment.

The social, economic, political and legal problems of internally displaced people have not been fully resolved even though more than a decade has passed since internal displacement took place in south-eastern and eastern parts of Turkey because of the conflict between security forces and the PKK. The situation of IDPs continues to remain critical. Although the government aims at complementing the “Return to Village and Rehabilitation Programme (RVRP)”, several factors continue to slow

down the return of IDPs. The increased tension in the region because of the renewed clashes between government forces and Kurdish militants and the continued economic underdevelopment of the region are the main reasons (Yükseker, 2006 and Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2006).

A parliamentary commission investigating forced migration during the rule of the State of Emergency Governorship declared in 1998 that the evacuation of villages and hamlets was carried out extra-legally and in contravention of the constitutional protection of life, property, domicile, and freedom of travel (Yükseker, 2006). People did not receive compensation for their losses or aid for resettlement in a different place even though they suddenly and often forcefully evicted from their homes. Constitutional rights of the IDPs were violated and at the same time, they were deprived of certain social citizenship entitlements in a country which defines itself as a “social state based on the rule of law” (Yükseker, 2006). In turn, the violation of their social citizenship rights cause social exclusion of IDPs.

The Turkish government has started a number of programmes that directly or indirectly targeted IDPs since 1999, when the PKK activities were contained and its leader was captured by the Turkish military forces. The main programme is the Return to Villages and Rehabilitation Project (RVRP) which is administered by governorships in the region that dispenses in-kind aid (building materials, farm animals and in some cases government-built housing) to families who wish to return to their villages. In addition to this, some official social aid programmes (mostly administered by the Social Aid and Solidarity Foundation) are available to IDPs. The Green Card (free healthcare services for the poor), irregular in-kind aid (food, coal, clothing for children, school stationery), and occasional lump-sum payments of money are some of them. But most importantly, the current government passed a law in 2004 (Law No. 5233) for the compensation of damages resulting from “terror and the fight against terror” since 1987. This includes lump-sum payments to the families of persons killed or injured during clashes, and the compensation of material losses incurred because of not being able to access property, or directly as a result of physical damage to property (Yükseker, 2006). So far, about 178,000 families have applied to governorships to take advantage of the compensation law. Since only about 13,000 of the applications have been concluded to date, it is difficult to say how effectively the law is being implemented.

The children and families examined in this thesis are also Kurd who are internally displaced due to conflict between the Turkish military and the Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK) militants. Because of this conflict many families had to leave their villages and migrate to big cities like Diyarbakır, Mersin, Adana, İzmir and İstanbul. Unlike the most of the internally displaced people, who migrated to the big cities, people examined in this study migrated to rural area of Adana (Tuzla) to work in the fields as agricultural workers. Thus, these people began to be “ırgat” and the part of agricultural tradition of Çukurova just after the evacuation of their villages. They have been working and living like migrant seasonal agricultural workers since 1994. In this sense, in the next chapter, information about the seasonal agricultural work and workers in Turkey and in Çukurova will be given to introduce the agriculture sector in Turkey and in Çukurova in general and to make it easy to understand the working and living condition of child workers and their families who live in Tuzla.

CHAPTER III

SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORK

3.1 AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IN TURKEY

Although Turkey is an industrialising country, her agriculture is still a significant sector in terms of production and employment. This sector preserves its significant place in economy despite the fact that priority has consistently been given to industry starting from the 70s. Agriculture is the largest sector in terms of employment (Yıldırak, 2004). Despite falling shares in both total population and national income, the share of agriculture in total employment was 35.4% in 2001 (SIS, 2001). Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of people who work informally in this sector do not appear in censuses and surveys. Considering that children under age 15 also work in this sector, we can say that about 10-12 million people are employed in agriculture.

Again despite the falling trend in rural population, there are still 23.8 million people living in rural settlements (SIS, 2000). Population density in rural areas does not fall at the same rate as the fall of the share of agriculture in gross domestic product¹. In sum, the sector of agriculture in Turkey is still important in terms of population involved and its share in total employment.

In the context of Turkey the term “agricultural worker” refers to those persons who work on land and enterprises of others, whose meals are provided by their employers and who receive wages in return for their manual labour. Landholders who work on their own land and agricultural enterprises without hiring

¹ The share of agriculture in the GNP was 40.1% and 11.9% in 1968 and 2002, respectively. In contrast, the total share of rural population was 71.3% and 39.2% in 1970 and in 2003, respectively.

wage labour as well as their family members are categorised as “unpaid family workers”, not “agricultural workers.” Agricultural labour may be permanent or temporary. Permanent agricultural workers are those who are present in all phases of a farming cycle, who remain at the same place throughout this process and who spend at least one production phase or year in the same enterprise. Temporary agricultural workers, on the other hand, are those who are hired seasonally, in periods when additional labour force is needed. Temporary workers receive their wages on daily or monthly basis or at the end of their full employment period depending on the nature of work they perform (Erkuş et al. 1995).

In Turkey agricultural labour mainly remains within informal economy. In particular, there is very limited official information regarding the number of migrant agricultural workers, their destination, time period they spend working elsewhere and their living conditions. Data on these are mostly obtained from academic studies. However, their reliability is limited and there are debates as to the extent which these studies can be taken as reflecting an overall situation.

3.2 SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORK IN TURKEY

Overall, seasonal agricultural workers are unskilled persons who cannot find employment opportunities in regular labour markets while having no other means of subsistence but offer their labour force. Rural households with very small farming enterprises and others without any land at all seasonally move to other regions offering employment opportunities. 30.2% of all rural households in Turkey are landless (Gülçubuk et al. 2003). These households make their living either by offering their labour to other farming enterprises or by engaging in tenancy/sharecropping. There are also some urban households who seasonally move out for agricultural work since their urban earnings are not enough. Due to difficulties specific to agricultural work, these labourers toil in rather difficult circumstances and struggle for subsistence. Summarising, these are people having no alternative but working in fields with low wages and without social security coverage, forming a part of flexible and easily dismissible part of labour markets.

Seasonal agricultural labour in Turkey mainly concentrates in such industrial crops as cotton, tobacco and sugar beet. Mainly from Eastern and South-eastern

Anatolia regions, hundreds of thousands of people seasonally move to Çukurova, Black Sea, Aegean and Central Anatolia regions for such works as hoeing, irrigation and harvesting primarily in cotton, hazel nut, tobacco, tea, sugar beet and grape culture. Though there is no definitive number it is estimated that there are about 1 million such seasonal agricultural workers in Turkey (Gülçubuk et al. 2003).

Mainly from the regions of South-eastern and Eastern Anatolia, the patterns of seasonal migration are as follows: to Adana- Çukurova for cotton works; to South-eastern Anatolia, especially Şanlıurfa-Harran Plains for cotton; to Adana-Mersin for vegetable and citrus fruit harvest; to various provinces of Aegean region for cotton, tobacco and grape culture; to Ordu-Giresun for hazel nut harvest; to Central Anatolia for chickpea, vegetables, cumin, etc. culture; and to Bolu, Düzce and Adapazarı again for hazel nut harvest. Furthermore there are also people from Central Anatolia and mountain villages of Western Mediterranean moving to Çukurova for hoeing and harvesting in cotton, vineyard works and citrus fruit culture (Yurdakul, 1982).

Seasonal agricultural workers can be categorised in two groups. The first of these groups comprises those who spend the whole year moving from one place to another, almost without any settled pattern of life. The second group consists of those who move out to a specific region or province during a specific period of the year and then return back home. People in both groups work and live in quite difficult conditions as seasonal agricultural workers. During their work, these people have to live in tents, without electricity and safe water, deprived of any infrastructure services that jeopardise their health and nutrition. Working conditions are as difficult as living conditions. They start working at very early hours of the day and keep working late in evening struggling with rain and mud in winter and excessively hot weather in summer for a very poor wage.

3.3 AGRICULTURE AND SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORK IN ÇUKUROVA

3.3.1 Agricultural Mode of Production in Çukurova

As stated earlier, agriculture still maintains its importance in Turkey in terms of the mere number of rural population and people employed in this sector. Çukurova

is one of the leading geographical areas in Turkey having its specific place in the total agricultural output of the country. Beyond this the area stands out as an industrial and commercial centre with its seaports, energy transmission lines and its location on the routes of migration.

Çukurova is the largest delta plain in Turkey formed by alluvia carried by the rivers Seyhan and Ceyhan. The Central Taurus Mountain Range borders the area from northwest, north and northeast while blocking cold and dry winds originating from Central Anatolia and thus making the area extremely suitable for farming in terms of climatic conditions. Combined with the fertile alluvial plain, these conditions made Çukurova an extremely fertile and rich area for crop cultivation. Historians testify that Çukurova hosted a rather dense population as well as various farming activities starting from prehistoric times. Various cultures and civilisations flourished on this fertile land while each culture or group displayed diversity in itself (Özcan and Gümüş, 2000).

Özcan and Gümüş, in their article titled “Impact of Some Socio-cultural Characteristics on Types of Land Use: Case of Tarsus Plain” state that the history of civilisation along with agricultural production can be addressed under five main headings: Local scale slavery during the rule of the Hittites; centralized and agriculture based slavery during the Roman rule; free peasantry occasionally under the influence of feudalism during the Byzantine, Mameluk and Ottoman reigns; semi-feudal structures throughout the Celali uprising starting from the 16th century and finally transition to modern agriculture starting from the mid 19th century.

Transition to modern agriculture in the region started with the influence and dominance of Mehmet Ali Paşa, then the Governor of Egypt. At the initial stages of this period, experienced agricultural workers, known as “fellah” were brought in from Egypt. These workers applied the experience they gained in farming along the banks of the Nile in their new region, Çukurova. Cotton culture in the region first started in 1860 when a British company identified the region as one of the three promising regions for cotton farming. Hence, from 1860 to the end of the First World War there was rather intensive cotton farming in the region accompanied by the growth of textile industry (Emiroğlu, 2006).

Until the Republic (1923) non-Moslem groups had control over both cotton farming and textile industry in the region. After the Republic, however, the emerging

Turkish bourgeoisie started to take over cotton fields and textile plants from non-Moslems. So, starting from the Republic, Çukurova consolidated its status as a centre where the volume of industrial and commercial activities steadily increased based mainly on industrial crops. (Emiroğlu, 2006).

The Çukurova region encompasses two developed urban centres (Adana and Mersin) as well as such important industrial, commercial and agricultural centres as İskenderun, Tarsus, Osmaniye and Ceyhan. Besides being the most populous city in the region, Adana is also the centre of commercial, industrial, educational and cultural activities. Adana is the fourth biggest city in Turkey. This population density and level of development mainly depends on agriculture. The need for agricultural labour, development of trade and industry mainly on the basis of agricultural goods and generation of new channels of employment have brought along dense population and developments in various fields. Another factor contributing to the development of Adana as a regional centre is its geographical location as a transition point from Central Anatolia to the Mediterranean Region.

As a result of features briefly mentioned above, the region and Adana in particular have long received migration from surrounding regions and provinces and this process is still going on. Starting from the 50s, Turkey witnessed a rather intensive rural to urban migration, from which Çukurova and particularly Adana had its share. There were many people ending up in Çukurova to work in crop fields or industrial plants. This inflow of migrants was mostly from the provinces of South-eastern Anatolia and Eastern Anatolia.

The SIS Population Censuses point out that there are significant population movements on the basis of regions and provinces. The rates of internal migration are as follows: 8.3% for the period 1945-50; 10.4% for 1950-55 and 11% for 1955-60 (Türkdoğan 1977 cited by Gümüş, 2005). Internal migration maintained its momentum in the period after 1960. In fact, in the 60s, the number of migrant agricultural workers moving from Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia to Çukurova and Aegean regions reached 450,000. It is estimated that 200,000-250,000 of this total number was Çukurova's share (Erkul 1967; Gürgen 77 cited by Yurdakul 1982).

As can be seen in Table 3.1, the Southern Region received 1,200,000 migrants from other regions in the period 1975-2000. The Eastern and South-eastern

Regions, on the other hand gave out 3,250,000 migrants. Only within this period of 25 years, it is estimated that Adana received 350,000-400,000 migrants from South-eastern and Eastern Anatolia regions.

Table 3.1 Migration given and received by regions by places of residence between 1975-2000

	1975-80		1980-85	
	Received	Given	Received	Given
Turkey	1876872	1876872	2040842	2040842
South*	244784	176473	296575	203336
East**	198938	641564	268602	627365

	1985-90		1995-2000	
	Received	Given	Received	Given
Turkey	2966673	2966673	4098356	4098356
South*	450925	270645	413044	410316
East**	309140	1017923	427308	959393

*South: Adana (+Osmaniye), Antalya, Burdur, Gaziantep (+Kilis), Hatay, Isparta, İçel, Muğla

**East: All provinces of eastern and South-eastern Anatolia including Kahramanmaraş, Gümüşhane and Bayburt (excluding Gaziantep and Kilis provinces)

Source: Demirci and Sunar, 1998; SIS News Bulletin 14/12/2001.

Note: Table excludes migration taking place in provinces within the region

The Southern Region or what is also called the Mediterranean Region which includes Adana too in addition to other provinces to the west receives much more population than it gives. For example, from 1975 to 1990, about 2,550,000 people left provinces in Eastern and South-eastern regions (“East” in the Table 3.1) while provinces of the Mediterranean (“South” in the Table 3.1) received 925,000 people. Adana was the main attraction centre in these population movements. The number of new arrivals in Adana was 124,479 only in the period 1985-90 and this trend continued in the 90s. The overwhelming majority of new settlers in both Adana and

South provinces in general are still from South-eastern and Eastern Anatolia. These two regions still account for more than 25-30% of 413,000 new settlers in the South in the period 1995-2000 (Gümüş, 2005).

According to the SIS News Bulletin (2001), migration figures for the period 1995-2000 were as follows: 6,692,263 (on settlement basis); 4,768,193 (on provincial basis) and 4,098,356 (on provincial basis). In this period, while new arrivals to the Eastern and South-eastern regions totalled to 427,308, 959,393 people departed from these regions. In other words, population loss of these two regions is two times what they gain.

Though agricultural works do not constitute the only driving force behind migration from South-eastern and Eastern Anatolia to Çukurova, it is still one of the major motives. Considering the period from 1950 and onwards, it is possible to speak about two types of migration from other regions to Adana:

1. Migration movement comprising people coming and settling in the region in response to need for labour in both industry and agriculture.
2. Migration movement comprising those who move to the region temporarily in response to seasonal labour needs and return back.

In fact, the history of Adana is that of “ırgatlık” (Turkish term referring to agricultural labourers). Indeed, Çukurova witnessed continuous inflow of agricultural labourers nearly for the last two centuries. The predominance of cotton farming as an activity which requires labour intensive methods is the main factor behind this inflow. Hence, seasonal agricultural employment has a long tradition in this region. In spite of changing crops and volumes of output, farming based on intensive labour use is still prevalent in the region in general and particularly within the province of Adana. Since the level of agricultural mechanisation is below what can be envisaged and possibility of recruiting cheap labour from eastern and south-eastern parts of the country, seasonal migration to the region is still continuing. In sum, the regions of Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia still constitute a source of cheap seasonal labour for Turkey in general and Çukurova in particular.

3.3.2 Size of Seasonal Workers in Çukurova and Their Seasonal Movement in a Year

It is not so easy to expose the numbers and movement of seasonal agricultural workers since there is no institution keeping any record in regard to these matters. These workers remain “unregistered” since they do their jobs in informal markets and they are not legally considered as labourers. Nevertheless, on the basis of some earlier researches, Gümüş (2005) makes estimations about the number of seasonal agricultural workers in Adana in the context of labour-worker needs corresponding to given crop patterns. Gümüş says two criteria may be used to estimate the number of agricultural workers in any specific area: 1) Labour need per decare of land corresponding to each crop pattern; 2) Proportion of local/migrant workers hired by agricultural enterprises.

Gümüş then moves on and says there is need for 8-9 workers per decare in traditional cotton farming in Çukurova and in recently flourishing melon/water melon, onion and vegetable culture. This means that labour intensive farming is still predominant in Çukurova. The proportion of this labour need that has to be provided by outer sources is 67% (ATO, 1984). Erkan (2000) confirms that locally settled population can provide for only 25% of needed labour input, thus the need for labour from outer sources is around 65%. Given that in agricultural sector a person can work around 60 days a year, it is possible to say that 3 out of every four workers have to be recruited out of family. Further considering that there is 5,443,354 decares of farming land only in the province of Adana, the number of seasonal agricultural workers needed especially in Seyhan, Yüreğir and Ceyhan plains turns out to be around 100,000 and adding small children coming in together with their families this total number increases up to 150,000.

The movement of agricultural workers is towards those regions like Çukurova especially in hoeing and harvesting seasons when demand for seasonal labour is high. To summarize by periods, seasonal agricultural workers move to Çukurova starting from January to work first in citrus fruit orchards and then in vegetable culture. This is followed by hoeing in potato, onion, groundnut and cotton and harvesting in onion. Meanwhile, some workers move up to Ankara (Bala, Polatlı, Haymana, Beypazarı and Nallıhan), Konya and Nevşehir for hoeing in cumin, sugar

beet, chickpea and potato culture. Towards mid-August their destination is Black Sea region (Düzce, Giresun and Ordu) for hazel nut. Some of these workers return back to Çukurova in September for cotton harvesting (See Table 3.2). Others who remain in Central Anatolia switch to potato and sugar beet harvesting. In other words, these people toil for subsistence in various parts of the country almost all seasons, living in tents facing unsanitary, adverse conditions of living and working.

Table 3.2 Movement of workers during the year

MONTHS	ACTIVITIES
MIGRATION I. ÇUKUROVA	Vegetable, Greenhouse Farming, Hoeing in groundnut and Cotton
January	Tube filling (seedlings)
March	Hoeing in water melon and onion, weeding
April	Hoeing, application of herbicides, fertilizing, irrigation
May	Hoeing in ground nut-cotton
June-July	Vegetable-onion harvesting and hoeing for second crop ground nut.
MIGRATION II. HATAY	Onion
May-June	Hoeing and harvesting in onion
MIGRATION III. Central Anatolia Konya, Nevşehir, Ankara (Bala, Polath, Haymana)	Hoeing in Cumin, Sugar Beet, Chickpea and Potato
May	Sowing and hoeing
June	Hoeing, Fertilizer application and medication

Table 3.2 Continued

MIGRATION IV Black Sea Kocaali-Düzce and Ordu-Giresun	Hazel nut harvest
August-September	Hazel nut harvest
MIGRATION V Çukurova Adana-Hatay	Cotton Harvest
September-October	Cotton harvest
MIGRATION VI Central Anatolia Ankara, Kırşehir, Kayseri, Niğde, Nevşehir	Potato-Sugar Beet Harvest
September-October	Potato uprooting
November	Sugar Beet uprooting
MIGRATION VII	Return/ Hopeless Waiting
May-July; November-December	While some leave Çukurova in July, others keep moving to Central Anatolia. 20-25% of these groups stay in Çukurova (in villages or urban poor neighbourhoods of Adana centre) without returning back to their home villages.

Source: Gümüş, A. (2005) “The “Other” in Çukurova”, *Tiroj*, May-June

3.3.3 Diversity of Crop Production and Cultural Variation in Çukurova

Crop culture displays high level of diversity in Çukurova in general and in Adana in particular. Besides cotton and citrus fruits, vegetable, onion and ground nut culture is also important in this area. Yet, crop pattern in the region has recently been undergoing change. Decreasing returns to cotton and introduction of irrigation in South-eastern Anatolia with the GAP project which boosted cotton farming in this

region as well as risks and difficulties associated with cotton culture are factors triggered the partial replacement of cotton by such crops as corn and soybean (Yılmaz, 2004). Hüseyin Elbek, representative of Türk-İş's (Confederation of Trade Unions of Turkey) 4th Territory, states that the area under cotton culture has been gradually shrinking and leaving its place to citrus fruits and greenhouse farming (tomato, water melon, etc.). For example, Tuzla area is emerging as a greenhouse farming centre with intensive tomato and water melon culture. In other words, cotton culture is receding as an activity somewhat limited to Karataş area of the region. Nevertheless, total cotton output of Adana is still considerable. Since there is yet no full mechanisation in this culture, need for labour is also continuing. Besides cotton, greenhouse farming too requires extra labour which has to be brought in from other places. And the leading place in this respect is South-eastern Anatolia where unemployment is widespread and there is abundance of landless peasants. While the sources of labour earlier were such closer areas as Osmaniye, Hatay and Maraş, now there are others from more distant places of South-eastern Anatolia (Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Batman and Şırnak).

As pointed out by Gümüş, if Adana is taken as centre, agricultural workers are drawn from what may be called the periphery of this centre, including Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Batman, Siirt, Şırnak, Şanlıurfa, Hatay and Kahramanmaraş which are economically and socially in a relatively less developed status. While those coming in from Hatay and Kahramanmaraş are Turkish speaking people, the large majority of seasonal workers are Kurdish and Arabic speaking people from South-eastern Anatolia.

As a result of this rather intensive migration, the Çukurova region in general and Adana in particular display diversity not only in crops but also in terms of ethnic groups. Various ethnic groups, cultural and beliefs have long coexisted in this region. Arabs, *Fellahs*, *Zaza*, Kurds, *Yörüks* and *Türkmens*, Sunnite, Nusayri, Hanefi and Şafi, and to a lesser extent Jews, Armenians and Greeks have together made up the ethnic and cultural fabric of the region (Özcan and Gümüş, 2000). But it is difficult to say that these groups enjoy a kind of amalgamation and mutual tolerance. For instance, there is rather mutual exclusion than solidarity among Turkish, Kurdish and Arabic groups coming in for seasonal agricultural works. In other words, economic or working environments which bring these people together under identical

circumstances do not bring along social and cultural recognition and tolerance. While employers are mostly Turkish and Arab origin, workers are mostly Arabic and Kurdish. Among these workers, however, there are also Turkish people coming in mainly from Hatay and Kahramanmaraş. Relations between employers and workers are incredibly broken and excluding. Employers mostly choose not to take workers as their counterparts and wait them to leave as soon as work is over. This dissidence, mutual exclusion and intolerance can also be observed among workers of different ethnic origins. It is a readily observable fact that in addition to their poverty, agricultural workers moving to the region also face social exclusion in serious dimensions.

As stated by Gümüş (2005), “*ırgatlık*” or agricultural labouring as it is referred to in literature denotes deep poverty, disadvantaged position, low quality of life and working conditions, lack of safety, deprivation of basic services, social exclusion and inability to enjoy many rights that citizens are entitled to. In other words, despite the fact that the concept emerged from economic life itself that is from the mode of agricultural production, it still embodies many social, cultural and political references (mostly in negative sense). In daily life, the term “*ırgat*” turned out to reflect a disadvantaged status in economic, social and political terms.

In Adana where agricultural activities based on seasonal migrant labour has its bearings on every sphere of life, there are serious sociological phenomena whose main actors appear to be *ırgats*, *elcis* (intermediaries or “labour brokers”) and *ağas* (landowners). Although seasonal agricultural labour can be observed in many parts of Turkey, Çukurova is still unique with the intensity of seasonal agricultural labour and its imprint on daily lives of all people. Since cotton farming in the region is a practice with long history, requiring intensive labour, *ırgatlık* along has its profound background and implications for social life in the region. In fact, this phenomenon with intensive exploitation and cultural clashes associated with it has inspired many pieces of literature including well known novels especially by Yaşar Kemal and Orhan Kemal.

3.3.4 Employer (Ağa), Intermediary (Elci) and Worker (Irgat) Relationship in Seasonal Agricultural Work in Adana

In Adana a tripartite set of relations dominate. One party is big landowners (“*ağalar*” in local jargon) who employ large numbers of workers (*irgat*) for the cheapness of their labour and the fact that farming is not fully mechanised. Since there are too many workers, it is too difficult for landowners to have personal acquaintance with their workers and adjust the routine of daily work. It is also too time consuming for them to communicate with prospective workers before the season starts and to guarantee their presence. Hence, there comes in intermediaries (locally called “*elci*”) who do these on behalf of employers. So intermediaries are important actors when the history of agricultural labour in Adana is concerned.

Intermediaries (labour brokers in a sense) who are mostly ex agricultural labourers themselves, ensure communication between employers and workers, recruit workers for employers, offer jobs to potential labourers and get paid through commissions taken from both sides. Their role in the context of agricultural works in Çukurova is quite important and their position in *ağa-irgat* relations is rather strategic. While they recruit workers for employers, they focus on poor and crowded households in South-eastern Anatolia whose members are unqualified and/or unemployed and whose subsistence depends on casual job opportunities. An intermediary is the only person that an employer who wants to avoid having direct relation with workers gets in touch with. Intermediaries mostly have kinship relations or fellowship with households they approach. Nevertheless, they stand relatively closer to employers. Intermediaries are persons who were once agricultural labourers, getting the chance of establishing dialogue with employers during this period, having wider social affinities and capable of expressing themselves better than plain labourers.

Before the start of the season, intermediaries contact employers to find out about the number of workers they need and when seasonal works should start. In periods preceding working season, employers make advance payments to their prospective workers through intermediaries to be deducted from their wages later. This practice has a double function of supporting workers’ sustenance while there is no work and guaranteeing the availability of workers for employers when the

working season starts. Although there is no official contract between the employer and workers, these advance payments distributed by intermediaries serve as *de facto* contract. Still, this advance payment is not a hundred percent guarantee for availability of workers when needed.

Intermediaries not only provide workers to employers and jobs to workers but also join employers in determining the duration of work and working and living conditions of workers. As long as workers remain in an area for any specific work, intermediaries are supposed to provide for various needs of workers. Indeed, they are responsible for many issues relating to workers including the selection of places for tent camps, supplying water with tankers and referring any sick or injured worker to health facilities.

Compared to workers, intermediaries have lesser work burden, but earn more than them. Besides what they are paid by employers, they receive 10% commission from the wage of every worker they have recruited. However, household members of intermediaries do work as agricultural labourers and they mostly share the same living conditions with other workers.

Reaching labourers through the mechanism of mediation mostly depends on kinship, fellowship and neighbourhood relations. Great majority of intermediaries are either Kurdish or Arabic. They mostly enlist their relatives, neighbours and others from their close circles. In other words the job of enlisting workers for seasonal agricultural works mainly depends on ethnic origin and network of social relations (i.e. relatives, neighbours, tribal relations, etc.).

The mediation in recruitment of workers for seasonal agricultural works has its legal framework including the Statute on Finding Jobs and Workers in Agriculture (1978) and Regulations on the Status of Agricultural Intermediaries and their Supervision (2004). Though intermediaries are covered by some kind of legal framework, there are many intermediaries doing this illicitly. According to İŞKUR, the public agency in charge of employment and job placement, every literate Turkish citizen over age 18 and having no criminal record can be agricultural intermediary. Accordingly, persons satisfying these requirements should apply to İŞKUR to get their identity cards as such and renew their card every year. Licensed intermediaries are also required to inform İŞKUR about the number of workers they enlist every year and where they are deployed. Employers and intermediaries are primarily

responsible for ensuring healthy living conditions for agricultural workers. Inspectors in İŞKUR are supposed to conduct regular field inspections to check to what extent intermediaries fulfil their responsibilities and obligations. Yet, such inspections are rarely conducted and many agricultural workers continue working informally. Of all intermediaries few are registered with İŞKUR. This status of non-registry is valid at all points in agricultural works: Intermediaries, workers and the sector itself are all informal and wages paid too are mostly set unofficially.

In spite of this, intermediaries try to get organised. In Adana, upon the initiative of a group of intermediaries an “Association of Intermediaries” was founded in 2000 and now efforts are being made to obtain “chamber” status. At present there are about 400 members of this Association. The status and organisational initiatives of intermediaries is another topic which requires separate and detailed studies and it remains out of the scope of the present work.

Until 2003, wages of seasonal agricultural workers used to be set in Adana by a commission composed of workers’ and employers’ representatives and headed by Province Governor. The commission, however, has had no meeting since 2003. In the face of such situation, workers and intermediaries started to demand wages in line with the daily wage set by Prime Ministerial Commission for Minimum Wage Setting. Yet, neither workers nor intermediaries can get their daily wages in conformity with what is set as minimum wage. Presently, wages are set either by the Union of Farmers or, mostly by individual employers. Since they are too unqualified to seek and find jobs in other sectors and indebted to employers for advance payments they have received, intermediaries and workers have no other choice but accept what is offered and work at that rate. There are even cases where workers are paid at the end of the season lower than what is set at the beginning particularly when cotton prices go down.

Looking at the workers we see two groups. The first group is composed of Kurdish and Arabic origin families who moved in from South-eastern Anatolia, particularly Şanlıurfa, and settle in Yüreğir district of Adana. For years now these families have been living in urban poor quarters of 19 Mayıs neighbourhood and its vicinity. Almost all of these families work in cotton fields in summer and in citrus fruit orchards or constructions in winter. The second group comprises seasonal agricultural workers from Şanlıurfa in the first place and other provinces including

Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Batman, Mardin, Şırnak, Hatay and Kahramanmaraş who temporarily live in tent camps near fields. In spring these families are engaged in digging and hoeing for cotton in Karataş and seedling work for greenhouses in Tuzla, while working for cotton picking, tomato and water melon culture in summer.

As stated in the article by Gümüş titled “The Other in Çukurova”, these people share the same fate regardless of their place of origin or their ethnic character and religious beliefs. They are all referred to by others as “itinerants” “temporal”, “seasonal”, “migrant” “cheap labour” or “*ırgat*” which encompasses all other attributions. All these attributions change depending on who makes reference to these workers:

For outside observers they are ‘itinerants’; they are ‘temporary’ workers in the eyes of relevant legislation, public authorities and muhtars; and ‘cheap’ and ‘seasonal’ for landowners. In term of social and economic status of their work they are ‘wage labour’, in sectoral terms ‘agricultural’ and finally ‘migrant’ in terms of anthropology-geography (Gümüş, 2005).

Agricultural workers mostly move in to their places of work with their family members and neighbours. All members of these crowded families, including children, work in crop fields. Although children under age 15 are not employed in digging, hoeing and greenhouse works for their low efficiency, even 6-7 years old children are used in cotton picking. Others living in urban poor neighbourhoods of Adana share the same conditions as migrant workers. While they have their homes in Adana, these local people stay in camps around crop fields for months together with migrant workers in seasons when work gets too intensive.

Families are rather crowded and they move to their working places mostly with all family members. Families stay in their tents a part of which is used as ‘kitchen.’ Shabby toilets and baths made of cloth and reed are out of tents. It is impossible to speak about any “infrastructure” and related services. There is mostly no electricity of water supply network. Water is brought in with tankers. Neither one can speak of healthy nutrition. These people live in extremely unhygienic conditions exposed to various factors of ill health. Skin diseases and upper respiratory tract infections are common.

This labour intensive mode of agricultural production in Adana affects all spheres of life. Rather live trade and industrial activities in the province are mostly based on agricultural produce. High gains especially from cotton have led to the emergence of wealthy elite in the province. It is indeed interesting to note that almost all industrialists in this province are also engaged in agricultural enterprises. Human relations shaped by modes of agricultural production also have their imprint on daily life. The gap between social classes is rather wide. Although seasonal agricultural labour can be observed in many parts of the country, the one in Çukurova has its distinct features. Native inhabitants of Adana are accustomed to the presence of low paid ırgats who live in tents without electricity and safe drinking water exposed to mosquitoes in summer and mud and dirt in winter. For employers, even a glass of cool water may be seen as “luxury” for their labourers. Yet, this rather inhumane situation is regarded as ‘normal’ by others to the extent that even most innocent claim for rights and services is resisted by landowners in the first place and by other influential persons including mayors and village headmen. Other authorities and institutions including district governorates, local gendarme and schools also regard the situation as normal and take no initiative for any kind of solution or improvement whatsoever.

Children working seasonally in agriculture, who live in Karagöçer and Kapıköy in Tuzla and constitute the theme of this study is different from agricultural workers we have been mentioning so far. Families of children fall in neither the category of permanent agricultural workers nor temporary/migrant workers. These are people leaving their native Şırnak long time ago and settling in Karagöçer and Kapıköy in Tuzla area. The reason was that their villages were vacated by the army during the early 90s. Informed by their acquaintances that there were available jobs in agriculture, many families arrived and settled in their tent camps and they have been living in these tents since they first came in. Although they spend the whole year in Tuzla and have their residence there, these people live and work under same conditions with seasonal migrant workers. Their camps too have no network water and electricity nor any infrastructure services leaving them along with mud and mosquitoes. Their main activity in both winter and summer is vegetable and fruit culture (mostly in greenhouses). Tomato and water melon are leading crops. The

next section of this chapter will be devoted to seasonal agricultural works in Tuzla area and the life of agricultural workers and their children from Şırnak.

3.3.5 Agricultural Production and Seasonal Agricultural Work in Tuzla and the Settlement of Families in Tuzla as Agricultural Workers

3.3.5.1 Agricultural Production and Seasonal Agricultural Work in Tuzla

Tuzla is a township at a distance of 40 km to Adana and with population 3,600. This area is to the south of Adana, between lakes Akyatan and Ağyatan, having its shore to the Mediterranean. Majority of inhabitants of Tuzla is Turkish and their primary means of subsistence is agricultural activities. Despite seaside location and existence of a fishing weir not much is earned from tourism and fishing. While main activity in Yemişli village and its vicinity in Karataş is cotton farming, the leading activity in this specific area is greenhouse farming together with corn and ground nut culture.

Greenhouses in the area are mostly for growing water melon and tomato. Since topsoil is sandy, groundnut culture is also common. Even in the absence of cotton farming, the area is still in need of labour particularly for greenhouse work. This need becomes more pronounced from January to May when greenhouse farming is at its height. Hence, the area pulls in significant seasonal labour particularly from South-eastern Anatolia. Distinct from Yemişli and its neighbouring villages where cotton farming is dominant, this area receives workers from other places starting in January. Starting from May, workers from such places as Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır, Adıyaman, Hatay and Maraş move to Yemişli and other nearby villages in Karataş district for hoeing and harvesting in cotton and stay there until November. From May to September their main work consists of digging and weeding. Cotton harvesting starts in September and goes on until November. In November, while some migrant workers go back home, other move to other places for further work. For example, some of them move to Central Anatolia for preliminary works in onion and potato culture while others head for Black Sea region for hazel nut harvest.

Looking at Tuzla area in particular, we observe that as distinct from cotton workers migrant people here are not from all parts of South-eastern Anatolia but overwhelmingly from Mardin, Batman and Şırnak. Arriving Tuzla in early January, they work in greenhouses (seedling planting, hoeing, medication, fertilizing, irrigation, etc.) until the end of May. Their next destination after May is Central Anatolia for onion, potato and sugar beet hoeing, and Black Sea for hazel nut starting from August.

It is possible to talk about two types of agricultural workers in Tuzla. The first group comprises seasonal, temporary and migrant workers from Mardin, Batman and Şırnak who arrive in Tuzla in January and stay there until May. The second group falls in the scope of this study. These are people who left their villages in Şırnak starting from the early 90s and settled in Karagöçer and Kapıköy areas of Tuzla, still living in their tents as settled and permanent agricultural workers. Throughout the year, these families are engaged in all types of agricultural work, including greenhouse farming in the first place. Starting from January till May they are engaged in seedling planting, medication, fertilising and irrigation in greenhouses together with seasonal migrant workers. In summer months their main engagement is tomato and water melon harvest. Below is the story of these families originally from Şırnak who had been forced to migrate as a result of vacation of their villages and to move out and settle in Tuzla.

3.3.5.2 Settlement of Families in Tuzla as Agricultural Workers

Armed clashes intensifying in South-eastern Anatolia in the early 90s led to the burning or vacation of many villages for reasons of “security.” Kumçatı and Gürmek are among villages of Şırnak which were vacated during this turbulent period. Inhabitants of these villages had to move first to Şırnak centre leaving all their fields, houses and other properties back in their villages and face the vagaries of unemployment in their new settlement. Since the State assistance extended to help them build houses in their new settlement fell short, they were also homeless. Subsisting for a time on what they could get by selling out their animals and some other property, they were then driven into deep poverty virtually without any help. While they were once farmers having their animals and tractors they turned into

jobless and homeless people in desperation. Families were already too crowded to make subsistence even more difficult. Then, after having been informed by their native people who had earlier moved to various parts in Adana that there was need for labour in Tuzla area of Karataş district, Adana, they decided to try their chance there. Since it was impossible to return back to their villages and there were no employment opportunities in central Şırnak, these people then decided to remain in this area which at least promised employment opportunities during both summer and winter. Following these early settlers, migration from the vacated villages of Şırnak continued and newcomers also settled in Karagöçer and Kapıköy. At present, there are almost 30 families permanently living in tents in these villages. The group in Karagöçer consists of almost 13 tents near a stream at a distance of 10 km to Tuzla. The group in Kapıköy, on the other hand, has 17 tents near a school building at one end of the village.

As stated earlier families of male and female children covered by this paper make up a different category of agricultural workers. Indeed, despite their settlement in Karagöçer and Kapıköy of Tuzla early in the 90s and their presence in various works throughout the year, they are still in tents sharing the same conditions with seasonal migrant workers. Since they have a settled pattern of life and they work throughout the year, they are neither migrant nor seasonal. Still, it is also difficult to define their status as permanent workers employed by an agricultural enterprise. The fact is that they work informally out of and social protection and live in tents just like other migrant workers. They have no registry in the books of local muhtars. Hence, these people living in Karagöçer and Kapıköy areas of Tuzla make up a different category of agricultural workers and, consequently, their children constitute a distinct category of child labour. Leaving aside the simple fact that they are all working in agriculture, these children have some features making them different from others.

There are two categories of child labour in agriculture. The first category comprises children who work in their family farms without being paid. In the second category we see child workers in agriculture who move to certain places during specific seasons and work there together with other family members including their parents. As to children living in Karagöçer and Kapıköy, they do work in other people's land with other family members and get paid, but they are neither seasonal nor migrant child labourers since they also live permanently where they work. While

living in Tuzla area for long time together with their families and working together in fields with other family members, these children still suffer extremely unfavourable living conditions in their shabby tents made of cloth and reed without basic services including safe water and, in many cases, even electricity. Hygiene too is extremely poor since toilets, baths and kitchens are all made of reed, cloth and plastic sheets and there is no sewage/sanitation system at all. Since they live in tents without official residence registry they have no access to many services including infrastructure, education and health. For example, their present status is an obstacle to getting green card and social assistance from Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation. Hence, even though they may be living in their permanent settlements in Tuzla area, living conditions of these families and their children are identical to those of seasonal migrant workers and many of them have been living as such for the last 10 years. They can neither be fully defined as seasonal agricultural workers nor can be clearly separated from this category. Hence, as the present thesis strives to expose the poverty and deprivation of these families and their children, another aim is to define them as constituting a distinct category of agricultural workers and present them as such to established literature.

The present thesis firstly addresses the poverty and labouring of children in Tuzla with families migrating from Şırnak. The present poverty and labouring of these children derive from the poverty and social exclusion of their families and their status of not benefiting from many rights entitled to other citizens. Thus, in the subsequent section and before presenting survey data regarding children, forced migration of families from Şırnak, their arrival to the area, their working and living conditions as well as socioeconomic status will be addressed in detail on the basis of data obtained.

CHAPTER IV

PROFILES OF THE FAMILIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As mentioned, the purpose of the present thesis is to expose the poverty, deprivation and social exclusion experienced by families and children presently living in tents in Karagöçer and Kapıköy areas of Tuzla Municipality (Karataş District) of Adana Province since the early 90s after having been forced to vacate their villages in Şırnak in South-eastern Anatolia. It is also aimed at exposing the ways in which these people are deprived of their social and political rights as citizens. The study underlines, in conceptual terms, how their unfavourable circumstances lead to deep child poverty and consequently child labour. It is clear that the present state of deep poverty essentially derives from forced migration after which people from Şırnak started facing poverty, deprivation and social exclusion in a state where they are denied almost all basic services and social support.

The focal point of the study is the causes of child labour observed in Karagöçer and Kapıköy settlements in Tuzla. The study has found that the phenomenon of child labour in this area is the direct consequence of poverty, deprivation, social exclusion and denial of citizenship rights that these families had to face as a result of forced migration early in the 90s.

4.2 THE MIGRATION PROCESS OF THE FAMILIES

As stated earlier, there has been rather intensive migration from south-eastern and eastern Anatolia to Çukurova since the 50s and seasonal migration constitutes the bulk of this flow. Karataş and Tuzla areas of Adana has had and still having their

significant share in this inflow of migrants. Until the 90s, the driving factors behind this population flow were mostly economic and demographic in nature: unemployment and high population growth. Starting from the early 90s, however, many others had to leave their rural settlements as a result of armed clashes in the region. Economic difficulties further compounded by security considerations led many families to Adana. As to families who had to leave their villages (Kumçatı and Gürmek) in Şırnak, they too started moving out in 1994 as a result of clashes and economic difficulties.

Majority of these people once had their land and animals back in their villages. Once they were able to subsist on their farm work relatively easily. Yet, they had to leave their homes and farms and move first to Şırnak after their villages were vacated. Finding no prospects of subsistence and employment in Şırnak, however, they first started moving Tuzla as seasonal workers and then settled there permanently. Since 1994 they have been living in tents in this area. Two young adults aged 18 and 20 from Şırnak tell the following about their life back in Şırnak and how they moved to Tuzla:

“We were very rich in village. We had at least 1000 goats, 3 tractors. We were doing our job, we had fields, we were growing wheat, and we were getting our firewood from forest. Some people were cultivating tomato; some were cultivating melon, watermelon. Our village was evacuated; we had to leave our village and go to Şırnak. We were miserable. We could not turn back to our village, we lost our fields. There was not any job for us in Şırnak. Just one person in my family could work in Şırnak, others could not. Our family is composed of 16 people, how we could earn our life when just one person would work.”

“We have been living for 10 years in Tuzla. Our village was evacuated that is why we came to here. We were living in village called Gürmek. We were feeding animals before evacuation of our village. We came to here 2 years after the evacuation. Government gave cement and iron to us to build a house but it was not enough. We were unemployed; there was not any job, we were very poor and forsaken. Some people who had money completed and finished their home but we

could not. I was going to school, I was 1st year student but I could not continue. We had to work, we came to here.”

“First our intermediary (elci) came to Tuzla to see the work conditions then he came back to Şırnak and told us that there is a job opportunity; so, I, my brother and my sister, we came to Tuzla and we have worked for one year. Then we turned back to Şırnak and brought all other members of families.”

Questionnaires applied to children and in-depth interviews with family members revealed that families originally from Şırnak had long been living in Karagöçer and Kapıköy localities of Tuzla. There are families who have been living minimum 2 maximum 13 years in the region in tents (See Table 4.1). 23 percent of families have been living for 6 years, 19,7 percent of them have been living for 8 years, 16,4 percent of them have been living for 4 years and 13,1 percent of them have been living for 10 years. Average of years that families have lived in Tuzla is 6,21. Most of the families came to the region from Şırnak since their village was evacuated in 1992. For many years this migration from Şırnak to Tuzla and Kapıköy has continued. For example 9,8 percent of the families have been living just for 2 years in the region.

Table 4.1 For how many years families have been living in Tuzla

Years	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 2	6	9.8	9.8
3	1	1.6	11.5
4	10	16.4	27.9
5	6	9.8	37.7
6	14	23.0	60.7
7	3	4.9	65.6
8	12	19.7	85.2
10	8	13.1	98.4
13	1	1.6	100.0
Total	61	100.0	

In the questionnaire, families were also asked why they preferred to settle in Tuzla. Even though according to surveys the main reason of residence of families in Tuzla is the job opportunity in the region and another important reason is the acquaintance/relatives living in the region, in fact real reason behind the residence is the evacuation of the village. The other reasons declared by the families are the consequences of this evacuation. As to ongoing migration, the primary motive is the availability of job opportunities and the presence of acquaintances who had moved to this area earlier. For the group the most important thing to work and live together with the community. It is observed that there is closed-community structure. They are not feeling secure enough to be separated from the community in the migration process.

4.3 LIVING CONDITIONS AND LIFE STANDARDS OF FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

4.3.1 Household Size

Families from Şırnak have been living in tents since they first arrived. Fifty-nine percent of the respondents live in Kapıköy and 41 percent of them live in Karagöçer. Families are very crowded. Average of the household size is 8.57. Results of survey show that household size of 23 percent of the children is 11, 26,2 percent of the children is 8 and 10 and 29,6 percent of the children is 6 and 7.

Children are member of big families and they live altogether in small tents. Average number of people live in tents is 8,46. Minimum number of people live in tents is 3 and maximum is 17. As it is seen from the statistics, children live with very crowded families in small and not hygienic tents. 59,2 percent of children live in tents which are composed of 2 rooms but these are not separate rooms. In fact tents are composed of 2 small bulkheads separated by gland. Moreover, 39,3 percent of children live in tents which are just composed of one room. Therefore, it is certain that families and children live in non-healthy social environment and no body in family has private sphere. Life in tents inhabited by rather crowded families is not easy. As stated by a young man living in Karagöçer:

“I and my brother, we are married. We live together in one tent. Our tent is composed of 2 bulkheads separated by a curtain. I live with my family in one bulkhead and my brother live with his family in another bulkhead.”

4.3.2 Life Quality in Tents

Tents that these people live in are made of reed, cloth and plastic. What is used as toilet and bath is also shabby structures made of the same material. There is no sanitation system for toilets and baths and no infrastructure service for the whole area where tents are erected. “Kitchen” is nothing beyond a cooking apparatus, some utensils and, in some cases, refrigerator placed somewhere in the tent. 55.7% percent of children say that their kitchens are inside of the tents; 44,3 percent of them say that their kitchen is out of the tents.

“Our kitchen is out of tent but we just have one refrigerator we do not have either washing machine or dishwasher. In fact, we do not have even oven. We have just one refrigerator which we bought just 2 years ago since we have electricity just for two years. In the past, we were cooking meals daily and had to throw the meals left from the day before.”

As can be gathered from the anecdote above, there is electricity in these tent camps only for the last 2 years. Indeed, according to the survey results 29,5 percent of children still live in tents without electricity. 70,5 percent of the children surveyed have electricity in their tents but 90,7 percent of these children had it just 2 years ago. When it is considered that the families have been living in the region at average for 6 years, and there are families who have been living for 8, 10 even 13 years in the tents, it is clear that how their living conditions are poor and they are in hard conditions.

Besides electricity, shortage of safe drinking water is another infrastructure related problem of life in tents. As stated 72,1 percent of children do not have clean water for drink. Even though 27,9 percent of children say that they have clean water in fact, all of the families get their water from pumps and tankers. Water is usually dirty and sandy. Moreover, dirty canal water sometimes mix with pump water. In the

eyes of an 18 years old young woman in Karagöçer, the problems of electricity and safe water have the following implications:

“We had electricity just for 2 years ago. We had lived without electricity and clean water, at 4 seasons of year, in mud, under rain in winter. We moved here just last year. We came to nearby of pump. Women and girls were carrying water from 1.5 kilometres away on our shoulders. Our life is very hard, our living condition is terrible”

Another young male explains how their reach electricity and water as follows:

“We take our water from our employer’s pump, there isn’t tap. We carry it on our shoulders. We get our electricity from our employer house but we pay for it. He would not give either electricity or water if we give up his job even just for 2 days. We were living at other side of the bridge; we did not have electricity; our intermediary cut it off.”

According to the Human Development Index deprivation of a normal and sanitary house is one of the most significant indicators of poverty. As a matter of fact, conditions of housing in urban poor neighbourhoods in Turkey which are associated with the term “*gecekodu*” constitute a leading indicator of poverty on the part of these urban dwellers. The situation of people living in Tuzla is far worse than this since they don’t even have a house with four walls. For over ten years, these people have been living in tent cottages made of reed, cloth and nylon. Inside, these tents are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. Invaders include mosquitoes and sand in summer and mud in winter. People living in these tents are exposed to all conceivable health threats. There is no toilet, kitchen or bath in proper sense of hygiene. Even safe drinking water may be hard to reach in some cases. Associated disadvantages including those in the field of health particularly threaten children. As a matter of fact, many children covered by the survey had their particular complaints about living conditions in tents. According to surveys 51,2 percent of children complain about the hygiene problem in tents, toilets, bathrooms and kitchens.

Another problem is that there is not enough separate rooms. 14,1 percent of children complain about this.

During in-depth interviews, one interviewee, a school principal from one of the schools in the area, made a rather interesting observation on the life of children living in tents:

“Pictures are the language of children. Children usually draw their problems and needs. If one child usually draws a house this means that either child does not have a house or have problems at their home. Children working in fields and living in tents usually draw a house. This in general shows their need for shelter.”

And describe their living conditions as:

“These people do not have clean water; they do not have proper toilets and bathrooms. They can not meet their basic human needs. They do not have basic living conditions. State should do something. State can construct prefabricated houses, schools, healthy toilets and bathrooms for them.”

One of the children expresses unfavourable living conditions in tents and his discontent as follows:

“Everywhere became mud when it is rainy in winter and it is very hot in summer. There are too many mosquitoes. Our water is not healthy, it is dirty. That is why we get sick. My childhood was not good since we were living in tents.”

10 years old girl:

“I don’t like living in tents. We do not have electricity, we carry water from tanker.”

11,8 percent of the children do not have any electronic instruments in tents. 43,1 percent of children have television and 26,5 percent of them have refrigerator and 18,6 percent of them have tape-recorder. But during the interviews many of the children who live in Karagöçer say that they can not use these instruments since they

do not have electricity. Moreover, families live in Kapıköy had the opportunity to use electronic instruments just 2 years ago. About this deprivation, one child says:

“We haven’t have electricity at all so we do not have refrigerator or television.”

The following is the statement of a teacher in a primary school in Tuzla:

“They live in very tough conditions. There are districts and streets which are composed of tents in this region. There isn’t anything in tents. They live with their animals. They do not have even television which is one of the main needs of today’s people. Their living condition should be improved. State should help them, guide them. There is need for huge investment.”

According to most recent surveys, 97% of households in Turkey have their TV sets. Hence, families living in Tuzla are a part of the remaining 3% as disadvantaged families.

4.4 HEALTH AND EDUCATION

4.4.1 Nutrition and Health

While living in tents deprived of any infrastructure and hygiene, these people also face the problem of malnutrition. Their budget does not allow for consumption of some food items and, furthermore, they cannot preserve their food in good conditions as a result of lack of electricity. They usually depend on cereals with very limited consumption of vegetables and fruits. It is almost impossible to talk about any meat consumption. Unfavourable living conditions and malnutrition bring along many other disadvantages including ill health. Unhygienic toilets and baths, living together in tents, absence of safe drinking water, immediate presence of mud and mosquitoes around tents, poor heating and abundance of insects together call for diseases and other conditions of ill health. These adversities are compounded by other factors including poor preservation of available food items, poor cleaning and absence of network water. Leading outcomes in terms of ill health include skin diseases and upper respiratory tract infections.

It is common knowledge that poor people get sick more frequently than others and are also more exposed to various accidents and injuries. As mentioned above, families living in Tuzla are no exception to this. Being exposed to diseases and accidents may, for some period of time, even drive them out of working life. Even when they are able to work, their ill health reduces their efficiency in work. When driven out of labour markets for malnutrition, ill health and disability, their vulnerability is further compounded.

Şırnak-origin families in Tuzla face more or less the same health problems with other seasonal agricultural workers in the area. Since they share the same living conditions, this outcome is only normal. Nurses at village clinic of Tuzla inform that diarrhoea is very widespread in this region. There are many skin diseases cases. People usually have infection problem at their upper respiration systems. Children usually have bronchitis since their living conditions are very bad, they can not warm up properly in winter. Many health problems observed in the area are associated with unfavourable environmental conditions. To be more specific, respiratory problems are associated with crowded families and settings; diarrhoea and intestinal infections with the unavailability of safe drinking and use water as difficulties in preparing and preserving food; and skin diseases with the abundance of vectors such as flies and insects. In sum, as other surveys testify health problems faced by families from Şırnak are the same with seasonal agricultural workers.

Academics from the Department of Public Health (Çukurova School of Medicine) made an assessment of the health status of 1,339 seasonal workers and their family members applying to Karataş Health Centre in the period March-October 2002, finding out about most common health problems along with their major causes. According to this work, upper respiratory tract infections appear as the most common health problem faced by these workers. This finding is associated with the fact that families which are already crowded live in tents exposed to various risks. High blood pressure is the second most commonly observed health problem. The majority of persons with high blood pressure are those above age 45. Then comes diarrhoea most frequently observed among children in the age group 0-4. Diarrhoea and other intestinal infections can be easily associated with unsafe and inadequate drinking water supply, poor hygiene, and absence of sanitary latrines and poor practices of food conservation. Skin diseases rank fourth. Leading causes include

poor bodily cleaning and/or use of contaminated water as well as insects and mosquitoes abundantly found around tents. Through not as frequently observed as others, urinary tract infections are also important since it may cause loss of workdays while others may not. Use of contaminated water and poor personal hygiene are among leading causes. Malaria is also a serious nuisance. In fact, of 77 malaria cases diagnosed in Karataş area in 2001, 57 were suffered by agricultural workers and their children. In 2002, 25 out of 31 malaria cases were observed among agricultural workers and their children. This is no coincidence since living areas of these people are conducive to the breeding of mosquitoes and there is no effective combat against the vectors of this disease.

Other health problems include insect-snake bites, muscular-joint problems, drowning, sunstroke, work accidents, soft tissue infections and parasitic diseases. Health problems of families are not related only to their unfavourable living conditions. Also problematic is their adverse and heavy working conditions which give rise to pains and deformations in waist, various organs including arms and legs, joints and muscles. According to data obtained, 76.7 percent of the children surveyed do not have seriously ill person in their family but 23,3 percent of them have ill person in their family. 7 children say that their fathers have lumbago 6 children say that their siblings have disability at their legs and feet. One of them says that his mother is neuropathy. In fact families live in trouble when household heads have serious health concerns which lead them to unemployment.

4.4.2 Educational Level of the Families

The level of schooling in Turkey is still rather low. In the countryside and the eastern part of the country, there are many women who did not even complete primary education. According to 1998 data, more than half of the married women in the towns and countryside of the East of Turkey had not completed primary education and were not able to read easily (Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smits, 2006). Eastern women also had another disadvantage. Many of them speak their local languages at home. That means that the ones who did not go to school also missed the opportunity to learn the Turkish language, which causes inability to access to the

resources and positions available in Turkish society (Şahin and Gülmez, 2000; Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2003)

Families with Şırnak origin have also very low educational status. Many of them have never been to school. While majority of men are merely literate, almost all women are illiterate. All families living in Karagöçer and Kapıköy are Kurdish. Since they are illiterate and have no contacts with the native people of the area, majority of women cannot speak Turkish. 18 years old, agricultural worker:

“Women do not know Turkish, they talk Kurdish among themselves. For example, my mother can not speak even one word in Turkish; she understands Turkish but can not reply in Turkish.”

Nurses at village clinic of Tuzla:

“We have communication problems with women. They do not understand and speak Turkish properly. They usually come with somebody who knows Turkish to help them. In this way we can communicate with them.”

There are non Turkish speakers also among elderly persons. According to the survey, out of 61 children just one child’s mother is literate without school diploma and mothers of the remaining children are illiterate. Males’ educational status is not much better than those of females. Even though education level of fathers is not as worst as mothers, (7 of them have graduated from primary school, 13 of them literate with no diploma) still 41 are also illiterate.

4.5 WORKING CONDITIONS OF THE FAMILIES

It is quite difficult for poor and deprived people to find decent jobs. What they can find is often part-time, casual and low paid jobs since they are uneducated and unqualified. This is quite true for families from Şırnak as well. Once working in their farms back in their villages, they are no more than unskilled labourers in their new settlement in Tuzla.

The primary labour market is where experience, information and skills are required and wages over and above poverty line are paid. It is regulated and

sustained. In the secondary labour market, on the other hand, there are no sustained and readily available jobs. In this market labour productivity is low, there is no need for special knowledge or qualification and thus wages are low at poverty line. Since they are uneducated and without any work experience Şırnak origin families in Tuzla have no other alternative but joining informally to the secondary labour market. In their given social environment it is almost impossible for them to do something other than they are doing now. They have to work in the fields of other people at very low wages. Their chance of working in permanent and well paid jobs with security coverage is almost zero.

Their working conditions are as unfavourable as living conditions. They toil in crop fields from early in morning till late evening. Their breaks, excluding breakfast very early in morning, consist of one lunch break for an hour. Especially in summer months working days are longer, extending to 10:00 p.m. There is no additional pay for such overtime work and these people are not well placed to raise any objection since they have no other choice in employment. Detailed information about working conditions and specific types of work performed will be given in the section focusing on children.

Despite long working hours, earnings of these people are far from providing for their basic needs. Their daily wage rate is even below minimum wage and, even worse, they may not be working regularly even in this low paid job. Even if more than one person works in a family, earnings are still below what is needed to sustain such crowded families.

In the questionnaire children were asked how many family members worked in fields and how much each was paid daily. Responses point out that, on average, each person works for 14 YTL a day. In line with information extracted from their families and assuming that work is on average for 20 days a month, the following formula was used in calculating household income: number of family members working x daily wage rate x days worked (20). Per capita income was calculated by dividing this total figure by the number of household members. According to this calculation, monthly income per household member varies from 57.9 YTL to 202.5 YTL. 38% of households have per capita incomes in the interval 115.7 YTL and 144.7 YTL (See Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Income per capita per month

Income per capita	Frequency	Percentage
57,9-86,82	10	16.7
86,83-115,74	11	18.3
115,75-144,66	23	38.3
144,7-173,58	11	18.3
173,59-202,5	5	8.4
Total	60	100

These people work in crop fields for very low wages. While legally they have to be employed at least on minimum wage, there are many working for daily wages below what is officially declared as minimum. To be more specific, they earn 13-15 YTL for a day. Given this low wage rate and crowded families, poverty is inevitable for these people. Table 2 clearly shows the very low level of per capita income earned by these families. Besides not being accorded the worth of their labour, they have to pay 10% of what they earn to agricultural intermediaries.

18 years old male adult put this wording as follows:

“Last year our daily pay was 14 New Turkish Liras. We have taken the same daily pay for 3 years. We do not know what it will be this year. Last year minimum daily pay was 16.39 New Turkish Liras but employers did not pay it. They always pay 3-4 New Turkish Liras lower than minimum daily pay. Moreover, sergeant (intermediary) takes 1.5 New Turkish Liras from our daily pay.”

Families of Şırnak origin work for the same wage as others in the area. Especially in cotton farming, the wage rate set in general applies to these people as well. Hüseyin Elbek, the Türk-İş Representative in the Mediterranean Region states that until 2003 wage rates were set by a commission headed by the Governor comprising the representatives of employers and workers.² However, the commission never met after that year. Hence, workers and intermediaries requested that daily wages should be set according to minimum wage set by the Prime Ministerial

² A text containing the outcomes of the commission meeting dated 17.01.2002 is given in the Appendix A.

Commission for Minimum Wage. Starting from 2003, wages have been set mostly by the Association of farmers and employers themselves. Hence, in many cases, workers are paid less than minimum wage.

Although these people have long been settled in Tuzla, the system of intermediaries persists as in the case of migrant workers. People of Şırnak origin find jobs through intermediaries and pay a commission to these persons. The system of intermediaries is particularly advantageous for employers since they avoid getting in face-to-face contacts with their workers. One young worker explains this preference of employers as follows:

“The employer does not want any encounter with us. He doesn’t even come to the field to see what has been going on. He likes the conduct his affairs with the intermediary.”

Unfavourable working conditions have their health implications of course. Many workers have pains on various parts of their body. Most workers, especially women look much older than their age. Unfavourable living and working conditions wear these people off. This feature is more salient among women due to their heavier work burden and having given too many births.

Serious illnesses and disabilities deriving from unhealthy living conditions may drive these people out of working life. Since many of them have no green card their health expenses are quite burdensome and have their negative effect on household budget.

4.6 BIRTH REGISTRATION CARD, RESIDENCE, HEALTH INSURANCE, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS

4.6.1 Birth Registration Card and Residence

With extremely low levels of income, families of Şırnak origin living in Tuzla face all kinds of deprivation beyond their given poverty. Although these people are citizens of the Republic of Turkey and have their identity cards as such, they can enjoy none of the services delivered to other citizens. For example, they

don't have their official residence documents despite their long years in tents in Karagöçer and Kapıköy. This is a barrier to having access to many public services. For example, despite their abject poverty, they cannot apply for green card. The same is true for infrastructure services. Even school enrolment of children may be problematic. Neither can they vote in general and local elections. Yet, as citizens with identity cards they pass through all kinds of security checks and controls. Young men go to compulsory military service, but when it comes to public services, they can enjoy none but education.

According to legislation and regulations in effect, these persons are not given residence documents since they live in tents. So, it depends on individual muhtars whether to issue residence documents or not. But in any cases village headmen are sour to this idea. They are reluctant to issue such documents considering that this may help migrants buy land and get their voting rights and this they consider as "risk." Settlers especially in Kapıköy have serious confrontations with village headman over residence documents and other issues. Village headman refused to be interviewed during the survey. During an informal chat, he stated that these people in tents were not permanent settlers and all of them returned to Adana in winter. In other words, the village headman tried to conceal the fact that these people were permanent settlers.

Related to the problem of residence, children of Şırnak origin also face difficulty in school enrolment. While Tuzla Primary School help these children recognizing their problem, Kapıköy Primary School may in cases decline to accept these children in school. Indeed some families in this area complained that they could not enrol their children to school. While having interviews with families in Kapıköy area regarding their present state of deprivation and exclusion, they were observed to be more hesitant their partners in Karagöçer area and somewhat feared to respond to questions.

The problem of official residence exists in Karagöçer area as well. Living in tents, they cannot apply for the issuance of official residence document. Disturbed by their presence in the area, government authorities warn muhtars not to issue residence documents for these people. A father not being able to enrol his child to school said that he was told by the muhtar no residence document could be issued since the District Governor banned it. Government and local government authorities

in Tuzla and Karataş prefer to regard these people as “not existing” instead of doing something to solve the problem.

At present there is no initiative to solve this problem of “residence”. These people seem to have almost no chance in saving themselves out of tent life. They have to work in crop fields for very low wages. Since they have no parcels of their own it is quite difficult for them to construct their own houses. The State provides no assistance to these people for such construction. There is even no mention of the possibility of introducing prefabricated houses. One of the basic reasons why these basic services and assistance is denied is the dissidence of local people and administrators to their permanent settlement in the area. Yet the fact is that these people are here and settled, though in tents, for the last 13 years. They have joined the labour market. It is the manifest example of exploitation that local people, who are employers at the same time, have no intention of improving the living conditions of these people and beyond that they prevent any initiative to that end even though they employ them in their fields. This fact also shows how utterly unfavourable living conditions experienced for decades have been “internalized” and regarded “normal” by many. Employers consider the right of these people to decent human life as “luxury”. For them they are mere machines to work in their field whole day. The approach of local authorities differs not much from that of employers. They accede to all kinds of exploitation, inhumane conditions of living and informal recruitment mechanisms and do nothing to change them. Yet, families of Şırnak origin in Tuzla are not content with their present situation and they want to return back to their native villages if conditions allow for. They are forced to stay in Tuzla for not having the possibility of returning back or doing some other types of work. Instead of recognising this situation and trying to help these people, local authorities just ignore it and even try to prevent any initiative for ameliorating the situation. Indeed, during my participation to the ILO-MONE (Ministry of National Education) project on the elimination of worst forms of child labour in Karataş area, I personally witnessed the distance of mayors and muhtars in particular to attempts to improve existing conditions. At this point, because of distanced attitude of district governorate, municipalities and muhtars some good intended efforts launched by the Gendarme prove futile at the end.

4.6.2 Health Insurance and Health Service

Families of Şırnak origin presently living in Tuzla are the poorest of the poor. They have no houses to live in, and no electricity or running water in many cases. Together with abject poverty, they experience many problems caused by deprivation. These add on problems of poor income, malnutrition and homelessness. Having no official residence document, they cannot even apply for green card in the context of health care. No other health care is available since they work informally without social security coverage. Survey results indicate that 83,6 percent of the children surveyed don't have any health insurance at all. Just 14,8 percent of them have health insurance, which is green card given to the poor families. According to survey results, 71,2 percent of them can not apply to get green cards because of residence certificate problem. Even though they are very poor families they can not benefit from green card service of state since they can not get residence certificate from village headmen. Since they live in non-hygienic environment (they live in tents, do not have clean water and use toilets, bathrooms and kitchens which do not have infrastructure,) they frequently become ill but they can not benefited from green card services. They usually pay both for doctor and medicine expenses from their own budget despite their low earning. Although these people can be clearly categorised as the "poorest of the poor" they still cannot benefit from the green card scheme, one of the most basic services provided to the poor, because of problems related to their official residence status. One young person from Karagöçer says the following regarding to this deprivation of health services:

"We do not have green card since we can not get residence certificate from muhtar. We applied at least 10 times both here and Şırnak but we could not get it. When we get sick we go to village clinic of Tuzla or state hospital in Adana. When it is emergent, we go to state hospital in Adana otherwise we go to village clinic of Tuzla. But doctors and nurses in village clinic of Tuzla do not pay attention to us. They just write prescription, they do not make any analysis; they do not make proper inspection. We pay 10-20 New Turkish Liras for just one box of medicine. We also pay 30-40 New Turkish Liras for inspection in state hospital."

Lack of access to health services has its negative implications particularly on women and young girls. There are cases in which females cannot benefit from health services because of some familial problems beyond the problem of residence. In Tuzla there are men married to two wives at the same time. In most of these cases, the first wife has to live apart together with her children. Subsistence of such units depends on working mothers and elder children. Mostly, children born to the first wife of a man cannot reach health services through their fathers.

13 years old girl:

“We do not have green card. My father got married after my mother, he lives with his second wife. He has health insurance (Bağ-Kur) but we do not have any insurance. We go to state hospital in Adana in significant cases. We do not go to any where when we have insignificant illness since we pay too much to doctor because of lack of health insurance.”

A large majority of these people cannot benefit from free health services for not having green card. However, even green card holders are not satisfied with services they are accorded in health centres and hospitals. They think that doctors and nurses do not show enough attention to their problems as patients. A 12 years old female student in Tuzla Primary School has the following to say about this:

“My father has unknown sickness. His skin is ripped. I became paralyzed 3 years ago because of nervous problem. We have green card but when we go to hospitals or village clinic doctors and nurses do not pay attention to us. They turn a deaf ear.”

Nurses in the Tuzla health centre which these people visit complain about difficulties in communicating with them and their preference of having an “easy injection” or “quick cure medicine” instead of having check ups their lab tests.

“The most important problem we face is the unawareness and uneducated status of incoming families. For example, many of them visiting our centres want to

have a shot as soon as possible hoping that it will cure. We cannot make them clear that it is not cure. They have to undergo checkups and go to laboratories if necessary. Medicine including antibiotics can be given only after that. Injection is seen as remedy even in case of child suffering diarrhoea.”

Having no voting rights, insufficient access to health services and deprived of many infrastructure facilities, these people think that they are discriminated against and treated as second class citizens. Given legislation in effect, it seems difficult to provide services to these people. Living in tents, they have no official residence document and this is the start of many problems and deprivations. Different from seasonal migrant workers, they have no native village to return under given conditions. Hence, the priority step to take is to ensure their residence documents by providing prefabricated houses and then to make efforts for the enjoyment of other rights. This, in turn, requires good intention and effort on the part of local authorities and administrators. The present situation of these people can no more be ignored. The present state of abject poverty and deprivation, denial of most basic rights should be eliminated and there are lots of things that can be done in this respect.

In this chapter, information about the migration process of the families, their living conditions and life standards, health and nutrition status, educational level, working condition and citizenship rights- residence, health insurance, political and social rights- is given. In the next chapter, profiles of the children will be discussed by focusing on their demographic characteristics, education profiles, nutrition and health status, working conditions and future expectations.

CHAPTER V

PROFILES OF THE CHILDREN

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Child labour is generally a rural and agricultural phenomenon all over the world. The vast majority of child labour is in agriculture, accounting for seven out of every ten working children (ILO, 2002). It is especially prevalent in rural areas where the capacity to enforce minimum age requirements for schooling and work is lacking. This worldwide reality is also experienced in Turkey and majority of child workers work in agriculture.

Child labour issue is also the reality of Turkey. According to October 1999 Survey of State Institute of Statistic, in total 3.071.000 children is working both in business and domestic chores. When the two types of work are considered together, about 28.9 percent of the children in Turkey work and the proportions of working children are high in rural areas compare to the urban places (SIS & ILO; 1999). In rural areas, an overwhelming majority of child workers are in the sector of agriculture.

In the sector of agriculture child labour takes four different forms: 1) Unpaid domestic work where children do certain things; 2) Children working, together with other family members, for others as seasonal-migrant workers; 3) Children engaged in various forestry activities; and 4) Herding (Gülçubuk et al. 2003). As stated earlier, children of Şırnak origin living in Tuzla remain out of all these four categories. Although they work in other people's fields together with their families, they remain out of the category of seasonal-migrant workers since they are permanently settled in Tuzla. This chapter is devoted to findings obtained from questionnaires and in-depth interviews with children. These findings are related to

their demographical characteristics, educational status, working conditions and future expectations. Findings related to living conditions, already addressed in previous section, will not be repeated here.

5.2 GENDER, AGE AND MARITAL STATUS OF THE CHILDREN

Surveys made with 61 children aged between 12 and 17; 31 of them are boys and 30 of them are girls. They live in Karagöçer and Kapıköy in tents with their families. The children's median age is 13.97. Only one of the respondents is married. Her age is 17 and she does not have any children.

During the survey attention is paid to have equal number of boys and girls. Also, effort was made to interview at least one boy and one girl from each family. This was necessary in order to provide a sounder base for gender comparisons. Considering that 61 of total 84 children (age 12-17) from families of Şırnak origin were given questionnaires and at least one child from each family was interviewed, information and data obtained from children can safely be said to reflect the universe. Hence, generalizations to follow are justified.

5.3 EDUCATION PROFILE OF THE CHILDREN

5.3.1 Impacts of Poverty and Family Background on Children's Education

As stated in earlier parts, poverty negatively affects all spheres in human life. Together with their families, children have their share from this poverty and, in many cases, they are affected worst. Poverty has its direct bearings on their nutrition, health, education and their healthy development in general. Poverty in childhood means vulnerability in later life (UNICEF, 2001; Hustan, 1991). Here, relationship between poverty and education is quite critical. There is a two-way cause and effect relationship between the two. Poverty prevents good education or, in many cases, rules out any chance for education or forces young persons to quit their schools. Lack of education brings along lack of skills and that, in turn, leads to low wages and unfavourable living conditions that add up to poverty (Tussing, 1975). Thus education and poverty is closely associated. The descriptive results of Smits and

Gündüz-Hoşgör (2004) research make clear that educational participation of both girls and boys is related in expected ways to families background factors, with higher participation levels for children from families with higher socioeconomic status, for children with lower birth order, with fewer siblings, with Turkish speaking and less traditional mothers and living in the more developed and urbanized parts of the country.

Children of Şırnak origin covered by the survey too are those who missed chances of quality education and started working after dropping out of school due to poverty and other reasons mentioned above which are related to families background. As shown in the results of the survey, children of Şırnak origin living Karagöçer and Kapıköy have very low educational status. Some have never been to school while those attending schools still work at weekends and others leave their schools after a while to work in crop fields. As the statistics indicates 39.3 percent of children (24 children) are illiterate and this percentage is the same with the children who attend school. Percent of the children drop-out of primary school is 19.7. When education levels of the children evaluated according to gender perspective, 21 of the illiterate children are girls and the rest 3 children are boys. Number of girls (21 girls) who never attend school is 7 times higher than boys. Besides, there isn't any girl graduated from primary school, 5 girls dropped-out from primary school and only 4 girls attend to school. On the other hand, 20 boys attended school, 7 of them dropped-out of school and 1 of them graduated from primary school. Even though both girls and boys do not have much opportunity to graduate from primary school, it is certain that girls are more disadvantaged than boys regarding schooling. Girls' families usually do not allow them to attend school compare to boys.

5.3.2 Girls' Education

In general parental education, number of siblings, household income, occupation of the father, traditionality of the mother and the mother's ability to speak Turkish are major factors affecting participation of boys and girls in Turkey. For primary participation of girls, having a mother who has completed primary education and who can speak Turkish is most significant. Traditional gender role attitudes of the mother reduce the girls' chances to get secondary education (Smits and Gündüz-

Hoşgör, 2004). Colclough et al. (2000) argue that poverty may be a major cause of under-enrolment, but that the gender differences in enrolment are the product of cultural practices. The research in Tuzla also indicates the same results. As a result of poverty, both female and male children have quite low school enrolment and attendance rates but the results of the survey suggest that girls' education is a problem which has causes beyond mere poverty.

Indeed, there are poor families sending their male children to school while keeping female children at home. It seems that beyond poverty, some traditional approaches (seeing girls merely as future wives and housewives) are influential in girls' lower school enrolment and attendance. For many families, sending girls to school seems meaningless since they will remain out of labour market anyway without contributing to family income. Consequently, especially in more traditional families, girls are in much more disadvantage position than boys in terms of education opportunities. Aware of this fact while attending the 6th grade in primary school a 13 years old girls says the following about her status:

“Some girls can not attend school at all, so I am lucky compared to them since my father sends me to school. I work in field at the weekends. I want to continue to go to school but since our economic situation is not good, I may not be able. If I can go to school regularly, I would like to be a teacher.”

A 12 years old girl attending 6th grade in primary school says she is lucky since she has the confidence of her family and can attend school. Yet, she is not sure whether she can continue with high-school and whether her family will allow for this.

“In fact, in our community, families do not send girls to school but my family sent me to school because they trust me. I am one of the 3-4 lucky girls who can attend school among my cohorts. So I am lucky compared to other girls. I will continue to go to school but I am not sure whether I would be able to or not to attend high school. I am not sure whether my father would send me or not. If I can, I would like to be a doctor.”

At this point it becomes apparent that the concept of “honour” attributed by parents to the girl child and social dissidence towards girls’ schooling are all quite influential on girls and their families.

According to Smiths and Hoşgör (2004), for primary participation of girls, education of both parents, the number of brothers, and whether or not the mother was able to speak Turkish are major explanatory factors. When the mother has completed primary education or the father has some secondary education, the probability that a girl aged 9–11 is in primary school increases considerably. The same is true when there are few brothers. A very striking finding is the strong effect of Turkish language proficiency of the mother. In the descriptive analysis they found that as many as 61% of the girls whose mothers could not speak Turkish were not in primary school in 1998, against only 8% of the other girls. This finding suggests that lack of Turkish language proficiency of the mother forms a major barrier for girls from a non-Turkish speaking background to enter primary education.

Parents who have reached a certain educational level can be expected to want their children to reach at least the same level. Therefore, it is expected a higher educational level of the parents to lead to higher participation levels of their children. For the educational participation of girls, the education of the mother is especially important. Mothers most probably use the power and insights derived from their higher education to make sure that their daughters get education too (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2004).

Questionnaire result show that there is close association between the educational status of mothers and their children from Şırnak living in Tuzla. Particularly the situation of girls in terms of poor school enrolment and attendance is a clear indication of females’ disadvantaged position in education which continues over generations. Therefore, another factor behind girls’ non-schooling is the lack of their mothers’ education. As it seen from Table 5.1, out of 61 children just one child’s mother is literate with no diploma, the rest children’s’ mothers are illiterate. This implies that illiteracy in other words lack of education is an intergenerational concerns. Mothers did not have chance to attend school and now their daughters also do not have this opportunity. In fact, mothers of the overwhelming majority of children presently out of school have themselves never been to school.

Table 5.1: Mothers' education level-children's education level cross tabulation

		Education Level of Children				Total
		Illiterate	Primary school graduated	Attending primary school	Primary school drop-out	
Mothers' Education Level	Illiterate	23	1	24	12	60
		38.3%	1.7%	40.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Literate No Diploma	1				1
		100.0%				100.0%
Total		24	1	24	12	61
		39.3%	1.6%	39.3%	19.7%	100.0%

Illiterate women are economically strongly dependent on their male family members and thus may play an important role in the reproduction of the prevailing values including the values which stress a subordinate position of women to the next generation. Once this circle is broken and women get education, the chances increase that their daughters can get education too (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2004). Thus, girls' school enrolment and attendance is very important in many respects. Even if their education may not give them a chance to take part in formal labour market, educational achievement of mothers has its direct bearing on children. In this sense, girls' education is important at least in its effect in breaking the cycle of poverty and deprivation and eliminating the traditional gender role attitudes.

5.3.3 School Attendance and Drop-Outs

The Turkish Constitution guarantees all children full and free access to basic education and prohibits the employment of children in work that is unsuitable for their capacities. But still, children are found at work and not all children attend school. The number of children not enrolled in education remains still rather high, especially at the secondary and tertiary level (Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smits, 2006).

According to SIS (2006) Population and Development Indicators, total net primary enrolment is 90 per cent and net secondary enrolment no more than 50 per cent. Even though the figures for boys are higher than for girls, a substantial number of boys is not still enrolled in primary and secondary education.

Children from poor families have lower rates of attendance than children from better off families. There are various reasons that lead to early drop outs. First of all, irregular attendance naturally keeps their school performance low. Also, they are deprived of environments where they can study. Finally, since their families are poor and in need of any extra contribution to household income, they prefer to have their children work rather than to keep them in schools for years (Tussing, 1975).

According to human capital theory, participation in education is an investment in human capital made because of the expected returns later in life (Becker, 1964). In developing countries, the investment decision is generally made by the parents in the case of young children. Parents are expected to trade off the future benefits of sending their children to school against the immediate costs. Those benefits can be for the child, but also for the parents themselves, because in the absence of pension systems, children often are the old-age security. The costs of schooling include besides the direct costs of school fees, books, uniforms and travel costs also opportunity costs of the children not being able to help at home, in the household or at the family farm, or to earn some additional money with child labour (Basu, 1999 and World Bank, 2002).

In Tuzla case, daily problems of subsistence prevent parents from thinking long-term and making long-term investments. Families prefer immediate income instead of what they may have years after by investing in their children's education. In any case, considering the material deprivation of families as well as the quality of education offered, sending children to schools does not seem as a rewarding decision. Children of these families have to attend schools which are nothing beyond a mere cluster of classrooms where there are too many students, not enough teacher guidance, without supply of school materials.

All situations mentioned above are experienced by children of Şırnak origin in Tuzla. These children are not sent to school by their families mainly because of economic difficulties or they continue to work even when enrolled to school. Survey results confirm to this. As it can be seen from the tables, among 61 children, 24

children attend school every day, 37 of them do not attend school. Only 4 children among 24 children attending school do not work in field; other 20 children work at the weekends. Except one child, all of the children working at the weekends say that their work negatively affects their success in school and their home environment cannot allow fulfilling homework requirements.

Table 5.2: Attendance to school

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Every day	24	39,3	39,3
	Do not attend school	37	60,7	100,0
	Total	61	100,0	

Table 5.3: Attendance to the school - work cross tabulation

Attendance to the school		Work		Total
		Yes	No	
	Everyday	20	4	24
	Do not attend school	37	0	37
Total		57	4	61

When asked to the children who never attend school; “ why they do not attend school”, 66,7 percent of them say that their parents don’t let them, 29,2 of them say that because they have to work in field and 29,2 percent of them say that because of economic reasons (unfavourable material conditions). As can be inferred from these results the basic reason why children are out of school is their poverty. Facing serious material difficulties, families prefer to have their children working

rather than attending school. Expressing this problem clearly, the principal of Tuzla Primary School says they are doing their best to persuade families to send their children to school:

“We try to convince children’s families to send their children to school. There are laws and official rules that make families send their children to school but we usually do not want to implement these rules, we try to convince them since we know that most of the families have to send their children to work because of bad economic conditions. They do not have other alternative. They need children’s earnings. There are even some families whose living just depends on children’s earnings.”

Majority of children under age 15 in Tuzla go to school. Efforts of primary schools in Tuzla to gain students from poor families have its specific share in this result. Further, since children under age 15 are not employed in greenhouse works, their families send them to school. These children are bussed to and back from school and have their lunches in their schools. They also enjoy various charity contributions during the school year. It is possible to say that the only service that children and their families in Tuzla benefit is education. Especially school administrations and teachers wage good intent efforts to ensure children’s enrolment and attendance. Nevertheless the fact that these children and their families can benefit only from education services, which mostly depends on the goodwill efforts of few people, suggests that the State falls insufficient in ensuring the basic rights of these people. Leaving aside school administrators and teachers, employers, local people and even local governments just ignore them and think about no service specially targeting these people. Their present situation is something like “invisible existence” and almost all problems are associated with lack of education.

As a result of material difficulties, there are also many children not starting school at all or leaving after some grades. 61.5 percent of the children surveyed say that they dropped-out of school because of economic reasons (unfavourable material conditions) and 53.8 percent of them say that they drop-out of school because they

have to work. So it is clear that the main reason of drop-out is poverty. Just one child dropped out of school because she/he doesn't like school.

In poor families, school dropouts as a result of economic difficulties are common and it continues over generations. An 18 years old worker says the following about this phenomenon:

“I have attended school for 3 years but I had to drop-out of school because of economic reasons. I was going to school but sometimes I could not attend school for 2 months. I did not have notebook even a pencil. So it does not mean much to us to attend school. My 3 brothers are going to school now. Whether they will be able to continue education or not depends on our economic conditions. If our economic situation would continue like now they most probably have to drop-out of school and work like us.”

Even those children enrolled to school work during the week if there are jobs and cannot attend their school in these periods. Majority of them are working at weekends anyway. Back from school, girls in particular help their mothers in various domestic chores. Crowded spaces in tents and in some cases lack of electricity prevent children from studying and doing their homework. 14 years old student:

“I can do my homework just after I come from school. We are 6 people live in one tent. Our tent is composed of 2 bulkheads. There is electricity just in one bulkhead. My family watch television in this part so I can not do my homework in the evening.”

Children state that they still work while attending school and this affects their school performance negatively. 14 years old, 7th grade student:

“I have been living in Kapıköy, in tent for 10 years. I went to Kapıköy Primary school till the end of 3rd year. I began to go to Tuzla Primary School at 4th year. I have worked at the weekends for 4 years. When I work in field at weekends, I can not do my homework.”

A 10 years old 3rd grade student states that he has yet not worked in the fields, but she will start doing so from this summer on just like his elder brother.

“I will begin to work next year but I will work just in summers. I won’t work at weekends. My brother is 13 years old. He is going to be 7th year this year but he works in field at the weekends.”

In spite of this deep poverty, there are families trying to send their children to school. As stated by this 10 years old girl, it is quite a challenge for such families.

“My father says that he will continue to send me to school, does not matter how much does it cost. But my daughters could not attend school because of our unfavourable material conditions. My father says that he will also continue to send my brother to school but it is not certain since our economic situation is not good.”

There are also some other familial reasons of child labour and lack of education in this region. Head of some families can not work because of health problem or since some of the children’s mothers are the second wives of their fathers and the fathers do not take care of their children. Therefore, they have to work to cover the expenses of their own family. When parents cannot provide for family subsistence, mostly elder children have to work. Hence, they either don’t go to school at all or drop out after a while. Some of them have to take care of their siblings at home while their parents are out for work.

Another problem related to the schooling of children is their parents’ insensitivity to their school performance and lack of any communication between parents and teachers. Yet, it is not difficult to understand this lack of concern considering their difficult conditions. In any case, some of these parents cannot speak Turkish good enough to communicate with teachers and/or school administrators.

Teacher at Tuzla Primary School puts this situation in words as follows:

“Almost all of the families do not deal with their children’s situation in school. They generally do not come to school, even families of successful children. When some of them come, in this case we have communication problem with them since they do not know Turkish.”

5.3.4 Educational Performance of Children of Migrant Workers and Families of Şırnak Origin Attending Primary Schools in Tuzla

As stated in Chapter III, there are two categories of workers in Tuzla. The first group is composed of families coming in from Mardin, Batman and Şırnak and working seasonally. The second group encompasses families from Şırnak who settled in Karagöçer and Kapıköy. Hence, besides children of native families, children from these two groups also attend primary schools in Tuzla and Kapıköy. The first group is the children who are member of families work as seasonal-temporary workers in agricultural sector and usually come from Mardin, Batman and Şırnak. The second group of children is the members of families who settled in the region many years ago and still live in tents and work in agriculture sector.

According to interviews with school administrators and teachers there are some significant differences between these two groups of children in terms of educational achievement. Despite their unfavourable conditions and environments, children of Şırnak origin presently settled in Tuzla enjoy relatively higher educational performance than children from migrant-seasonal workers.

Teacher at Tuzla Primary School:

“We should separate the children attending our school into two. First group is the ones have settled in Tuzla for many years and the others come to the region in January and leave the region in May and work as seasonal temporary workers in fields. We do not have problem with the children settled in the region but we have many problems with the ones come with their families to the region as a seasonal temporary workers. There is big difference among their educational levels and other children. They do not attend school regularly since they migrate from region to

region in a year. They usually can not attend school in September. There are some children among them who do not know reading and writing even though they are 3rd year student. It is very difficult for us to help these children.”

Another teacher from Tuzla Primary School describes the situation of children from Şırmak as follows:

“We do not have problems with the children settled in the region. They come to our school from the first year. Therefore, they do not have adaptation problem. They adapt to the school very easily and they are usually successful and very good in classroom. They do not have problem with the local children since they attend school with local children in the first year.”

There are many successful children among the ones living in tents and going to Tuzla Primary School. Their teacher sure that if they can continue to go to school they can hold good professions.

“There are many successful children among the children who settled in the region, living in tents. There are 3-4 children among them whose level is much higher than all other children in my classroom. On the other hand, there are also some children among them who are unsuccessful but this does not mean that they are less successful than local children.”

Indeed, some of the children are aware of the importance of education. They know that if they can have the opportunity of schooling, they will be able to have better life conditions. However, all of the results related to education level show that both families and children’s education level is very low. In other words, human capital level of two generation is very low. This indicates that most of the children will not have opportunity to have different life than their families since children usually do not have chance to even attend to primary school.

5.4 NUTRITION AND HEALTH STATUS OF THE CHILDREN

Children of Şırnak origin settled in Tuzla with their families experience extremely unfavourable living conditions in their tents. As stated in earlier parts, unhealthy living conditions bring along many health problems. Further, due to the material deprivation of families children cannot take enough food and nutrients needed for healthy development. Poverty has its adverse impacts on physical, mental, social and emotional development of children. Healthy development of a child requires good nutrition, constructive intra-familial relations, social motivation, good education and favourable social environments. Hence, physical, mental, social and educational development of children of Şırnak origin living in Tuzla is much more under risk than other children.

A healthy life also requires good home, healthy-balanced nutrition and access to and use of health services. Yet; extremely unhealthy conditions of tent life and crowded families leave children exposed to many diseases and health problems. Their health status is further compromised by the fact that they start working in fields at very early ages. Thus, many health problems experienced by children stem not only from inadequate access to health services but also from unhealthy living and working conditions. Most of children of Şırnak origin are shorter and thinner than their peers. The primary reason is poor nutrition and doing heavy work in crop fields starting from very early ages. Living in tents devoid of basic hygiene further aggravates their situation.

Families of Şırnak origin and their children suffer poor nutrition basically as a result of very low income status. Their food intake mostly consists of carbohydrates from such meals as cereals, macaroni, rice and potato. Many meals do not go beyond breakfast. While working in fruit and vegetable culture in a region where these are abundantly grown, vegetables and fruits constitute a little part of their diet. Also low is the level of milk and milk products. Consumption of poultry products and red meat is almost totally absent. One small girl living in a tent and attending Tuzla Primary School says:

“We have been living for 4 years in this tent. We usually eat macaroni, rice, haricot bean and chickpea. We also eat vegetables like tomato, pepper and aborigine. We were taking vegetables from the field we work but since they are

expensive now employer does not let us to take. We can not buy fruits since they are very expensive. We can not afford it.”

Besides malnutrition related to poverty, families neither can keep their food in good conditions because of the absence of many utilities in tent life. For long years, many families had no refrigerator since there was no electricity and they had to keep their food out of tents. Many of these children had their earlier years under these conditions. There are still some families without refrigerator again as there is no electricity in their parts. This is another factor adversely affecting the health status of children. A 10 years old primary school student (girl):

“We don’t have refrigerator and oven in our tent. We cook our meals on fire. We usually can not eat vegetables and fruits because they are expensive.”

All adverse conditions mentioned above cause many health problems threatening children. According to the survey result, the children usually get cold, have headache and lumbago problem. 28.3 percent of them get cold, 26.7 percent have lumbago and 25 percent have headache. Diarrhoea and skin diseases are other widespread illnesses.

When children have any health problem they are first taken to the health centre in Tuzla and, in more serious cases, to state hospitals in Adana. Families living in Kapıköy usually take their children to the health centre of Tuzla or a private physician in Doğankent. Survey shows that 39 percent of the children say that they go to village clinic of Tuzla and 26.5 percent of them go to state hospital in Adana. The children live in Kapıköy usually go to village clinic of Doğankent or special doctor office in Doğankent. They do not comfortable with health services of village clinics. They say that doctors and nurses do not dealt with them; they do not pay attention of them.

Good and enough sleep are as important as balanced and good nutrition for healthy child development. The results of the questionnaire show that children sleep normal. Children sleep minimum 6 maximum 12 hours a day. The children sleep 8.66 hours in average. They usually sleep very early in the evening because some of

them do not have electricity in tents and they are usually very tired because of hard work they do in a day. Therefore, even though they get up very early since they usually sleep early in the evening they do not have any problem related to sleeping. However, since they sleep together in a tent with other family members, these children cannot be said to have their sleep as good and sound as desired. In such environments, children may contract to several diseases while asleep. This is particularly true for upper respiratory tract problems.

5.5 WORKING CONDITIONS OF THE CHILDREN

Poverty is experienced more as a family or even group beyond individual exposure. Children of Şırnak origin are doomed to experience this poverty to the end together with their families and others. As a result of poverty children have to work out in fields with their families and suffer unfavourable living and working conditions. In least developed countries children contribute to their family budget by 20-25%. This is an important indicator how serious a burden children take on for family subsistence. When asked 94.7% of children say they work on their own will, only adding immediately after that this is “necessary” as a result of their families’ poverty. In other words, children try to stress that their parents do not force them to work.

Tuzla is one of the important agricultural regions of Adana in which vegetables, (mainly tomato, pepper, aubergine) melon and watermelon are grained. Therefore, children in this region usually work in greenhouse with their families. 98.2 percent of the children say that they work in greenhouse. 89.5 percent of the say that they usually do hoeing and digging in fields with their families.

There are significant differences regarding the division of labour between girls and boys. Besides working in the fields, girls also participate in domestic chores. Majority carry water, take care of their siblings, wash dishes, prepare meals, and do cleaning at home. Sometimes girls stay at home and help their mothers. As 13 years old girl states:

“Since my mother works in field, I have to work at home. When I turn back from school to home I begin to work at home. I carry water, wash the dishes, and do cleaning.”

Children usually begin to work at age 10, 11 and 12 and it is obvious that entering work at very young ages has serious negative effects on the health and education of children. Children work minimum 9 maximum 11 hours in a day. Children surveyed began to work at least 1 at most 9 years ago. 20 children who attend to school regularly but work at the weekends, 37 children work all through the week. The ones who attend to school give break to work during the week days but majority work all through the week (as they either finished primary school or dropped-out the school). Children wake up early in the morning and be in the fields around 6 o'clock and work up until 17:30. They only have two breaks; one at 9 o'clock for breakfast and 12 o'clock for lunch. These hard and difficult conditions at work underline how those children are at risks. They start working at 6 o'clock without having even breakfast. 14 years old boy states his working conditions as follows:

“I get up at 5 o'clock in the morning when I work in the field. We leave tents at 6 o'clock and begin to work at 06:30. We give half an hour break at 9 o'clock to have breakfast. There is one hour break for lunch. We usually eat rice, boiled and pounded wheat. We prepare them at home then bring to the field. There isn't tea break and have rest. At 17:30 we stop working and turn back to tents”.

In summer months working hours get even longer. During tomato reaping, for example, it may last until 9-10 p.m. Children work that late with their families and nobody gets any extra payment for this kind of overtime work. An 18 years old male worker:

“There is not certain hour to stop working. We sometimes stop working at 6 o'clock but sometimes at 9 o'clock during the production of tomato, melon and watermelon.”

The earnings of the children vary between 13 and 15 YTL per day. Majority (75%) pass those earnings directly to their families. And the rest cover their school expenses. Regarding to payments the major concern of children is the underpayments.

Children have many complaints about their working life. In many respects, they are not satisfied with their work out in fields. Children mainly complain that working in the field is very tiresome (34.4 percent of the children) and they do not get what their labour is worth (21.4 percent of the children). 15.6 percent of children think that their employers have negative attitudes towards them and 13.6 percent of children complain about working as agricultural workers because they do not attend school.

14 years old child worker:

“We become ill, get tired. It is very hot in summer and we do not get what their labour is worth, wages are very low.”

12 years old, 6th year student:

“I work at the weekends in field that is why I can not do my homework. This is the worst result of working in field for me”.

Children of Şırnak origin work in crop fields mainly for the poverty of their families and in many cases they cannot attend school. It seems that there is no other choice for them as long as their poverty continues.

5.6 CHILDREN’S HUMILIATION AS A RESULT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND POVERTY

Children of Şırnak origin are well aware of their present poverty and feel the difference that this poverty makes in their relations with other children. They know that their present life is quite different from others and they are deprived of many things that other children have. This situation naturally has its effect on the psychology of children and leads them to feelings of degradation. In this respect, the teacher, who was child labour and lived in tents for many years, easily understands children’s feelings and explains their problems as follows:

“We do not have adaptation problems with the settled children. Since they have been living for many years in this region, they know the environment and the people. On the other hand, they usually feel faintness because of their poverty. Their socio-economic situation is very bad; they do not have social life. There are big differences among them and local children in respect to economic and social life. They are lack of many things like clothes and school stuffs compare to other children. They do not have many things that their friends have.”

In school, these children feel in every respect that they are different from others. Most of them are shorter and thinner to their age. They are poorly dressed including worn out shoes and it is apparent that they are not attended to in any way. One can easily distinguish these children among others in their schools. Especially children living in Kapıköy suffer open discrimination and exclusion. Some of these children are not admitted to school for not having their official residence documents and other who are enrolled in some way are maltreated. Children attending Tuzla Primary School can adapt more easily to their school thanks to the inclusive approach of school administrators and teachers; still their “difference” is easily noticed. They feel that they are different from others especially when some aid supplies are distributed. In some cases it may be quite humiliating for them. On the other hand, such assistance may also lead to habitual expectation of continuous assistance on the part of families and children. There are even cases where families, although having better ones, intentionally dress their children with worn out clothes just for having them look more “eligible” for aid. One can easily imagine the potential psychological and physical trauma that children are exposed to in such cases.

Child labour and child poverty in Tuzla have their roots also in the fact that they are from families of different ethnic origin. Compounding their economic difficulties, these families are also exposed to social exclusion as a result of their ethnic origin. One of the young boys living in tents says the following about this social exclusion:

“We do not have any relation with villagers; we do not see any of them. Employer sometimes comes to the field but he does not communicate with us”

The present social exclusion they face stems not only from their economic status but also from their different ethnic origin. One girl attending Tuzla Primary School relates the exclusion they face from their school mates for their poverty and ethnic status despite the positive attitude and approach of school administrators and teachers:

“Local children do not accept us; they think that we are different from them. They externalize us. They look down on us because we are Kurdish and live in tents. But we do not say this exclusion to our teacher. There are some children among them who love us but most of them do not but our teachers and directors do not differentiate us from other children.”

5.7 FUTURE EXPECTATIONS OF THE CHILDREN

In our present day basic causes of child labour and child poverty are in fact identical with causes of what may be called “new poverty.” Hence, the phenomena of child poverty and child labour in Tuzla are direct outcomes of their families’ poverty, deprivation and social exclusion, that is new poverty. Together with their families, these children experience the same poverty, deprivation and exclusion. Their predicament manifests itself in various ways: Malnutrition; growth and development in unfavourable conditions exposed to all kinds of diseases; missing or not fully benefiting education opportunities and joining labour market at very early ages. Consequently they cannot fulfil their potential and they cannot live their childhood fully.

Children and their families cannot break the chains of poverty and save themselves out of it. Children cannot get good education; in most cases they cannot attend school or drop out early. They have no chance of joining a different social environment since their families have meagre chances of leaving their present social environment behind. There is to inter-generational social mobility since children cannot continue fully with their education. So poverty is transferred from one generation to other while poverty and labouring become the fate of these children. Very limited changes of social mobility establish the vicious circle of poverty. These children are disadvantaged by birth relative to other children. For their poverty, they

cannot go through full schooling and nutrition and consequently cannot develop and grow as healthy, informed, experienced and talented individuals of future. Before all, they start working during their early childhood. Hence their future promises not much but cheap labour in informal markets as their parents presently are. Lack or low quality of education further reduces meagre chances of finding jobs in the formal sector, which inevitable brings along subscription to informal labour markets and ensuing poverty.

Good education may equip individuals with many skills and useful experience. In our day education and training is a must for getting a decent job in the formal sector. Otherwise, individuals are doomed to toil in the informal sector. This is nothing else but vicious circle of poverty. As stated earlier, these children are mostly deprived of schooling or drop out shortly after. Even those who are presently attending school are uncertain whether they can go any further and have at least a decent job in future. Below is the words of a 15 years old male student in Tuzla:

“I would like to be a doctor but I am not sure whether I could continue to go to school or not. I would not be able to go to high school. My parent may not allow me.”

One of the questions in the form was related to what they would like to be in future if they continue their education. According to answers (see table 5.4), 42.3 percent of the children (25 children) would like to be teacher and 32.2 of them (19 children) want to be doctor. 4 children would like to be nurse, 4 children want to be worker and 3 children want to be engineer. But just 24 of the children attend to school and would have chance to be teacher or doctor if they continue to go to school. In fact, even those 24 children have little chance to be teacher or doctor because just 4 of them do not work and attend to school regularly, other 20 children work at the weekends.

When asked about their future engagements in life, 45 percent of the children say that she/he won't be agricultural worker in the future and 41.7 percent of them don't know whether they will be agricultural worker or not in the future. 13.3 percent of them think that they will remain as agricultural worker in the future. Although 45% of respondents state they won't be agricultural workers in their future life and another 41.7% have no clear idea about this , their present living conditions and lack

of education, unfortunately leaves them no other choice but remaining as agricultural workers.

Table 5.4: What would like children to be in future?

Occupations		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Doctor	19	32.2	32.2
	Teacher	25	42.3	74.6
	Engineer	3	5.1	79.7
	Nurse	4	6.8	86.4
	Worker	4	6.8	93.2
	Official	1	1.7	94.9
	Police	1	1.7	96.6
	Public prosecutor	1	1.7	98.3
	Other	1	1.7	100.0
	Total	59	100.0	
Missing	No response	2		
Total		61		

When asked whether they would continue this work in fields, children’s responses were mostly as follows:

“I do not have any other chance.”

“I do not know anything else.”

“Working in field is very hard; I do not want to work.”

“We do not get what our work is worth so I do not want to continue to work.”

“I work because I had to work.”

“I want to continue to school and have occupation.”

Most of these children either do not attend school at all or still work in fields while attending school. Nevertheless they are aware how important education is in their life and future. In other words, they realize that education is a key to a better life. 90.2 percent of the children think that their life would be better if they could attend to school regularly.

One teacher, also the principal of one of the village schools in the area stressed that the State had to perform its task of providing education opportunities to these children. He believes that there are many bright ones among children who can be successful in their areas if they are given a chance.

“Economic and social rights should be given to these people. Giving to chance to these children is at our hand. They are children, they are our future, and they can not do anything by themselves. I believe that if we can give chance to them, their future will be different. They would have better future. They can be good professionals in different fields.”

This person having a career of 15 year as educationist had, as a child, lived in tents and worked in crop fields with his family. He could get the chance of having an education when his primary school teacher referred him to a regional boarding school under state support. Hence he became a teacher preparing many children to their future life instead of working in fields. At present, there are many working children among his students. His personal life story shows how important to give children a chance for education. Director of the Çimeli Benli Primary School put this in his own words as follows;

“I was child labour; I had lived in tent for many years. My primary school teacher oriented me and I took an exam for boarding school. I passed the exam and became student of teacher school. I graduated from university and became teacher. I could not be a teacher if my primary school teacher would not orient me. My teacher offered me this chance. Thinking of my own story, I can say that; one constructs railways then order railway wagons and add locomotive, so there isn't any reason for train not to go.”

Many teachers working in primary schools in Tuzla accept that there are indeed bright ones among their students of Şırnak origin and their school performance is well above standards especially when their present living conditions and familial neglect is considered. They add that these children could be successful and qualified citizens if they are given necessary support and guided properly.

Children are aware that schooling may provide them a better future and life and they define their better life as follows:

“I would not be miserable like now.”

“I would not have to live here, in tent.”

“I would not eat sandy meal.”

“I would be saved from here.”

“It would be better than living here.”

“I would not be ignorant.”

“I would know writing and reading.”

“I would have house.”

“I would be able to go anywhere I want.”

“I would know everything.”

A large majority of children is disturbed by the fact that they are working in fields instead of going to school. This disturbance becomes manifest in their responses to the question whether they would like to see their younger siblings working as well. All of the children reply that they wouldn't like their siblings to work. Their explanations to support this view are rather striking. They have very impressive explanation why they wouldn't like their siblings work.

“I am exhausted I wish they would not.”

“I am working, I could not attend school, and I wish they can attend school.”

“I am suffering; I wish they would not suffer.”

“I wish they would have occupation.”

“I do not want them to get tired and sick because of work.”

“We are miserable, I wish they would not be like us, they would have good life.”

“Working in field is very hard.”

“Nobody wants to live like us, in this condition.”

“They can not get anything from working in field, it is better for them to have occupation.”

“I wish they would not have to live in sand like us.”

“It is very hard to work in this condition, we get sick. I do not want them to work.”

“I do not want them to be ignorant and work in fields till the end of their life.”

“Working in field is bad, studying is good.”

“I do not want them to be pushed and shoved at their early ages.”

“Going to school is better for them.”

“I do not want them to live in this mud with mosquitoes.”

“I want them to go to school, have occupation and good life.”

“I want them to have house, good meals, proper life.”

“Living and working here is very hard”.

“Employers have negative behaviours towards employees. They treat workers badly.”

“They pay money late. I do not want them to work.”

These responses by children clearly reflect how unfavourable living and working conditions affect them and how these conditions turn them into “adults” during their childhood. It also becomes clear at this point that it is one of the essential duties of the “social state” to mitigate and eventually eliminate these adverse conditions. Considering that these children as well as their peers are the future of this country, it is crucial to ensure that efforts are made to bring them up as educated and skilled citizens.

CONCLUSION

Child labour has been the social reality of both developing and developed countries for centuries. Even though many conventions and international agreements related to the child labour have been put into practice, child labour will continue to be a reality of some countries. Turkey is also one of those countries where includes many child workers. Children usually work in industrial and agricultural sectors as well as in domestic sphere.

As mentioned before, in Turkey, literature indicates most of the child workers work in the agricultural sector in rural areas. In order to contribute new evidence to this literature, this thesis examined socio-economic characteristics, living and working conditions, education profiles and future expectations of children from Şırnak who live in Tuzla. These children are similar to those who work in the other agricultural sector but in many means they are also different. “Tuzla children” are members of families which migrated from Şırnak to Tuzla and have settled in the region since 1994. These families and children have been working in other people’s fields and have been living in tents since that time. Even though they live like migrant, seasonal, agricultural workers in fact they are not seasonal workers since they have settled in the region. But, at the same time, they are different than seasonal child workers working in other people’s fields as paid workers and also from unpaid village child workers who work in their own families’ fields. With this point, this thesis has significant importance since it introduces a different and new kind of child worker to the literature.

As it is indicated in the theory chapter, poverty, cultural and traditional values, economic crisis, high fertility rate, and growth of the unregistered economy are the main motives behind the child labour all over the world, as it is the case in Turkey. It is known that, among other factors, poverty is the main cause and the

consequence of child labour. Most of the children begin to work due to the poverty of their families. Many families have to employ their children in different sectors and in different tasks. The children examined in this thesis also have to work in fields because of their families' poverty. However, the situation of these families cannot be defined in terms of the classical poverty definition, which is mainly based on insufficient income level. They are internally displaced people, who are poor, socially excluded, deprived and can not benefit from many basic rights as a citizen. Therefore, their situation should be defined within the conceptualization of new poverty since the classical definition of poverty does not properly reflect their complex situation. As mentioned before, the main reason behind the child labour reality in Tuzla is the forced migration which has resulted in poverty and social exclusion of families. After the evacuation of their villages, these families had to migrate and come to Tuzla to work in fields as paid workers as they did not have any other alternatives. Indeed, they were not poor in their village and their children did not work as paid workers. But, the unexpected and sudden evacuation forced them to leave their villages and ended up with poverty, deprivation and social exclusion.

The families and the children examined in this study are the “new poors” who live in extreme poverty and social exclusion. As indicated in the theory chapter, new poverty has three important dimensions: relative poverty, inequality and social exclusion. Relative poverty is defined as not being able to benefit from or not having access to the services, goods and opportunities most people in that society or in another country take for granted. Relative poverty is determined in relation to prevailing social standards. According to the relative poverty concept, poverty is not just the inability to reach resources and survive, in fact it is related to whether a person or household enjoys minimum living standards accepted by society or not. In this sense it is obvious that with their low income, inadequate shelter and unhealthy environment, lack of infrastructure and social services like health and education, these people are obviously relatively poor compared to the rest of the society.

Another significant dimension in new poverty is inequality. Inequality means that advantages of the economy do not reach those socially excluded people and/or these people are benefitting less from income distribution. It is certain that these families and children who are from Şırnak and live in Tuzla do not take advantage of economic growth and are benefitting less from income distribution. They are socially

excluded and unskilled workers, and have to work in unregistered sectors with very low income under difficult working conditions and lack of social security.

Social exclusion, which is the last dimension of new poverty, is composed of four interrelated types of exclusion which reinforce each other and sometimes result in sustaining a vicious cycle of exclusion. As mentioned in Chapter II, economic exclusion is short-term or long-term unemployment and/or lack of credit opportunities due to having fallen out of the labour market. Even though people living in Tuzla are not unemployed and receive daily payment while working in the fields, they still find it difficult to satisfy their basic needs like nutrition and clothing. Before being forced to migrate from their villages, these people were owners of fields and animals and were working in their own fields and earning money which was sufficient for their survival. Even there were people who hired workers to work in their fields. Therefore, even though these people are not unemployed now, as they became paid workers who work in other people's fields with very low earnings, it is certain that they have become economically excluded. Moreover, as they are unskilled people who do not have any other choice but to work in fields with low income without any social security, they are also economically excluded. This economic exclusion brings problems like malnutrition, poor health conditions, poor standards of living, and barriers to access to education and health facilities for these families and children.

The second component of social exclusion is the spatial exclusion. People from Şırnak live in tents in a place without clean water or electricity and totally excluded from local people. They live in an unhealthy environment without any infrastructure or social services. Therefore, they are also spatially excluded since they live in geography with very poor quality of public services and cannot be fully involved in social life.

The third component of social exclusion which is cultural exclusion refers to the state of not being able to be fully involved in the social and cultural life independent of economic capability. It includes not being allowed into the existing activities of social life, facing barriers or being unwelcome for certain reasons; for example, when the majority is taken into account, different ethnicity/race or religion, not being able to speak the language of the majority fluently, accent, different dress codes or sexual orientation. People from Şırnak are Kurds and they were living in

their own cultural environment before coming to Tuzla. After evacuation of their villages they left their villages and came to Tuzla. This place was a very new environment for them. Local people were Turks and Arabs who have their own culture mainly based on the agricultural traditions of Çukurova. For people from Şırnak it has been difficult to adapt to this new culture and also to be accepted by local people. Women and old people even had communication problems since they do not know Turkish. They feel very much alienated from the social life because of the high rate of illiteracy and inability to speak Turkish. It is known that the probability of individual or collective exclusion is higher for members of ethnic minorities and highest of all for minority women. In this new place it was difficult for these people to live their own culture and traditions. They were very much isolated from other people. Since most of the women and old people and even some children still do not know Turkish, they feel very much this cultural exclusion and social insecurity. As people from Şırnak are from a different ethnic group than local people, they are not still accepted by local people and have communication problems with them. They cannot represent themselves in their cultural and traditional ways and they live just as a closed community.

The last component of social exclusion is the political exclusion, which refers to the state of not being able to enjoy citizenship rights, especially political and legal rights, fully or partially, and facing direct or indirect barriers to involvement in political life and decision-making processes. People from Şırnak have a legal residency problem. Since they live in tents they cannot get legal residency from the village headman. Because they do not have legal residency they cannot vote in either local or general elections. Therefore, they cannot represent their opinions or make claims for their rights in elections. They are totally excluded from political life. They cannot play any role in decision making processes. They have little access to power and decision-making bodies and thus often feel powerless and unable to take control over decisions that affect their daily life. They even do not have the right to choose their village headman. Besides political rights they cannot also benefit from their social rights. Since they do not have legal residency, they cannot apply for many social services like the “green card” (yeşil kart), which is provided by the state for covering health expenses of poor people. Therefore, it is certain that the families and children examined in this thesis are totally politically excluded people.

As mentioned in the theory section, social exclusion can be interpreted as incomplete citizenship. Each citizen has the right to a certain basic standard of living and to participate in the major social and occupational institutions, for example, employment, housing, health care, education and so on. Social exclusion occurs when citizens are disadvantaged and unable to secure these social rights. According to Marshall's (1950) classical formulation of civil, political and social rights they are a necessary condition for full citizenship and democratic societies should preserve a good balance in the provision of these rights. In this sense, it is seen that people from Şırnak began to experience incomplete citizenship after the evacuation of their villages. They became unemployed people, they could not find jobs for a while, then they came to Tuzla and began to work in fields with low income. They have experienced many economic problems. They lost their homes in their villages and have to live in tents without infrastructure in an unhealthy environment. They do not properly benefit from health and education services. Since they do not have legal residency they cannot vote. Therefore, they cannot benefit from any civil, political or social rights which are enjoyed by full-fledged citizens.

As we look at the results of data related to children, there are important conclusions that can be drawn. There are children who have been living in tents for 13 years and among them there are children who were even born in tents. Children are members of big families and they live altogether in small tents which are made of reed, cloth and plastic without any infrastructure services. Most of the children have grown up in tents without electricity and clean water. For a healthy life, proper houses are needed but these children do not have them. They have been living in an unhealthy environment which causes many diseases. These children are shorter and weaker than other children because of malnutrition and hard working and living conditions. The children cannot consume some food items necessary for their physical development. They usually eat cereals with very limited consumption of vegetables and fruits. It is almost impossible to talk about any meat consumption. Their diet mainly depends on carbohydrates. An unhealthy environment and living conditions, hard working conditions and malnutrition result in unhealthy children since these conditions cause many illnesses.

Children work under hard conditions. They usually begin to work when they are between the ages of 10 to 12 and work a minimum of 9 and a maximum of 11

hours in a day. All of them work in fields at greenhouses and they usually do digging and hoeing which are very hard work for their age. There are significant differences regarding the gender division of labor between girls and boys. Besides working in the fields, girls also participate in household tasks. The majority carry water, take care of their siblings, wash dishes, prepare meals, and do cleaning at home.

As mentioned before, children from Şırnak work in fields in Tuzla because their families live in extreme poverty, are socially excluded and cannot benefit from many citizenship rights. Under these conditions, for children it is very difficult to escape from the vicious cycle of poverty. Their risk of remaining poor is much more than that of other children because their condition limits their chance to be educated and healthy persons of the future. Since they are members of crowded poor families they have to work and usually cannot attend or drop out of school. It is known that the ratio of children of poor families who attend school is very low compared to other children. Generally most of these children drop out of school at an early age. They cannot be as successful as other children in school since they cannot properly attend school and they do not have suitable conditions at their homes to do their homework. Most of the poor families cannot send their children to school since they cannot afford the expenses so they do not have any other choice but to send their children to work. In this thesis, data related to education profiles of the children show that they are in a similar situation. Since their families are poor and have difficulties covering their basic needs these children have to work. Because of poverty, most of these children have not attended school at all, some of them have to drop out, and some of them continue to work in the fields at the weekends even though they attend school during the week. Since these families find it difficult to cover their basic needs, they have to forget about providing for a better future for their children by investing in their education and instead they just try to guarantee today and cover their daily needs. Moreover, even when these children do attend school, the classes are very crowded and there are not enough branch teachers, research materials or technical equipment. Hence, for these children it is very difficult to break out of the vicious cycle of poverty through education. For them, the chance of social mobilization is very low and in the end, the poverty of their parents also becomes their destiny. As a consequence of the intergenerationalisation of poverty, child poverty tends to be more permanent in the future of the poor children. The declining

social mobility is likely to produce a cycle for the children of poor families in that the opportunities available to these children are fewer than those available to the richer families.

Poverty is the main obstacle both for boys and girls to attend and to continue school but from the research results and the interviews it is seen that there are other reasons which leave girls out of school. As it is observed in Tuzla region, the families from Şirnak do not send girls to school not just because of their poverty but also because of cultural values and traditions. They think of girls as future housewives and mothers. Because of this belief they do not think that education is necessary for girls and do not send them to school. Moreover, as they cannot afford school expenses of all children, sometimes they have to make a choice and they usually prefer to send boys to school. The disadvantages of girls in attending school and being uneducated persons continue intergenerationally. In general, mothers of the girls who do not attend school usually are illiterate so there is a strong relation between the education levels of girls and their mothers. Like poverty, illiteracy also becomes the destiny of children, especially the girls.

Interesting information related to the education profiles of the children is realized during the interviews made with teachers of Tuzla Primary School. Teachers say that there are two different groups of children who are members of families working in the agricultural sector and attending their school. The first group is the children of families from Şirnak who settled in Tuzla and other children who are members of migrant, seasonal agricultural workers. Teachers state that the first group is much more successful than second group since they attend the school at the beginning of the semester and continue till the end of it as they are settled in the region. In this sense, they have less difficulty in adaptation to school compared to the second group of children. Therefore, even though the first group of children live in very hard conditions like in the second group, since they do not migrate during the year they are much more successful than the second group of children. So it is understood from this information that if their living conditions are improved and they are supported in their education there is not any reason for them to be unsuccessful. However, under these conditions, it is easy to predict that these children will not have any other choice but to work in the fields or in other unregistered sectors in the future and remain as poor as their families. They do not have the opportunity to live

in a different social environment since their families do not have any other choice besides living in Tuzla and working in fields as cheap labour. These children are totally disadvantaged compare to other children in many respects. Most probably they will be unskilled workers who have to work in unregistered sectors in hard working conditions with low income and without any social security. Since they cannot attend school or sometimes drop out of school they do not have the chance to acquire skills which are required in primary sectors for higher income.

When these children are asked what they would like to be in future, they generally say that they would like to be teacher or doctor but it is certain that most of them cannot be either teacher or doctor because they cannot continue to attend school and earn a diploma. Therefore, having good professions and better lives are just a dream for them. In fact, children realize their hard living and working conditions and do not have many expectations for a better future. Their answer to why they do not want their siblings to work in the fields indicates that they are aware of their poverty and exploitation.

Hence, the state should help these children in order to break the cycle of poverty and have better future. Better future of all countries depends on healthy, educated and skilled persons. In this sense, the social state has the responsibility to provide education and health services for all citizens especially for the children who are the assets of developed countries. As mentioned before, child poverty and child labour in Tuzla is the result of their families' poverty, deprivation, social exclusion and their inability to access and exercise citizenship rights. Therefore, at first step, it is the responsibility of local institutions to do something to eliminate child labour, provide better living conditions and a better future for these children. It should be noted that child labour and child poverty in Tuzla cannot be eliminated without eliminating families' poverty and social exclusion.

These people cannot eliminate their poverty, cannot become socially integrated into the society just by their own efforts. The role of the state is important for overcoming poverty and social exclusion. Social exclusion may be overcome more directly through government intervention and legislation and efforts of local institutions. The loss of social citizenship rights guaranteed by the social state and the regulatory authorities highlights a crisis of the relationship between the state and its citizens. In this sense, institutional creativeness is required to empower excluded

groups and promote their effective representation. Therefore, the main responsibility belongs to the local institutions and administrators. The concept of citizenship implies a notion of equality in that citizens are said to share a common status in respect of the rights and duties that they hold. Families from Şırnak are also the citizens of the Turkish Republic with their right to have healthy houses, live in a healthy environment, benefit from basic infrastructure services like education and health. In this sense, local institutions of Tuzla and Karataş should try to provide suitable condition to make sure that these people can benefit from basic social services.

It is mainly the duty of local institutions to ensure the social integration of these people and to provide good relations and communication between these people and state. As a social state, Turkey should try to eliminate poverty and social exclusion of these people since it came into existence just after the evacuation of their villages and migration to Tuzla. In literature, social exclusion is defined as the miscommunication or lack of communication between the individual and the state or between one group and the state. The social exclusion of families from Şırnak living in Tuzla can be defined in this respect. Therefore, local institutions have important responsibility in rebuilding relations and making sure that their citizens can exercise their basic rights.

The social state should also take some precautions and provide support and subsidies for the children since their families do not have the possibility to provide better conditions for them. These children are really disadvantaged when compared to other children. The state should make some regulations to ensure that these children will be able to benefit from basic social services especially health and education services. In order to eliminate the poverty of children and child labour in the region and to provide the opportunity for these children to be healthy and educated persons of the future, first of all, the state should do something to improve their families' living conditions and provide basic services like clean water, electricity and green cards.

Children from Şırnak live in permanent poverty with their families. If the state and local institutions do not take any precautions and do not make any improvements in their families' living standards, this vicious cycle of poverty will continue to exist. Children are the future assets of a society. How a nation takes care

of the well-being of its children is a significant indicator of how that society concentrates on the future well-being of its citizens in general.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: COMMISSION MEETING REPORT

ADANA İLİ "TARIM İŞÇİLERİNİN SORUNLARINI GÖRÜŞME KURULU" KARARI

Tarih :17.01.2002

Karar NO :2002/1

Adana İli tarım işçilerinin sorunlarını görüşme kurulu , İlimizde 01.01.2002 tarihinden itibaren(çapa, sera, sebze, meyve toplama v.s işlerinde çalışacak tarım işçilerine ödenecek ücreti tespit etmek maksadıyla tarım işçilerinin sorunlarını görüşme kurulu 17.01.2002 günü saat 10.00 da Vali yardımcısı Nevzat Ergün başkanlığında komisyon üyelerinin katılımıyla toplanarak gündem maddeleri olan aşağıdaki kararları almışlardır.

- 1- 01.01.2002 tarihinden itibaren bölgemizde çalışacak tarım işçilerine yaş ve cinsiyet ayrımı yapılmaksızın 7.500.000.-lira, aracı(elci)lara her işçi için günlük net.....500.000.-..... lira, toplam...8.000.000.-.....lira ödenmesi.
- 2- Tarım işlerinde 12 yaşından küçük, çalışamayacak kadar yaşlı ve hasta işçilerin çalıştırılmaması,
- 3- Tarım işçilerinin örf ve adetlere uygun olarak sabah 06.00'da işe başlamaları akşam 18.00'de işi bırakmaları.
- 4- Bu arada sabah 08.30-09.00 arası 30 dakika , öğlen 13-14 arası 60 dakika, ikindi 15.00-15.30 arası 30 dakika istirahat ve yemek molası verilmesi, sera sebze işçilerinin işe başlama ve işi bırakma saatlerinin de günün koşullarına göre taraflarca belirlenmesi.
- 5- Araçların işçileri arasında kendilerine yardımcı olarak ırgatbaşı ve işçilerin konaklama yerinin emniyeti için çadır bekçisi çıkarması, bu yardımcı işçilerin ücretleride işverenlerce ödenmesi.
- 6- Adana ili sınırları dışından getirilen tarım işçilerinin çıkış kaynaklarından işyerine geliş ücreti ile dönüşte kolaylıkla vasıta bulabilecekleri bir yere getirilme masraflarının işverenlerce karşılanması.
- 7- Adana ili sınırları içerisinde ikamet eden tarım işçilerini her gün işyerine gidış ve dönüşlerinin işverenlerce karşılanması.
- 8- Türkiye iş kurumunca verilen tarım aracı belgesi olmayan elciler ile hüviyet cüzdanı bulunmayan işçilere iş verilmemesi, işverenler: araçlar ve köy muhtarları işyerlerinde ve bölgelerinde çalışan işçiler arasında görülecek her türlü hastalık ve emniyet bakımından huzur bozucu olaylara anında müdahale ederek durumu en yakın yetkili kuruluşlara bildirmesi.

- 9- İşçilerin içme suyunu işveren kendi araç ve işçileriyle temin ederek işmahalline ve konaklama yerine getirmesi, su tanklarının sağlıklı olması için azami dikkatin gösterilmesi,
- 10- İşverenler işçi ücretlerini işin ortasında ve işin sonunda olmak üzere iki bölümde işçilerin huzurunda aracıya, aracıda işveren veya işveren temsilcisi huzurunda işçilerine ödemesi, zamanında ücretlerini alamayan tarım araçları ve işçiler Türkiye İş Kurumu üniteleri veya Tarım işçileri sendikasıyla tespit edilerek yetkili mercilere intikal ettirilmeden önce işverenlerin uyarılması bakımından ziraat odaları ve çiftçiler birliği başkanlığına bildirilmesi,
- 11- Bölgemizde çalışan geçici tarım işçilerinin mahalli düzeyde ücret ve çalışma koşullarının tespiti, ilgili kuruluşların müracaatı üzerine İlimiz valiliğince oluşturulan tarım işçi sorunlarını görüşmeye yetkili komisyon tarafından belirlenir. Anılan komisyon dışında kişi ve kuruluşlar bu doğrultuda karar almaya yetkili değildir.
- 12- Bölgemizde çalışacak pamuk toplama işçi ücretlerinde, Pamuk taban fiyatının tespitine müteakip ilk on gün içerisinde yine bu komisyon tarafından toplanarak tespit edilmesi oy çokluğu ile kabul edilmiştir.
- 13- Bu tarım işçi ücreti 01.01.2002- 30.06.2002 tarihleri arasında kapsamaktadır.
- 14- Türkiye İş Kurumunca tarım aracı belgesi verilmeyen tarım araçlarına (elcilere) tarım işverenlerinin iş yaptırmaması hususuna özen gösterilmesine,
- 15- Yıllardır süregelen geleneklerimize uygun olarak alınan bu karar komisyonumuzca oy çokluğu ile alınmış ve okunarak imzalanmıştır.

Komisyon Başkanı
Nezhat ERGÜN
Vali yardımcısı

Tarım İş Müdürlüğü
Fikret ÇOKŞUN
İl Müdürü

S.S.G.B. Müdürlüğü
Bahri SÜREN
İl Müdürü

Türkiye İş Kurumu İl Müd.
Ökçe AKINBİNGÖL
İl Müdürü

Türk-İş Sendikası
H.Kaya ELBEK
4. Bölge temsilciliği

Seyhan Ziraat Odası Başk.
Süleyman GÜRMEZ
Ziraat Odası başk.

Yüreğir Ziraat Odası Başk.
Şahin YEKİN
Ziraat Odası başk.

Tarım İş Send. Şube
Muzaffer Ekol
Şube başk.

Ceyhan ziraat odası Başk.
Mehmet Doğan
Ziraat Odası başk.
Gelmedi

Çiftçiler Birliği
Cumali Doğru
Birlik Başkanı

Çukobirlik Genel Müdürlüğü
Ömer Özdoğan
Koop. Ve Ziraat İşler Müd. Yardımcısı.

OLUK
Oğuz Kağan KÖKSAL
Adana Valisi

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE FORM (ENGLISH)

GENERAL INFORMATION:

1. Name, surname of the child:
2. Age:
3. Sex: () Male () Female
4. Country:
5. Household size:
6. Place of residence:/...../.....
7. Marital Status:
() Married
() Single
() Widowed
() Other.....
8. If she/he is married, does she/he have any child, if yes how many?
() Yes.....
() No
9. Education level of her/his father:
() Illitareted
() Literated
() Primary school graduated
() High school graduted
() Other.....

10. Education level of her/his mother:

- Illitared
- Literated
- Primary school graduated
- High school graduted
- Other.....

11. Household income per month: (number of person who works in family x daily pay x work days).....

EDUCATION PROFILE:

12. Education level of the child:

- Illitared
- Literated
- Primary school graduated
- Attending to primary school
- Drop-out of primary school
- Attending to high school
- Drop-out of high school
- High school graduated
- Other:

13. If she/he is illiterate, why?

- She/he works
- Her/his parent do not send them to school
- She/he dislikes school
- Her/his parent can not cover school expenses
- There is not any school in place they live
- Gender perception (her parent do not let her to attend school)
- Other:

14. If she/he drops-out of school, why?

- Economic difficulties/insufficient income
- Because of work
- Her/his parent do not let her/him to continue to school
- She/he dislikes school
- She/he unsuccessfull in school
- Her/his parent can not cover school expenses
- There is not any school in place they live
- Gender perception (her parent do not let her to continue to school)
- Other:

15. If she/he attends to the school, what is the frequency of attendance to the school:

- Every day
- Few days in a week
- Every day except she/he works
- Other:

16. How does her/his work affect her/his success in school?

- Positive effect
- Negative effect
- No effect
- Other:

WORKING CONDITION:

17. Why she/he works?

- Economic difficulties/insufficient income
- To have work experience
- Since she/he unsuccesfull in school
- Other:

18. Does she/he work with her/his willingness?

- Yes
- No

19. If she/he does not work with her/his willingness, for whose demand does she/he work?

- Because of her/his father's demand
- Because of her/his mother's demand
- Because of her/his brother's demand
- Other.....

20. At what age did she/he begin to work?.....

21. For how many hour does she/he work in a day?

22. How many days a week does she/he work:

23. What does she/he do:

- Picking up cotton
- Hoeing and digging
- Work in greenhouses
- Herding animal

- Carrying water
- Take care of siblings
- Washing dishes
- Preparing meals
- Washing clothes
- Cleaning
- Other:

24. What are the most frequently done?:

- Picking up cotton
- Hoeing and digging
- Work in greenhouses
- Herding animal
- Carrying water
- Take care of siblings
- Washing dishes
- Preparing meals
- Washing clothes
- Cleaning
- Other:

25. Does she/he work in another sector besides agriculture? If yes in which sector?

- Yes.....
- No

26. What are the most important problems faced during the work? (İlk 3'ü sıralayınız)

- It is very tiresome
- Wages are low
- Working place is hazardous
- Negative attitudes of employer
- Negative attitudes of intermediary
- She/he can not attend to the school
- Not being able to meet basic human needs (i.e toilet and water needs) during the work
- Other:

27. How much does she/he earn for a day?.....

28. What does she/he do with her/his earning?

- Give it to her/his parent
- Spend by herself/himself
- Cover her/his school expenses
- Other:

LIVING CONDITIONS:

29. For how many years they have been living in Tuzla?.....

30. What is the main reason of residence of families in Tuzla?

- () Since they work in the region before
- () There have been an opportunity for job
- () There were acquaintances and relatives living at Tuzla
- () Other.....

31. What are the difficulties of living in tents?

- () Cold in winter and hot in summer
- () There are not separate rooms in tents
- () Toilets,bath rooms,kitchens are not hygenic
- () Living in tents is not healthy
- () Other:

32. How many people live together in one tent?:.....

33. How many room is there in tent?.....

34. Toilet and bathroom conditions:.....

35. Kitchen condition:.....

36. Is there electricity in tents? If yes, for how many years there is electricty? If no, why not?

- () Yes.....
- () No.....

37. Is there safe drinking water? If yes, for how many years there is safe drinking water? If no, why not?

- () Yes.....
- () No.....

38. What are the electronical instruments they use in tents?

- () Television
- () Refrigerator
- () Washing machine
- () Other.....

39. Do they have birth registration card? If no, why not?

- Yes
- No.....

40. Do they have any health insurance? If yes, what kind of? If no, why not?

- Yes
- No.....
- Do not know.....

41. Do they have legal residency? If no, why not?

- Yes
- No.....

42. How many hours a day does she /he sleep?

43. How many times do they have meal in a day?.....

44. What do they eat most frequently?

- Cereals
- Vegetables
- Fruit
- Meat
- Milk-yogurt
- Chicken
- Other:

45. With what kind of illness do they face most frequently?

- Cold
- Headache
- Dissiness
- Lumbago
- Malaria
- Other:

46. Where do they go when they are ill?

- Village clinic of Tuzla
- State hospital in Adana
- Private doctor clinic
- Other.....

47. Is there any seriously ill person in the family? If yes, who is?

() Yes.....

() No

48. What are the difficulties of living in tents as a girl?

.....
.....
.....

49. What are the difficulties of living in tents as a boy?

.....
.....
.....

FUTURE EXPECTATIONS:

50. What does she/he want to be in future?

() Doctor

() Lawyer

() Teacher

() Engineer

() Nurse

() Intermediar

() Owner of field (employer)

() Business man

() Employee

() Other:

51. If she/he could attend to the school, would her/his life be different?

() It would be better

() It would be worse

() It would not change

() Other:

52. Does she/he remain as agricultural worker in future?

() Yes

() No

() Do not know

() Other:

53. Would you like your siblings to work?

() Yes

() No

() Other:

54. If yes, why? If no, why not?.....

Opinion of the researcher:

.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE FORM (TURKISH)

GENEL BİLGİLER:

1. Çocuğun adı, soyadı:
2. Yaşı:
3. Cinsiyeti: () Erkek () Kız
4. Memleketi:
5. Hane halkı sayısı:
6. Yaşadığı yer:/...../.....
7. Medeni Durumu:
() Evli
() Bekar
() Dul
() Diğer.....
8. Evli ise çocuğu var mı? Varsa kaç tane?
() Evet.....
() Hayır
9. Babasının eğitim durumu:
() Hiç okula gitmemiş
() Okur-yazar
() İlköğretim mezunu
() Lise mezunu
() Diğer.....

10. Annesinin eğitim durumu:

- Hiç okula gitmemiş
- Okur-yazar
- İlköğretim mezunu
- Lise mezunu
- Diğer.....

11. Hane halkının aylık geliri: (Çalışan kişi sayısı x günlük gelir x çalışılan gün sayısı)

EĞİTİM DURUMU:

12. Çocuğun eğitim düzeyi:

- Hiç okula gitmemiş
- Okur-yazar
- İlköğretim mezunu
- İlköğretime devam ediyor
- İlköğretimden terk
- Liseye devam ediyor
- Liseden terk
- Lise mezunu
- Diğer:

13. Hiç okula gitmemişse nedeni:

- Çalıştığı için
- Ailesi göndermediği için
- Okulu sevmediği için
- Ailesi okul masraflarını karşılayamadığı için
- Gidebileceği okul olmadığı için
- Kız olduğu için ailesi göndermediğinden
- Diğer:

14. Okulu terk etmişse nedeni:

- Maddi durumu kötü olduğu için
- Çalıştığı için
- Ailesi göndermediği için
- Okulu sevmediği için
- Okulda başarısız olduğu için
- Ailesi okul masraflarını karşılayamadığı için
- Yaşadığı yerde okul olmadığı için
- Kız olduğu için
- Diğer:

15. Okula devam ediyorsa ne kadar düzenli devam ediyor:

- Her gün
- Haftada birkaç gün
- Çalıştığı günler dışında her gün
- Diğer:

16. Çalışması okuldaki başarı durumunu nasıl etkiliyor:

- Olumlu etkiliyor
- Olumsuz etkiliyor
- Bir etkisi olmuyor
- Diğer:

ÇALIŞMA KOŞULLARI:

17. Neden çalışıyor?

- Ekonomik imkansızlıklardan dolayı
- İş tecrübesi edinmek için
- Okulda başarısız olduğu için
- Diğer:

18. Kendi isteği ile mi çalışıyor?

- Evet
- Hayır

19. Kendi isteği ile çalışmıyorsa kim isteği için çalışıyor?

- Babası istediği için
- Annesi istediği için
- Abisi istediği için
- Diğer.....

20. Kaç yaşından beri çalışıyor?.....

21. Günde kaç saat çalışıyor? Hangi saatler arasında

22. Haftada kaç gün çalışıyor:

23. Ne tür işlerde çalışıyor:

- Pamuk toplama
- Çapalama ve kazma
- Sera işleri
- Hayvanlara bakma
- Su taşıma
- Kardeşlerine bakma

- Bulaşık yıkama
- Yemek hazırlama
- Çamaşır yıkamak
- Temizlik
- Diğer:

24. En çok hangi işi yapıyor: (İlk beşi sıralayınız)

- Pamuk toplama
- Balya basma ve yükleme
- Çapalama ve kazma
- Sera işleri
- Hayvanlara bakma
- Su taşıma
- Kardeşlerine bakma
- Eşyaları gözetleme
- Bulaşık yıkama
- Yemek hazırlama
- Temizlik
- Diğer:

25. Tarım dışında başka işlerde çalışıyor mu? Çalışıyorsa hangi sektörde?

- Evet.....
- Hayır

26. Yaptığı işin en kötü yanı ne? (İlk 3'ü sıralayınız)

- Çok yorucu
- Ücreti az
- Çalışma alanı tehlikeli
- Tarla sahibinin davranışları kötü
- Tarım aracısının davranışları kötü
- Okula gidemiyor
- İş esnasında kişisel ihtiyaçlarını (tuvalet, su,vs...) karşılayamıyor
- Diğer:

27. Günlük ne kadar kazanıyor?.....

28. Kazandığı parayı ne yapıyor?

- Ailesine veriyor
- Kendisi harcıyor
- Okul masraflarını karşılıyor
- Diğer:

YAŞAM KOŞULLARI:

29. Ne zamandan beri Tuzla'da çadırda yaşıyorlar?.....

30. Neden Tuzla'ya yerleşmeyi tercih etmişler?

- () Önceden mevsimlik işçi olarak çalıştıkları yer olduğu için
- () İş imkanı olduğu için
- () Tanıdıkları ve akrabaları daha önce buraya yerleştiği için
- () Diğer.....

31. Çadırda yaşamamanın zorlukları neler: (Önem sırasına göre sıralayınız)

- () Kışın soğuk yazın sıcak oluyor
- () Ayrı ayrı odalar yok
- () Tuvalet, banyo ve mutfak sağlığa uygun değil
- () Çadır ortamı hijyenik değil
- () Diğer:

32. Çadırda kaç kişi yaşıyorlar:.....

33. Çadırda kaç oda var:.....

34. Tuvalet, banyo koşulları:.....

35. Mutfak durumu:.....

36. Elektrikleri var mı? Evet ise ne zamandan beri var? Hayır ise neden yok?

- () Evet.....
- () Hayır.....

37. Temiz içme suları var mı? Evet ise ne zamandan beri var? Hayır ise neden yok?

- () Evet.....
- () Hayır.....

38. Çadırda bulunan elektrikli araçlar neler:

- () Televizyon
- () Buzdolabı
- () Çamaşır makinesi
- () Diğer.....

39. Nüfus cüzdanı var mı? Yoksa neden yok?

- () Evet
- () Hayır.....

40.Sağlık güvencesi var mı? Varsa ne tür? Yoksa neden yok?

- () Evet
- () Hayır.....
- () Bilmiyor.....

41. İkametgahları var mı? Yoksa neden yok?

- ()Evet
- () Hayır.....

42.Günde kaç saat uyuyor?

43. Günde kaç öğün yemek yiyor?.....

44. Ağırlıklı olarak nelerle besleniyor: (sıralayınız)

- () Tahıl ürünleri
- () Sebze
- () Meyve
- () Et
- () Süt-yoğurt
- () Tavuk
- () Diğer:

45. En sık hangi hastalıklara yakalanıyor: (sıralayınız)

- () Soğuk algınlığı
- () Baş ağrısı
- () Baş dönmesi
- () Bel ağrısı
- () Sıtma
- () Diğer:

46. Hastalandıkları zaman hangi sağlık kurumundan yararlanıyorlar? (sıralayınız)

- () Tuzla'daki sağlık ocağından
- () Adana'daki devlet hastanelerinden
- () Özel doktor muayehanesinden
- () Diğer.....

47. Ailede ciddi hastalığı veya sakatlığı olan var mı? Varsa kimler?

- () Evet.....
- () Hayır

48. Bir kadın/kız olarak çadırda yaşamanın en zor yanları neler?

.....
.....
.....

49. Bir erkek olarak çadırda yaşamanın en zor yanları neler?

.....
.....
.....

GELECEKTEN BEKLENTİLER:

50. Büyüyünce ne olmak istiyor:

- Doktor
 Avukat
 Öğretmen
 Mühendis
 Hemşire
 Tarım aracı
 Toprak sahibi
 İş adamı
 İşçi
 Diğer:

51. Düzenli okuyabilseydi hayatı daha farklı olur muydu?

- Daha iyi olurdu
 Daha kötü olurdu
 Fark etmezdi
 Diğer:

52. Gelecekte de tarım işçisi olarak mı hayatını sürdürmeyi düşünüyor?

- Evet
 Hayır
 Bilmiyor
 Diğer:

53. Küçük kardeşlerinin veya çocuklarının kendisi gibi çalışmasını ister mi?

- Evet
 Hayır
 Diğer:

54. Evet ise neden hayır ise neden?.....

Arařtırmacının grř:

.....
.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX D: MAPS

MAP 1: TURKEY



MAP 2: ÇUKUROVA



MAP 3: ADANA



MAP 4: KARATAŞ



MAP 5: TUZLA



APPENDIX E: PICTURES FROM KARAGÖÇER/TUZLA

PICTURE 1: SHELTER



PICTURE 2: TENTS



PICTURE 3: HEATING



PICTURE 4: KITCHEN



PICTURE 5: KITCHEN



PICTURE 6: OVEN



PICTURE 7: CLEANING



PICTURE 8: TOILET AND BATHROOM



PICTURE 9: WATER



PICTURE 10: MEAL AT WORK



PICTURE 11: A CHILD FROM KARAGÖÇER/TUZLA

