

TURKEY

Baseline Survey on Worst Forms of Child Labour in the Agricultural Sector:

Children in Cotton Harvesting in Karataş, Adana

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September 2003, Ankara

Foreword and Acknowledgements

As in other parts of the world, child labor in Turkey poses a serious problem. Ensuring the health, well-being and happiness of today's youth is a prerequisite for becoming a modern society. Children who grow up in unhealthy and unsupportive environments with pessimistic visions for the future inevitably generate problems in society. When children are not given the chance to live their childhoods fully, when they are employed in work extending beyond their physical and psychological capacities, their future lives are negatively affected.

Children working in agriculture hold a distinct place among working children. Problems related to living and working conditions, education, health and surroundings await urgent solutions. Research forms a first step in identifying the specific problems of children in the agricultural sector and developing solutions that appropriately address these problems. This particular baseline survey focused on children employed in cotton harvesting as one of the worst forms of child labor in the agricultural sector.

Worst Forms of Child Labor in the Agriculture Sector: Children in Cotton Harvesting in Karataş, Adana received invaluable support and encouragement from numerous individuals. Şule Çağlar and Hakkı Özel of ILO-IPEC, Geneva and Nejat Kocabay, ILO-IPEC National Programme Manager in Turkey provided valuable help during the preliminary design of the survey. Ömer Toprak, Enver Taştı and Yılmaz Erşahin from the State Institute of Statistics (SIS) assisted the survey team in sample selection and field survey. Sociologist Özgür Arun contributed much to the process of data entry and evaluation. Tanju Kuruöz, Özgür Çetinkaya, Tuğba Atalar, Kadir Karahan, Baki Saklak, İskender Yıldırım, Can Gül, Deniz Minusker, Tuğba Dinç, Zeynel Sütölük and Yusuf Kahraman took up the burden of conducting interviews in the field. The Karataş District Governorate, the Karataş District Agriculture Directorate and other governmental agencies did their best to ensure the smooth implementation of the survey. We are also greatly indebted to the working children, their families, agricultural intermediaries and landowners who spared their time for interviews after tiring workdays. Our thanks is also due to Metin Çulhaoğlu, who translated this document into English. The survey team will be very happy and honoured if only a handful of the children interviewed are able to go on to live their childhood fully and look hopefully towards the future like their non-working peers. It is the responsibility of all of us to ensure this happens.

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Acronyms

Bağ-Kur: Social Security Scheme for Self-Employed

BMI: Body Mass Index

ÇUKOBİRLİK: Union of Çukurova Agricultural Sales Cooperatives

GNP: Gross National Product :

ILO: International Labour Organization

IPEC: International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour

LL: Labor Law

LFPR Labour Force Participation Ration

MOLSS Ministry of Labour and Social Security

MONE Ministry of Education

NT : Total frequency estimate for relevant variable

NM : Frequency estimate (males) for relevant variable

NF : Frequency estimate (males) for relevant variable

NM: Non-responded frequency estimate for relevant variable

SIS: State Institute of Statistics

SSK: Social Security Institution

UNDP: United Nation Development Program

The average exchange rate at the time interviews were conducted in October 2002 was US
\$1 = 1,640,000 TL.

Executive Summary

Introduction

The phenomenon of migrant agricultural labour is widespread in Turkey. In order to make a living, landless peasants and small landholders unable to earn enough from their tiny enterprises are forced to move on a temporary, seasonal basis to places where agricultural work is more abundant. Some poor urban families do the same, in order to supplement their limited means of subsistence in urban settlements. Many of these are former rural residents who moved to cities in search of economic opportunity, but who lacked the education and skills required by the urban economy.

Seasonal agricultural work is concentrated mostly in such industrial crops as cotton, tobacco and sugar beets. Of these, cotton requires the most labour. Households spend from three to seventh months of the year migrating from place to place to take up temporary employment in harvesting and other activities related to industrial cotton production. For economic and social reasons, children of adult seasonal workers usually accompany their parents from job to job. In order to contribute to family subsistence, they are required to labour alongside their parents and other adults.

The very nature of seasonal agricultural work exposes families to all types of risks, to which children are the most vulnerable. Children engage in hard physical labour under working conditions that cannot be considered decent even for adults. They live in campsites that lack basic infrastructure of water, plumbing and electricity in conditions that are well below minimum standards. Moreover, they are deprived of any opportunity to continue with their education, without which they lose any possible chance for improving their situations in the future. In short, seasonal agricultural work poses serious hazards to children's physical, psycho-social and educational development and is considered one of the worst forms of child labour in Turkey.

Survey objective

The overall objective of this survey was to obtain quantitative and qualitative data on the nature, conditions and effects of employment on the health, education and development of children engaged as seasonal labourers in cotton harvesting in the Karataş District of Adana. Karataş, which lies within the cotton-producing Çukurova region, was selected due to the continued presence of traditional structures used in the organization of labour in cotton harvesting.

Children employed in agriculture are engaged in one of four basic activities: seasonal work in crop harvesting, forestry activities, animal husbandry and/or unpaid family work in a family enterprise. Seasonal work is quite common and accounts for the employment of a significant number of children. While an absence of a registration system means that there are no definite figures available, it is believed that 35-40 percent of an estimated 800,000-1.2 million migrant agricultural workers in Turkey are children between five and 17 years of age. Most of these children leave their permanent places of residence for part of the year in order to accompany their families in seasonal agricultural labour at an agricultural enterprise owned by others. Intensive travelling, living outdoors in unsanitary conditions, poor nutrition, lack of access to health services and the impossibility of continuing with their education all take their toll on these children.

Materials and method

Survey fieldwork was conducted from 16.09.2002 to 31.10.2002. Data was collected through questionnaires applied to children working in cotton harvesting in Karataş, their families, agricultural intermediaries and employers and through interviews conducted with relevant government agencies at the provincial and district levels. Supplemental information obtained from the existing literature, statistics, government regulations and legislation was also used in the analysis and interpretation of field data.

Sample size and selection

Time and budget consideration restricted survey implementation to the Karataş District of Adana. Karataş was selected based on expert recommendation. Taking into account the amount of land under cotton cultivation, “Probability-Proportional-to-Size” (PPS) was used to select eight out of 47 villages in the district of Karataş. Random sampling was used to select 20 households from each of the selected villages, for a total of 160 households. For each selected tent, researchers aimed to apply questionnaires to the household head, one male and one female child in the 5-14 age group and one male and one female child in the 15-17 age group. Actual survey implementation yielded 210 children from 119 tents as well as 44 agricultural intermediaries and 32 employers. State Institute of Statistics (SIS) experts estimate that, after scaling-up and weighting, the survey sample was representative of 6,387 children and 3,617 household heads.

Seasonal agricultural employment

According to the 1991 General Agricultural Census, the average agricultural holding in Turkey was 57.7 decare. Large numbers of rural families must subsist on smaller plots of land, and another 30.2 percent are landless, subsisting as wage-workers or tenant farmers/sharecroppers. As a result of this situation, many rural families move to the Çukurova, Black Sea, Aegean and Central Anatolian regions on a temporary basis to take up employment in cotton, hazelnut, tea, tobacco, sugar beet, grape and other agro-industries. Most of these workers are originally from and permanently reside in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia.

Migrant workers find employment for specific months or seasons through individuals who, under various titles, act as intermediaries to match agricultural temporary labour supply with demand. During the rest of the year, seasonal workers may be engaged in low-skilled urban jobs or are unemployed; however, even during their most work-intensive periods, they cannot be considered to be “fully employed.”

Turkey: Worst forms of child labour in agriculture

The majority of working children in Turkey (57.6%) are employed in the agricultural sector, most of them as unpaid workers at a family enterprise. In addition, children of seasonal agricultural workers are employed as temporary migrant labourers in large agricultural enterprises. Seasonal agricultural work exposes children to risks stemming from their working and living conditions, both of which are far below basic minimum standards for decency. Children work unbearably hard in such activities as fetching water and firewood, harvesting, hoeing and weeding crops either alone or together with their

families. Girls are also engaged in taking care of siblings, cleaning tents and cooking. Inadequate nutrition exacerbates the health risks posed by a lack of safe water, plumbing and electricity at campsites, and the use of agro-pesticides and agricultural machinery increase the risk of occupational health problems and work-related accidents. Moreover, children are unable to attend school at their permanent places of residence and have no educational opportunities available to them at their temporary sites. All of these contribute to deep negative affects on the physical and psychological development and future prospects of children engaged in seasonal agricultural work.

Unfortunately, there is no quantitative information available regarding working conditions, wages, educational or socio-cultural status of children engaged in seasonal agricultural work. However, based on the population as a whole and the characteristics of seasonal agricultural households, it is possible to estimate 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.

Cotton harvesting in Karataş

Following the provinces of Adana, Şanlıurfa, Aydın, Diyarbakır and Hatay, Adana has the most land devoted to cotton cultivation of any province in Turkey. Out of a total 654,000 hectares of land under cotton cultivation nationally, 45,000 hectares (8.9%) are in the province of Adana. Of these, 19,000 (42%) are in Karataş, making the district one of the primary cotton harvesting centres in the country. As such, according to the Adana Employment Office, Karataş attracts approximately 35,000 of the 100,000-120,000 migrant agricultural workers estimated to be employed in the province each year.

Legislation governing child work

Despite some gaps and complexities in implementation, the legal framework governing child employment in Turkey is comprehensive and can be said to be both fair and adequate. Still, the persistence of child labour in Turkey, as in other developing countries, requires the introduction of additional measures designed to prevent and eliminate child labour. While it is without a doubt that legislation *per se* cannot eliminate child labor, legislative action is an effective means of establishing necessary inspection and monitoring mechanisms.

Survey findings: Working children

Demographic characteristics: Of those children surveyed (p=6,387), 52.9 percent were female and 47.1 percent were male, and 66.4 percent were in the 5-14 age group and the remaining 33.6 percent in the 15-17 age group. There were no working children under the age of five. Male children were more numerous in the 5-14 age group, whereas female children are more numerous in the 15-17 age group. All children surveyed were single.

Children were divided fairly evenly between those born in urban areas (50.8%) and those born in rural areas (49.2%). The majority resided permanently in the Southeastern Anatolia Region, with 58.5 percent of all children surveyed coming from the provinces of Adıyaman, Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır and Gaziantep.

Children in seasonal agricultural work are mostly from large families. More than half of the children surveyed (67.6 %) came from families with at least seven children. The average number of children per household was 6.6. Rural households were larger than urban households.

Education levels: Education was found to be a significant problem for children engaged in seasonal agricultural work. Because the agricultural season is spread out from April to November, children are at risk of not attending school or dropping out at some point during the school year. Of those children surveyed, 12.2 percent were illiterate, 47.2 percent were literate but had not completed primary school, and 34.2 percent had only a primary school diploma. Illiteracy rates were higher among girls (13.2%) than boys (5.7%). Around 20 percent of children dropped out of primary school because of work; however, this rate was much higher for girls (31.6%) than for boys (6.9%). An additional 2.5 percent of both boys and girls said they dropped out of secondary school in order to work. When working children were asked why they did not attend school, 97.4 percent said “because I am working” and 1.7 percent because their parents did not send them to school.

Working conditions: Children of migrant workers enter working life at early ages and under difficult circumstances. Of those children surveyed, the average age for entering work was 9.4 years of age (9.2 for boys and 9.6 for girls).

Children worked an average of 47 days per year harvesting cotton. The vast majority (92.2%) were employed harvesting cotton for 31-60 days per year. This figure varied little between male and female children.

Wages: Daily working hours of seasonal workers vary according to type of crop, work activity, climate, wage and demands of workers and employers. Daily working hours in cotton harvesting are affected by the fact that wages are based on the amount of cotton picked per day. Of the children surveyed, 75.8 percent worked at least 12 hours each day, with girls tending to work slightly more than boys. On average, children worked for 11.7 hours a day. Working hours as a rule were dictated by parents, with children having little control over their work schedules. All male children and almost all female children (98.7%) worked seven days per week.

Wages are paid based on the amount of cotton harvested and are usually 10 percent of the value of the cotton (i.e., wages paid for 1 kg cotton picked = Government base price for cotton x 0.10). Amounts harvested vary according to a number of factors, including a child’s age and physical strength.

Cotton is typically harvested in two or three rounds. Because the yield falls significantly in the third round, employers generally opt not to harvest the third round or to conduct the harvest with family members and without the use of seasonal workers. On average, children surveyed harvested 78.2 kg of cotton in the first harvest and only 37.9 kg in the second harvest. Whereas the average during the first harvest was considerably higher for girls (85.1 kg) than for boys (72.1 kg), the average during the second harvest was higher for boys (38.1 kg) than for girls (36.4 kg).

Based on the above, a child’s total earnings for the first harvest in October 2002 would have been TL 175,168,000, or US\$106.80 [78.2 kg x TL 70,000 (cotton base price) x 32 (days)]. Similarly, a child’s total earnings for the second harvest in October 2002 would

have been TL 39,795,000 (US\$24.30). In other words, the average income of the children surveyed for the two-month period beginning in October 2002 was TL 214,963,000 (US\$131.10).

Children engage in seasonal agricultural work in order to contribute to the family income. Accordingly, wages of 90.1 percent of the children surveyed were turned over to parents, with only 2.2 percent of children able to choose how they disposed of their income.

Work hazards: Cotton harvesting involves serious physical and psychological risks for children. In addition to the heavy physical labour involved in harvesting, children (mostly boys) are required to carry 75-100 kg bales of cotton and load them onto trucks. Although only 3.7 percent of the children surveyed were directly involved in the application of pesticides, 90.2 percent of them used no protective equipment; moreover, 15.8 percent of children not directly involved in pesticide application were also affected by them. Aside from carrying heavy loads and contact with pesticides and other agro-chemicals, children face physical risks from overexposure to sun, snakebites and insect stings and work-related accidents. Psychological risks stem from long working hours, a monotonous work pace, lack of sleep, lack of schooling and limited time for play and the company of other children. As a result, children may be tired, indifferent and excessively introverted, and may develop feelings of worthlessness and a sense of fatalism.

Health status: Children and their families are directly affected by the unhygienic conditions of their working and living environments, both of which are a reflection of their precarious situations in terms of income and residence (For more information on living conditions of working children, see below, *Survey findings: Households of working children*.) Children's health status is affected from the moment of their birth. Over 80 percent of the children surveyed were born unattended by a health worker and in questionable sanitary conditions. Only 17.4 percent of children were born in hospital, whereas 77.4 percent were born at home and 2.8 percent in the field where their mothers worked. Most of the children surveyed are not protected against preventable childhood diseases, with less than half of them receiving regular vaccinations. Boys are more likely to receive regular vaccinations (52.4%) than girls (25%), some of whom have had no vaccinations at all (12.9%).

The poor health status of the children surveyed is reflected in their physical appearance. Their nails, hair and skin appeared unhygienic, and their clothing insufficient to offer proper protection. Most of them were excessively thin, some to the point of being cachexic (extreme thinness resulting from malnutrition). The average weight of the children surveyed was 42.0 ± 11.6 kg and their average height was 146.8 ± 13.4 cm, resulting in an average body mass index (BMI) of 19.1 ± 2.8 . In total, 67.1 percent were thin (BMI <20), 29.5 percent normal (BMI 20-25) and 3.4 percent slightly obese (BMI 25-30). These figures are strongly suggestive of malnutrition and below-average physical growth.

Nearly one-third (30.5%) of the children surveyed were found to have some type of serious health problem. These included kidney problems (6.2%), rheumatism (3.1%) and heart problems (1.5%). Moreover, nearly 89.2 percent of children with health problems had not been diagnosed. In addition to the above-mentioned illnesses, 12.5 percent of the children surveyed had experienced some type of work-related accident, 5.6 percent smoked cigarettes, 4.9 percent were affected by night blindness and 5.5 percent by pica (habitual eating of dirt, clay, paper, etc.).

What makes children happy: Amidst the hardships of work and survival in difficult living conditions, there are still certain events or occasions that make children happy. However, when asked what made them most happy, only 65.1 percent of children were able to give a response, and of these, 59.4 percent said that nothing made them happy. The most frequently given positive response was “being together with friends”, an answer that is indicative of the lack of alternatives available to children in seasonal agricultural work, which offers neither the physical environment nor the economic opportunities for happiness.

Understanding of rights: Children surveyed were also asked if they were aware of the concept of “child rights.” Only 20.7 percent had any idea about child rights; this figure was higher for boys (25.4%) than girls (16.5%). In this regard, most of these children had heard about such things as “compulsory education”, “not letting children work” and “playgrounds for children” from other family members or individuals in their immediate environments.

Leisure activities: For children engaged in cotton harvesting, the concept of “leisure time” was not understood as “free time” they could use as they wished; rather, “leisure time” was generally understood as the time that agricultural work was not conducted and, in fact, nothing was done in its place. Of those children surveyed, 22.8 percent were unable to provide any response regarding how they used their leisure time. Responses that were given varied by sex, with 84.5 percent of boys saying they spent their leisure time “playing” and 43.4 percent of girls saying they spent their leisure time “in conversation”. This difference may be explained by the social mores that allow male children the freedom to leave their campsites, communicate with others and act on their own, but require girls to help their mothers with daily chores and places limits on their freedom of movement and communication. As a result of these restrictions on their behaviour, girls tend to remain in their tents or chat with other females in neighbouring tents.

Hopes for the future: All human beings desire greater opportunities from life and the chance to realize their hopes and dreams. Children living in difficult conditions naturally aspire to a better and more comfortable life. To better understand the aspirations and empathy of the children surveyed they were asked who they would like to “trade places” with. Responses were given by 67.5 percent of boys and 63.6 percent of girls and included “teachers” (25.6%) and “famous singers” (15.4%). Of those children surveyed, 58.2 percent wished to become teachers themselves, 26.8 percent wished to become doctors and 7.3 percent to become athletes. The responses indicate the high social status these children attribute to these professions.

Problems and solutions: When asked about the main problems they experienced in harvesting cotton, most children (43.5%) said the work was too tiring. Of these, over two-thirds (69%) were children under 14 years of age. Children who seemed to be more aware of their situation and related problems were asked for suggestions as to how their problems could be solved. Responses were given by 74.7 percent of the children surveyed and included the following: “families need to be materially more well off” (23.1%); “permanent jobs should be guaranteed at their regular places of residence” (21.5%), “the State needs to provide adequate health, education and other basic services at their regular places of residence” (13.8%), “basic services (housing, infrastructure, health, etc.) need to be provided where they work” (12.4%); and “cotton harvesting needs to be mechanized” (12.4%). Another 16.9 percent were extremely pessimistic regarding the future, saying that irregardless of what was done, there would be no solution.

Survey findings: Households of working children

Children who engage in seasonal agricultural work do so out of necessity to help meet their families' needs for subsistence. In order to collect information about the households of working children, this study interviewed the heads of households of the working children surveyed. The "household head" was considered to be the father of the working child, or, in his absence, the mother, or, in the absence of both parents, the oldest sibling of the working child.

Demographic characteristics: The survey found most household heads (67.9%) were in the 31-50 age group, although 9.6 percent were siblings below the age of 20. In total, 83.4 percent of household heads were male and 16.6 female. In terms of marital status, 84.5 percent were married, 13.6 percent were single and 1.9 percent were widowed.

Of all household heads surveyed, 69.1 percent were born in Southeastern Anatolia (Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa, Mardin or Gaziantep) and about one-third in Mediterranean provinces (Kahramanmaraş, Hatay or Adana). Household heads from Hatay and Adana tended to be under 30 and have parents from Southeastern Anatolia. Two-thirds of household heads were born in rural areas and the remaining 34 percent in urban areas.

Over half (56.5%) of the household heads surveyed had their permanent residence in Southeastern Anatolia (Adıyaman, Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır and Gaziantep), with Adıyaman alone accounting for 35.3 percent. The regional distribution is reflected in the local language spoken by household heads, 57.2 percent of whom said they spoke Kurdish, followed by Turkish (24%), Arabic (11%) and Zaza (7.9%). Irregardless of local language, all household heads could speak and understand Turkish.

Education levels: The educational status of household heads was low. Less than half of those surveyed had completed any formal education. In total, 30 percent were illiterate, 23 percent were literate but without a primary school diploma, 45.1 percent had completed primary school and 1.9 percent had completed middle school.

Occupation: The majority (88.2%) of household heads said their primary occupation was that of "agricultural worker", whereas 11.8 percent said agricultural work was their secondary occupation.

Working conditions: Since income is determined by the amount of cotton harvested, all household members work as many hours as possible. On average, household heads worked 12.2 hours per day and seven days per week as long as there was work available. Household heads worked a total of 16-60 days per year harvesting cotton, or 48.6 days on average (as compared to 47.2 days for children). In addition to harvesting, 49.8 percent of household heads said they did other work, including hoeing, which they conducted for an average of 32.4 days per year. In total, household heads were engaged in work related to cotton harvesting for an average of 78 days per year.

Work breaks are also rare, consisting generally of just time spent eating meals or drinking tea. Of those household heads surveyed, other than a few moments pause, 14 percent said they never took a break from work, 64.7 percent took one break per day, 16.8 percent took two breaks and 4.5 percent took three work breaks per day.

Living conditions: In addition to working conditions, living conditions are an integral part of seasonal agricultural work. In most cases, migrant workers set up campsites in vacant areas at a fair distance from established villages. Campsites are selected based on their proximity to the worksite (cotton fields) and source of water as well as the availability of firewood for cooking and heating. Of those surveyed, only 36.4 percent of households camped in places with close access to water. None of the migrant households surveyed had settled temporarily in a nearby village or town. This may be due to the resistance of villagers and townspeople to the migrants, or to the migrants themselves, who may doubt their ability to integrate their lifestyles and customs with those of the local residents.

Most households (83.3%) lived in tents constructed out of plastic sheeting, 14.3 percent in cloth tents and 1.4 percent in housing constructed of other material. Despite the large size of the majority of households, in most cases all members lived in the same tent, since they could not afford additional tents. Of those households surveyed, 90.5 percent of families lived in one tent, 8.1 percent in two tents and 1.4 percent in three tents. On average, six people lived in each tent.

In most cases, the infrastructure of campsites was insufficient to meet the basic needs of workers. The most pressing issue is that of safe drinking water, the availability of which is wholly dependent on the attitude of the employers who provide it. In most cases, drinking water is provided to campsites in tankers, whose sanitary conditions and water quality are questionable.

Sanitary conditions in general pose a major problem. According to the household heads interviewed, 59.5 percent of campsites lacked any type of toilet facilities and required workers to relieve themselves in the fields. Another 36.5 percent used primitive latrines constructed out of plastic sheeting in which solid waste was disposed of in covered pits, 2.7 percent used latrines with open pits and 1.3 percent used streams and riverbeds. Women were most affected by the lack of sanitary facilities.

In addition to a lack of safe water and sanitary facilities, 79.8 percent of households had no access to electricity. Agro-chemicals constitute another hazard. According to household heads, empty chemical containers could be found within close proximity of 38.3 percent of households.

Health status: Frequent health problems arise as a result of poor drinking water and nutritional habits, in addition to the unsuitable working conditions. Of those household heads surveyed, 85 percent said diarrhea was a common problem among seasonal agricultural workers, as were influenza and colds. Work for long hours in the hot sun can cause low blood pressure, dizziness and fainting, and sunstroke, which is a particular risk for younger children. In addition, 32.5 percent of household heads said wandering barefoot has left their children prone to fungus and allergy-related skin diseases, particularly due to the presence of agricultural chemicals and the absence of any waste disposal network.

Of those household heads surveyed, 61.8 percent said that at least one household member had been affected by a health problem directly related to their working or living conditions during the previous agricultural season, in particular, diarrhea (38.2%) and sunstroke (35.8%). Despite frequent health problems, field observations revealed no health or first aid kits at any of the campsites.

Household income: Household income status varied with respect to household size, non-agricultural sources of income and agricultural assets held. In general, however, agricultural wage work formed the primary source of income for the households surveyed, 84.8 percent of which were in the TL 501 million-3 billion income bracket, the equivalent of an annual income of between US\$306-1,829.

The majority (62.8%) of household heads had no type of social security or health insurance. Of those who did, 6.7 percent were covered by the Social Security Institution (SSK), a social security scheme for workers, 1.5 percent by Bağ-Kur, a social security scheme for the self-employed, and 29 percent held “green cards”, a program entitling low-income households to very basic government-provided health services.

Perceptions regarding working children: Most household heads surveyed (85.8%) said they had no alternative but to let their children work. Only 0.4 percent said they believed “children should work in order to learn about the difficulties of life at an early age.” According to field researchers, while most household heads considered the present situation to be a necessity, at the same time they felt somewhat guilty regarding their children’s situation.

Perceptions regarding the problems children faced due to work varied between household heads and children. While 53.8 percent of household heads considered “missing out on an education” to be the greatest problem for their children, only 11.7 percent of children felt this was the greatest problem. On the other hand, whereas only 21.3 percent of household heads considered the tiring aspect of cotton harvesting to be the greatest problem, the majority of children (43.5%) said this was the greatest problem.

Reasons for engaging in seasonal work: Considering their living and working conditions, it would not be realistic to expect migrant workers to speak positively about cotton harvesting, which is clearly not a preference, but a matter of necessity. Nearly half of household heads surveyed (47.3%) said they engaged in cotton harvesting because they had no other skill or occupation, 41.7 percent said it was required for their basic subsistence, 9.3 percent said it formed some additional earnings and 1.7 percent said they were required to work as seasonal labour because they had no land of their own.

Solutions: For some sections of the population in Turkey, seasonal agricultural work is the only option in terms of earning a living. For this reason, the existence of seasonal agricultural work as an ongoing phenomenon needs to be acknowledged in the search for solutions. Taking this into consideration, household heads were asked, “What needs to be done to improve the wage system and working conditions?” Responses to this question included the following: “cotton prices need to be indexed to inflation” (29.5%); “the State needs to better perform its supervisory role” (19.9%); “employers, agricultural intermediaries and relevant authorities need to be sensitized towards the issue” (17.4%); “agricultural workers should be unionized” (12.8%); “permanent facilities need to be provided for migrant workers” (12%); and “basic needs related to health, water and sanitation must be met” (9.4%).

Survey findings: Agricultural intermediaries

Agricultural intermediaries are known by different titles in different regions in Turkey. Their role is to try and match labour force supply with demand as the amount of agricultural work intensifies. Prior to the start of the work season, intermediaries meet with employers to discuss the number of labourers needed and the wage rates for the coming season. Intermediaries then return to their regions to procure workers, making some advance payments to prospective workers in the process. During the agricultural season, intermediaries supervise workers on behalf of employers, who have little contact with each other. The use of intermediaries is typical in cotton harvesting.

The Turkish Employment Office within the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MOLSS) is responsible for supervising the activities of agricultural intermediaries. Employment Office regulations define intermediaries as “those real and legal persons authorized by the Office to act as agents to find jobs and workers in the agricultural sector.” Article 7 of the Office’s Regulations on the Supervision of Agricultural Intermediaries (No. 16389, 08.09.1978) requires all intermediaries to be licensed, to fulfill periodic reporting requirements and to adhere to the regulations established by the Office.

As part of this study, interviews were conducted with 44 agricultural intermediaries responsible for procuring work for the children/households surveyed.

Demographic characteristics: The majority (76.7%) of agricultural intermediaries surveyed were born in Southeastern Anatolia. All of the intermediaries surveyed were male, 90.9 percent were married and 65.9 percent were over the age of 40.

Education levels: Agricultural intermediaries tend to have low levels of education, a problem typical of rural Turkey. As a result, intermediaries face difficulties in keeping up with changes in legislation and fulfilling their roles in a manner that is beneficial to both workers and employers. Of those intermediaries interviewed, 13.6 were illiterate, 29.5 were literate but had not completed primary school, 52.3 percent were primary school graduates and 4.5 percent were middle school graduates. In other words, none of the intermediaries interviewed had completed more than eight years of formal education.

Occupation: While nearly three-quarters (74.4%) of those interviewed stated their occupation as “agricultural intermediary”, the remaining said they were farmers (18.4%) or held other jobs (7%). Most (34.9%) had only acted as intermediaries for five years or less, followed by those who had worked as intermediaries for 6-10 years (32.6%), 11-20 years (11.6%), 21-30 years (11.6%) and more than 30 years (9.3%).

Legal status: Only 58.1 percent of intermediaries operated with licenses, only 56 percent renewed their licenses annually with the Employment Office as legally required, and of these, only 36 percent submit annual reports to the Employment Office. In other words, only 20.4 percent of the intermediaries surveyed fulfilled their legal requirements. In terms of insurance, only 11.3 percent of agricultural intermediaries were covered by social security (SSK, Bağ-Kur).

Wages: Agricultural intermediaries are paid by employers and are legally prohibited from receiving any payment or making any deductions from the wages of the workers for whom they procure jobs. Payment to intermediaries is fixed by mutual agreement between employer and intermediary and is customarily 10 percent of the wages paid to a worker. In other words, if the payment rate for harvesting one kilogram of cotton is TL 78,000, TL

70,000 is paid to the worker and TL 8,000 to the intermediary. During the course of the study it became clear that whether or not this method of payment constituted a breach of the legal regulations regarding deductions in workers' wages was a matter of dispute among the different groups involved. Leaving this matter aside, field research indicated that varying amounts were in fact cut from wages by some intermediaries. While the study was unable to determine exact incomes of the agricultural intermediaries surveyed, it was estimated that an intermediary earns at least nine to 10 times that of the average worker. This was confirmed by workers during the course of the survey.

Living Conditions: According to Employment Office regulations, agricultural intermediaries and employers are responsible for procuring a suitable campsite for seasonal workers. Of the agricultural intermediaries surveyed, 81.8 percent said they approached employers for permission to set up a campsite and 18.2 percent applied to village headmen, or muhtars, for this purpose. Not all intermediaries responded to questions regarding the physical infrastructure of the campsites established for workers; however, of those who did respond, 68.2 percent said there were no proper toilet facilities, 15.9 percent said there was no safe drinking water, 18.2 percent there was no water source at all, 56.2 percent said there were no showering/bathing facilities, 43.2 percent said there was no place for washing laundry or dishes and 84.1 percent said there was no electricity.

Hazards: When asked about frequent health problems among workers, intermediaries mentioned sunstroke (75%), fainting (65.9%), wrist and back pains (93.2%), fatigue (97.7%), work-related accidents (25.9%) and allergies (43.2%).

Perceptions regarding working children: When asked if these working and living conditions had a negative impact on children 79.1 percent said they believed they did, but 20.9 percent said they did not. Most intermediaries believed that children were required to work due to the economic situation of their families. However, while 88.4 percent said that children were forced to work because of the poverty of their households, 11.6 percent said they worked because they accompanied their families to work. When asked what they believed was the most significant risk to these children, 40.5 percent said it was the fact that they were deprived of an education.

Survey findings: Employers

Regardless of whether or not they own their own land or lease land from others, agricultural employers are responsible for addressing the many needs and problems of the workers they employ. Their attitude and sensitivity towards the workers they employ plays a critical role in determining the working and living conditions of children engaged in seasonal agricultural work. For this reason, this study interviewed 32 of the employers of the children/households survey.

Demographic characteristics: All employers surveyed were males residing in Adana, either in the provincial capital or in the Karataş District. Half of them resided permanently in their villages, whereas the other half moved from their urban residences during the agricultural season.

Education Levels: The educational level of employers was higher than both workers and intermediaries. Of those employers surveyed, 3.1 percent were illiterate, 65.6 percent were primary school graduates, 6.3 percent were middle school graduates, 21.9 percent were

high school graduates and 3.1 percent were university graduates. All but one of the employers surveyed were married.

Work status: Due to the labour-intensive nature of cotton harvesting, in most cases landowners employ a hired workforce, although a few landowners also mobilize the labour of family members. This study found that family members of 15.6 percent of employers surveyed were involved in cotton harvesting activities along with hired workers.

Wages: All employers surveyed said they made advance payments to intermediaries prior to harvesting. This was confirmed by intermediaries. Wages were also paid to intermediaries, rather than directly to workers. Of those employers surveyed, 93.8 percent said they paid wages after harvesting was completed, and the remaining 6.2 percent after the cotton was sold. Employers said they paid a total of TL 78,000 per kilo of cotton harvested (2001-02), TL 70,000 of which went to workers and TL 8,000 to intermediaries.

Relations with workers: While the primary responsible for providing suitable campsites lies with employers, only 56.3 percent of employers surveyed said they fulfilled this responsibility. In spite of this, field observations conducted in and around campsites and reports from workers indicated they were below basic health and hygiene standards.

When asked what measures they took in cases where workers experienced urgent health problems or work accidents, 64.5 percent of employers said they brought the worker in need of attention to the nearest clinic, 22.6 percent said they brought them to a hospital, and 3.9 percent said they did not become involved. This conflicted with responses from household heads, only 30.2 percent of whom said employers took appropriate action in such cases.

Perceptions regarding working children and risks: Although relations between employers and workers are extremely limited, employers have some information, based on general observations, regarding the working and living conditions, problems and risks faced by the workers they employ. Of those employers surveyed, 81.3 percent said they believed work harvesting cotton and other agricultural work negatively affects the growth and development of children, particularly in terms of education; however, 9.3 percent said they believed there was no negative impact on children and 9.4 percent had no opinion on the issue. While 81.2 percent of employers believed children worked because of the poverty of their families, 18.8 percent said children worked only because they migrated together with their working parents or relatives. Less than two-thirds of employers responded to the survey's question regarding the problems faced by children working in cotton harvesting. Those who did mentioned missing out on an education, the lack of a healthy living environment, malnutrition, the lack of the opportunity to "live their childhood" and the risk of drowning in an irrigation canal or stream.

Recommendations

Children engaged in seasonal agricultural work are involved in one of the worst forms of child labour in Turkey. They do not enrol in school, or drop out in order to work, and are thus denied the education necessary to improve their status in the future. In the meantime, the hazards they face from sub-standard working and living environments disrupt their normal physical and psychological development.

Despite the overall reduction in agricultural employment in relation to the rest of the Turkish economy, agriculture remains the sector most commonly relying on child labour. A multi-sectoral approach that mobilizes all segments of society is needed to alleviate the problems of children working in seasonal agriculture in the short term and to remove them from work entirely in the long term. Because these problems are not limited to a single area, but span the economic, political and socio-cultural arenas, including the sphere of education as well as that of employment, they must be addressed through the joint and coordinated efforts of all parties involved.

Although finding a solution is not the task of any one agency, the bulk of the institutional responsibility lies with the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, with the first line of response belonging to the Turkish Employment Office. The capacity of the Employment Office needs to be enhanced to allow it to fulfill its responsibilities in terms of monitoring the activities of agricultural intermediaries. In particular, the Employment Office must ensure that all individuals acting as intermediaries are duly licensed and operate within the existing rules and regulations, particularly regarding the prohibition on deductions from the wages of workers.

Proper implementation of regulations by agricultural intermediaries will significantly facilitate the improvement of working and living conditions of agricultural workers. For this reason, in addition to increasing the Employment Office's capacity for monitoring and supervision, training programmes are required to raise the awareness of agricultural intermediaries and employers regarding their roles and responsibilities towards seasonal agricultural workers and about the problem of child labour in general. This should include the development and distribution of printed material on child labour in agriculture that targets agricultural intermediaries and employers.

Particular attention needs to be paid to ensuring that the infrastructure of campsites meet basic standards in terms of water, electricity and sanitary facilities to eliminate the risks posed by contaminated water and food and exposure to solid and liquid wastes and chemicals. Again, ensuring that intermediaries and employers fulfill their responsibilities and that state agencies are sensitised and able to perform their supervisory functions is essential in this regard.

Lack of access to health services also poses a serious problem. According to the survey, 39.2 percent of children had no access to immunization services, and the great majority of children with health problems had not been properly diagnosed. The first step in addressing these significant health issues should be the establishment of mobile clinics that are able to provide services to seasonal agricultural workers in the areas in which they are employed. Ensuring that seasonal agricultural workers can benefit from social security and health insurance is another step that can be taken in this regard. Working children and their households also need to be educated regarding work-related and environmental health hazards.

The greatest problem for children in seasonal agricultural work is education. As a result of seasonal work, many children drop out of school or never attend in the first place. One of the most effective means of removing children from seasonal agricultural work is to allow them to enroll in Ministry of Education (MONE) boarding schools, in which both living and educational expenses are borne by the State. This will preclude the necessity of children leaving school and migrating with their families for work and will also relieve

some of the financial burden that prevents children from poor households receiving an education. The MONE may also establish schools with flexible schedules to help facilitate the school attendance of children engaged in seasonal agricultural work. Because cultural attitudes play a role in keeping children, particularly girls, from attending school, education and awareness-raising aimed at families of working children can also help to ensure their school enrollment and attendance.

Training programmes that offer employment skills and income-generating opportunities may also be provided to both working children and their families. In addition to skills training, households engaging in seasonal agricultural work need to be informed of existing support services for which they are eligible. Moreover, engaged in one of the most scattered and least organized sectors of the economy, agricultural workers are often unaware of both their rights as well as existing mechanisms to protect them. For this reason, the unionization of agricultural workers must be encouraged and supported.

First and foremost, public awareness must be raised so that the issue of child labour, particularly worst forms of child labour in agriculture, is placed high on the public agenda. Conducting advocacy and awareness campaigns will increase understanding of child labour and related issues, thereby promoting action for its reduction and elimination. NGOs and trade unions have an important role to play in mobilizing public opinion in favor of reducing and eventually eliminating child labor. Due to its highly influential position in contemporary Turkish society, the media has a key role as well. Media resources need to be mobilized to produce and broadcast programmes that emphasize the negative economic, social, cultural and psychological effects of work on children, as their families and society at large.

Although a certain amount of information exists on child labour in Turkey, there has been very little research undertaken regarding children employed in the agricultural sector. Universities must be encouraged and supported in undertaking research to increase the knowledge base in this area. The resulting information can be used to mobilize public opinion, support informed policy decisions and develop appropriate interventions.

While child labour legislation in Turkey is in general quite comprehensive, a gap exists in terms of legislation that specifically addresses children engaged in work in the agricultural sector. Government ministries, union representatives, employers/landowners and agricultural intermediaries must work together to develop effective legislation and lobby for its approval.

Turkey has ratified many international instruments relating to child labour, most recently, ILO Convention No. 182 on Worst Forms of Child Labour. However, greater measures must be taken to ensure the full implementation of not only this convention, but all legislation that has a role in the prohibition and elimination of worst forms of child labour.

The problem of child labour is inextricable from its wider societal context that includes interrelated demographic, economic and socio-cultural factors, especially education levels, and must be viewed accordingly. As economic conditions have worsened in recent years, the problem of child labour has grown in dimension. Child labour in agriculture in particular has reached national proportions. Large numbers of landless or small land-holding families, unequal land and income distribution, economic crises, unemployment, population growth, urban migration, inadequate and low-quality education, traditional

patterns and values and insensitivity on the part of the State and society at large are some of the factors contributing to the perpetuation of the problem of children engaged in cotton harvesting as one of the worst forms of child labour in Turkey. The solution lies in the monitoring and supervision of agricultural labour in line with the principles of the Social State, full implementation of existing legislation, provision of education and health services and raising the awareness of the general public. The responsibility belongs to all of us.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

As in all developing and underdeveloped countries, child labour in Turkey poses a serious problem. Of particular note are the problems of children working in agriculture, a sector in which a significant part of the Turkish population still earns its living. The educational, physical and psycho-social development of children are severely affected by their involvement in agricultural work. Worsening conditions and scale of the problem have led agricultural work to be considered one of the worst forms of child labour in Turkey.

Industrialization brought about significant structural changes in the Turkish agricultural sector. While mechanization of agriculture led to an expansion in the amount of land under cultivation, along with population increases and land inheritance, the overall result has been a division of agricultural land and a subsequent drop in the total number of agricultural enterprises. The average size of farm plots fell from 77 decares in 1952 to 62 decares in 1980 and further to 57.7 decares in 1991. No longer able to earn a subsistence, many small landholders abandoned their rural holdings to look for better employment opportunities in urban centres. Lacking the necessary skills for the urban economy, these households, along with those of remaining small landholders and landless rural families, are forced to migrate in search of employment in seasonal agricultural work.

Temporary or seasonal agricultural work is concentrated mostly in labour-intensive industrial crops such as cotton, tobacco and sugar beets. According to the General Directorate of Village Services, sugar beet cultivation requires an average of 105-110 hours of labour per decare of land, compared with 170-175 hours for tobacco and 170-220 hours for cotton. In Turkey, the amount of land under sugar beet, tobacco and cotton cultivation is, respectively, 504,000, 278,000 and 654,000 hectares. Clearly, cotton cultivation absorbs the most labour. Cotton also requires more seasonal labour than other crops.

Map 1: Distribution of Land Under Cotton Cultivation by Province



The very nature of seasonal agricultural work exposes families to all types of risks, to which children are the most vulnerable. For economic and social reasons, children of adult seasonal workers usually accompany their parents from place to place. As a result, children labour alongside their parents and other adults in work that is unsuitable for their age in order to secure the subsistence of their families. Children engage in hard physical labour under working conditions that cannot be considered decent even for adults. They live in campsites that lack basic infrastructure of water, plumbing and electricity in conditions that are well below minimum standards. Moreover, they are deprived of any opportunity to continue with their education, without which they lose any possible chance for improving their situations in the future. In short, seasonal agricultural work poses serious hazards to children's physical, psycho-social and educational development and is considered one of the worst forms of child labour in Turkey.

The present survey focuses on children employed as seasonal labourers in cotton harvesting in the Karataş District of Adana. Karataş was selected due to the continued presence of traditional structures used in the organization of labour in cotton harvesting.

This report consists of eight chapters: Chapter One provides information about the survey objective, significance, design and methodology; Chapter Two provides background information about Turkey's agricultural sector in general and cotton cultivation in particular, including the system of agricultural intermediation used to secure seasonal agricultural labour in Turkey and legal regulations pertaining to the sector; Chapter Three provides information on child labour in Turkey, including data on child labour in agriculture and legal regulations pertaining to children and work; Chapter Four through Chapter Seven present survey findings related to children, households, intermediaries and employers/landowners; and Chapter Eight provides an overall evaluation of the problems of children engaged in seasonal agricultural work harvesting cotton and offers some suggestions for solutions.

1.2. Survey objective

Within the framework of the development of a Time-Bound Action Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Turkey, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MOLSS) organized meetings in all seven of Turkey's geographic regions as well as a nationwide event to consult with stakeholders. During this process, the need was agreed for a baseline survey on children engaged in seasonal, migrant work in cotton cultivation.

The principles underlying the implementation of the baseline survey were as follows:

- a. Obtain quantitative data.
- b. Provide an overall picture of the existing situation in both quantitative and qualitative terms by measuring various indicators prior to any intervention.
- c. Produce acceptable statistical estimates.
- d. Apply probability sampling.
- e. Ensure replicability.

This survey supports the definition of child labor in cotton harvesting as one of the worst forms of child labor in Turkey for the following reasons:

- a. Children engaged in cotton harvesting face significant risks in terms of education and physical development. They suffer from long working hours, difficult working conditions, inadequate housing, health risks, malnutrition and a lack of access to school.
- b. Children engaged in cotton harvesting remain outside the scope of existing social security coverage required by the Labor Code.
- c. Available data is insufficient to support the development of relevant policies and interventions to reduce and eliminate child labour in this sector.

The following activities were undertaken in order to achieve the survey's objective of obtaining quantitative data on children in seasonal cotton cultivation in the Karataş District of Adana:

a) Quantitative estimations were developed based on probability sampling regarding the nature, causes and working conditions of children engaged in cotton cultivation in order to determine the possible effects of this type of employment on the health, education and development of working children. Child labour-related variables taken into consideration included the following:

- Demographic and socio-economic characteristics; education levels, enrolment and attendance; working hours, work periods, earnings and working conditions; and living conditions of working children and their families;
- Characteristics of the sector (formal and informal) and of landowners/employers who employ child labour and intermediaries who secure work for households of working children;
- Migration status of children and correlation, if any, between geographic residence and entry into work;
- Factors that push children into work, either directly or as a result of household status; entry into employment, type and duration of employment;
- Parents' awareness levels regarding risks children may face due to work;
- Employers'/intermediaries' awareness levels regarding risks children may face due to work.

Double and multi-variable analyses were conducted in order to provide important information on the determinants of child labour that can contribute significantly to relevant databases and assessments and fill existing information gaps.

b) A comprehensive analysis of working children was conducted in which priority groups and patterns as well as working conditions and their impact on children were identified. This information will be used to support the development of policies and action programmes targeting the elimination of child labour.

c) A comprehensive report on child labour in cotton cultivation was prepared and presented to relevant government agencies, workers' and employers' organizations, NGOs and the public at large. The accurate and up-to-date statistical information and in-depth analyses contained in the report can form the basis of a systematic campaign to improve the conditions of working children and eliminate child labour.

1.3. Justification

Children employed in agriculture are engaged in one of four basic activities: seasonal work in crop harvesting; forestry; animal husbandry; and unpaid family work in a family enterprise. Seasonal work is quite common in agriculture and accounts for the employment of a significant number of children. This survey focuses on these children.

Children employed as seasonal migrant and temporary workers include children who, alone or with their household, engage in agricultural work for someone else in return for a wage. They usually migrate from their area of residence to another part of the country for three to seven months to perform agricultural-related activities such as hoeing and picking crops. Of all children engaged in agricultural work, those engaged in seasonal labour are the most affected by conditions relating to transportation, campsites, nutrition, water, sanitation, health and education.

Over the years, patterns have been established whereby residents of Southeastern Anatolia and the southern provinces of Eastern Anatolia take up seasonal work in the following agricultural activities and regions:

- a. Cotton cultivation (Adana-Çukurova)
- b. Cotton cultivation (Şanlıurfa-Harran/Southeastern Anatolia)
- c. Vegetable and fruit cultivation (Adana, Mersin)
- d. Cotton, grape and tobacco cultivation (Aegean Region)
- e. Hazelnut cultivation (Ordu, Giresun/Eastern Black Sea Region)
- f. Chickpea, vegetable, cumin cultivation (Central Anatolian Region)
- g. Hazelnut cultivation (Bolu, Düzce and Adapazarı/Marmara Region)

Seasonal agricultural work is performed under appalling conditions. In addition to toiling under arduous working conditions, workers are forced to live for three to seven months in tents without water, plumbing and electricity. Under such circumstances, children have no opportunity to experience a “normal” childhood. Instead, they are required to undertake work unsuitable for their ages and are deprived of any opportunity to receive an education.

Although no system exists to register these children, around 35-40 percent of the estimated one million migrant agricultural workers in Turkey are thought to be between the ages of six and 17. According to a 1986 study conducted by the Adana Regional Directorate of the State Institute of Statistics (SIS), children and young people aged 11-20 accounted for 55 percent of workers engaged in cotton harvesting in Adana, and children under the age of 10 accounted for seven percent. While younger children were divided fairly equally by sex, girls account for the majority of those in the 11-20 age group.

Because most agricultural work in Turkey is performed informally, official information on the numbers, workplaces, work schedules and working conditions of migrant agricultural workers is limited. For the most part, such information is derived from academic surveys, thus increasing the importance of statistical methodology and quantitative estimations drawn from fieldwork. For this reason, and taking into consideration time and budget restraints, the present survey focused on children engaged as seasonal migrant and temporary labour in cotton cultivation in the Karataş District of Adana as a case study of worst forms of child labour in agriculture.

1.4. Survey sampling design and estimations

1.4.1. Geographical coverage

The survey area was limited to the villages within the jurisdiction of the Karataş District of Adana. Decision sampling was used in making this selection and was based on the following:

- The history of cotton cultivation in the area dates back at least 100 years to the Ottoman period.
- A preliminary survey showed that migrant and temporary agricultural workers in this area could be accessed easily within the given time.
- Workers in Karataş, which attracts migrants from the South in addition to Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, represent greater cultural diversity.
- A preliminary survey suggested that landowners/employers in Karataş were relatively more accessible than those in other locations.
- Tent groups (households) were highly visible and easily accessible.
- Experienced academic staff in the Çukurova University Department of Public Health had conducted health surveys on one-to-six-year-old children of migrant agricultural workers in the area.
- The area was suited to the survey's budget, time and human resource limitations.

This baseline survey was limited to the villages of the Karataş District of Adana and makes no claim to give a representative picture of children engaged in cotton cultivation in other regions. In order to properly assess the extent and nature of seasonal and temporary labour in cotton cultivation in Turkey, more detailed, long-term research is necessary.

1.4.2. Population sample

The survey identified four distinct target populations:

- a) Children: Children aged 5-17 who harvest cotton in the Karataş District of Adana.
- b) Households: Households of children aged 5-17 engaged in cotton harvesting in Karataş.
- c) Agricultural Intermediaries: Individuals who recruit workers to harvest cotton in Karataş and coordinate their work activities throughout the harvest season.
- d) Landowners/Employers: Individuals who employ at least one monthly or daily wage worker in cotton harvesting in Karataş.

The survey was designed to address each of the four distinct target populations. Due to the lack of a defined framework valid for both Turkey in general and this area in particular, non-standard practice was followed in selecting the survey samples. Further limitations precluded undertaking additional activities to compensate for the above-mentioned problem; therefore, while estimations representative of the Karataş District could be provided for working children and their households, findings related to intermediaries and landowners/employers could only be presented in terms of raw data (plain values). Variations in the sampling designs of the different target groups are explained below.

Working children sampling design

Two-Stage Cluster Sampling was used in the selection of children ages 5-17, the survey's primary target group, to ensure that the sample was representative for the Karataş District (Sampling methodology is summarized in Table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Child Questionnaire Sample Selection Design	
Level	Remarks
1st Stage Sampling Unit	Village
1st Stage Sampling Unit Selection Methodology	"Probability Proportional to Size" (area of land under cotton cultivation (PPS with MoS)
2nd Stage Sampling Unit	Household
2nd Stage Sampling Unit Selection Methodology	Systematic Random Sampling
Final Sampling Unit	For each tent included in the sample: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1 male and 1 female child from the 5-14 age group • 1 male and 1 female child from the 15-17 age group
Final Sampling Unit Selection Methodology	Simple Random Sampling

Sampling design was conducted as follows:

First-Stage Sampling Frame: Information provided by the Karataş District Directorate of Agriculture on land under cotton cultivation within the district was used as the first-stage sampling frame for the selection of villages representative of the district.

Second-Stage (Final) Sampling Frame: A list of tents in the villages selected out during the first stage constituted the sampling frame from which households with children aged 5-17 working in cotton fields were selected in the second stage.

Sampling Unit: The final sampling unit in the survey was the "household", the term referring to a group of persons living in the same tent or tents, regardless of whether or not they are related, and who share meals and household management and who dispose of their earnings in common.

Sampling Method: In the first stage of two-stage cluster sampling, the 47 villages in the Karataş District were listed according to amount of land under cotton cultivation, and eight of these villages were selected for inclusion in the survey using the method "Probability Proportional to Size" (PPS). Selected villages were considered to be representative of the village in order to allow for estimations valid at the district level (See Annex 2).

In the second stage, households from the selected villages (Yemişli, Çakırören, Kızıлтаhta, Adalı, Çavuşlu, Kesikli, Helvacı and Kiremitli) were selected for interviewing by randomly assigning a number to each household tent(s), constructing a list for each village containing the numbered households, and then randomly selecting 20 households from each list (See Annex 3).

Source of Observation (Information): One male and one female child in the 5-14 age group and one male and one female child in the 15-17 age group were selected from each of the selected households using random sampling. Neither "substitution principle" nor "proxy approach" was used in this process.

While a sample size of 20 households per village was selected to ensure sufficient coverage in case of non-response, not all villages yielded 20 households.

Table 1.2 provides a list of critical variables related to the sampling design of the child questionnaire.

Table 1.2. Child Questionnaire Sample Design – Summary Information									
Variables	Villages								
	Yemişli	Çakırören	Kızıлтаhta	Adalı	Çavuşlu	Kesikli	Helvacı	Kiremitli	Total
Area (decares) under cotton cultivation (2001)	25817	8074	2105	11938	3125	9554	5301	4971	70885
Proportion of area under cotton cultivation	0,135	0,042	0,011	0,063	0,016	0,050	0,028	0,026	
f1	1,082	0,338	0,088	0,500	0,131	0,400	0,222	0,208	
Total number of tent groups	31	17	7	13	3	4	8	5	88
Total number of tents	472	226	67	262	52	52	92	60	1283
Targeted Sample Households	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	160
f2	0,042	0,058	0,194	0,053	0,269	0,25	0,152	0,30	
Households not reached	0	7	7	6	6	7	6	2	41
Households interviewed	20	13	13	14	14	13	14	18	119
Total number of individuals in sample households	117	79	79	80	86	81	83	107	712
Number of children aged 5-17 in sample households	64	38	42	36	36	39	43	58	365
Number of children interviewed	36	19	26	26	24	23	24	32	210
f1*f2	0,046	0,019	0,017	0,027	0,035	0,100	0,034	0,062	
(f1*f2)-1	21,817	51,389	58,435	37,414	28,367	9,992	29,587	16,004	

Weights and Estimations: Since a two-stage cluster sampling method was adopted, the reverse of selection possibilities at the first and second stages were used as weighting co-efficients. Table 1.3 shows the factors used in the questionnaire.

Table 1.3 Weighting Method used in Child Questionnaire - Summary Information	
Level	Remarks
f1	1st Stage Sampling Unit Selection Possibility = 8^* = Area under cotton cultivation/total land under cotton cultivation in Karataş district
f2	2nd. Stage Sampling Unit Selection Possibility = Number of tents interviewed /Total number of tents listed in the village
(f1*f2)⁻¹	Expansion co-efficient for tents

Table 1.4 shows the plain values obtained through interviews as well as the estimated values obtained using expansion co-efficients.

Table 1.4 Child Questionnaire: Plain and Estimated Values for Children Working in Cotton Harvesting in Karataş						
	Plain Values			Estimated Values		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Age 5-14	120	117	237	2146	2094	4240
Age 15-17	48	72	120	859	1288	2147
Total	168	189	357	3005	3382	6387

Household sampling design

Heads of households with working children were surveyed to obtain information about socio-economic status, working conditions, income, health and social security status. Two-Stage Cluster Sampling was also used in the selection of household heads, which are also

representative of the Karataş District as a whole. The household heads surveyed were those of the households selected as part of the working children survey sampling design; therefore, the survey of household heads can, in a certain sense, be considered a module of the survey of working children (Sampling methodology is summarized in Table 1.5).

Table 1.5. Household Questionnaire Sampling Design	
Level	Remarks
1st Stage Sampling Unit	Village
1st Stage Sampling Unit Selection Methodology	Selection by “Probability Proportional to Size” (area of land under cotton cultivation) (PPS with MoS)
2nd Stage Sampling Unit	Tent
2nd Stage Sampling Unit Selection Methodology	Systematic Random Sampling
Final Sampling Unit	Household heads of selected tents
Final Sampling Unit Selection Methodology	Individuals in sampled tents who fit criteria

First-Stage Sampling Frame: The sampling frame used is the same frame used in the child survey (information provided by the Karataş District Directorate of Agriculture on land under cotton cultivation within the district).

Second-Stage (Final) Sampling Frame: The sampling frame used is the same frame used in the child survey (a list of tents in the villages selected out during the first stage, from which tents with children aged 5-17 working in cotton fields were selected).

Sampling Unit: The final sampling unit in the survey was the “household”, the term referring to a group of persons living in the same tent or tents, regardless of whether or not they are related, and who share meals and household management and who dispose of their earnings in common.

Sampling Method: In the first stage of two-stage cluster sampling, the 47 villages in the Karataş District were listed according to amount of land under cotton cultivation, and eight of these villages were selected for inclusion in the survey using the method “Probability Proportional to Size” (PPS). Selected villages were considered to be representative of the village in order to allow for estimations valid at the district level (See Annex 2).

In the second stage, households (tents) from the selected villages (Yemişli, Çakırören, Kızıлтаhta, Adalı, Çavuşlu, Kesikli, Helvacı and Kiremitli) were selected for interviewing by randomly assigning a number to each household, constructing a list for each village containing the numbered households, and then randomly selecting 20 households from each list (See Annex 3).

Source of observation (information): The “household head” of each of the randomly selected households (tents) was interviewed. The “household head” was defined as the individual managing the household income and expenditure and responsible for the other individuals living in the tent. Substitution and proxy approaches were not used, but there was some flexibility in the approach taken. In tents in which the parent of a working child was found, he or she was considered to be household head for the tent. In tents where no parent of a working child was found, a person over the age of 18 living in the tent was considered to be household head.

While a sample size of 20 households per village was selected to ensure sufficient coverage in case of non-response, not all villages yielded 20 tents.

Table 1.6 provides a list of critical variables related to the sampling design of the household questionnaire.

Table 1.6 Household Questionnaire Sampling Design: Summary Information									
Variables	Villages								
	Yemişli	Çakırören	Kızıлтаhta	Adalı	Çavuşlu	Kesikli	Helvacı	Kiremitli	Total
Area (decares) under cotton cultivation (2001)	25817	8074	2105	11938	3125	9554	5301	4971	70885
Proportion of area under cotton cultivation	0,135	0,042	0,011	0,063	0,016	0,050	0,028	0,026	
f1	1,082	0,338	0,088	0,500	0,131	0,400	0,222	0,208	
Total number of tent groups	31	17	7	13	3	4	8	5	88
Total number of tents	472	226	67	262	52	52	92	60	1283
Targeted Sample Households	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	160
f2	0,042	0,058	0,194	0,053	0,269	0,25	0,152	0,30	
Households not reached	0	7	7	6	6	7	6	2	41
Households interviewed	20	13	13	14	14	13	14	18	119
Total number of individuals in sample households	117	79	79	80	86	81	83	107	712
Number of children aged 5-17 in sample households	0,046	0,019	0,017	0,027	0,035	0,100	0,034	0,062	
Number of children interviewed	21,817	51,389	58,435	37,414	28,367	9,992	29,587	16,004	
f1*f2									
(f1*f2)-1									

HH: Household

Weights and Estimations: Since a two-stage cluster sampling method was adopted, the reverse of selection possibilities at the first and second stages were used as weighting coefficients. Table 1.7 shows the factors used in the questionnaire.

Table 1.7. Household Questionnaire Weighting Method (Summary)	
Level	Remarks
f1	1st Stage Sampling Unit Selection Possibility = 8^* = Area under cotton cultivation/total land under cotton cultivation in Karataş district
f2	2nd Stage Sampling Unit Selection Possibility = = Number of tents interviewed/Total number of tents listed in the village
(f1/*f2)-1	Expansion coefficient for tents

Agricultural intermediaries sampling design

Agricultural intermediaries constituted the third target group of the survey. Intermediaries selected were those who recruited the households surveyed earlier and hence those in the villages earlier selected to represent the district.

First-Stage Sampling Frame: The sampling frame used is the same frame used in the child and household surveys (information provided by the Karataş District Directorate of

Agriculture on land under cotton cultivation within the district, allowing for the selection of eight of 47 villages).

Final Sampling Frame: Due to the lack of an available sampling frame, and given that the survey's time and budget constraints did not allow for the construction of a new sampling frame, agricultural intermediaries were selected randomly. Intermediaries selected were those who recruited and were responsible for the households surveyed earlier.

Sampling Unit: The sampling unit was the randomly selected individual agricultural intermediary.

Sampling Method: In the first stage of two-stage cluster sampling, the 47 villages in the Karataş District were listed according to amount of land under cotton cultivation, and eight of these villages were selected for inclusion in the survey using the method "Probability Proportional to Size" (PPS). Agricultural intermediaries in these villages were then selected randomly (see Annex 3) in the second stage. (Plain values were considered sufficient to represent the district; therefore, estimations were not calculated.)

Source of observation (information): Agricultural intermediaries identified as final sampling units for corresponding questionnaire were also used as sources of observation.

The study originally envisaged interviewing 65 agricultural intermediaries who were responsible for recruiting workers in the sampled households. However, due to the unavailability of some agricultural intermediaries at the time the interviews were conducted, the actual number interviewed was lower than planned (See Table 1.8).

Table 1.8 Agricultural Intermediary Questionnaire Sampling Design: Summary Information			
Villages Sampled	Targeted Number of Intermediaries	Number of Intermediaries Interviewed	Number of Intermediaries not Interviewed
Yemişli	19	13	6
Çakırören	9	7	2
Kızıлтаhta	10	5	5
Adalı	9	5	4
Çavuşlu	3	2	1
Kesikli	4	3	1
Helvacı	7	5	2
Kiremitli	4	4	0
Total	65	44	21

Landowners/employers sampling design

Landowners/employers constituted the remaining target group of the survey.

First-Stage Sampling Frame: The sampling frame used was the same frame used in the child, household and intermediary surveys (information provided by the Karataş District Directorate of Agriculture on land under cotton cultivation within the district, allowing for the selection of eight of 47 villages).

Final Sampling Frame: Due to the lack of an available sampling frame, and given that the survey's time and budget constraints did not allow for the construction of a new sampling frame, landowners/employers were selected randomly from among those who employed the children/households surveyed.

Sampling Unit: The sampling unit was the randomly selected individual landowner/employer.

Sampling Method: In the first stage of two-stage cluster sampling, the 47 villages in the Karataş District were listed according to amount of land under cotton cultivation, and eight of these villages were selected for inclusion in the survey using the method "Probability Proportional to Size" (PPS). Landowners/employers in these villages were then selected randomly. (As with intermediaries, plain values for landowners/employers were considered sufficient to represent the villages of Karataş District; therefore, estimations were not calculated.)

Source of observation (information): Landowners/employers identified as final sampling units for corresponding questionnaire were also used as sources of observation.

The study originally envisaged interviewing 60 landowners/employers who employed workers in the sampled households. However, due to the unavailability of some agricultural intermediaries at the time the interviews were conducted, the actual number interviewed was lower than planned (See Table 1.9).

Table 1.9 Landowner/Employer Questionnaire Sampling Design: Summary Information			
Villages Sampled	Targeted Number of Landowners/Employers	Number of Landowners/Employers Interviewed	Number of Landowners/Employers Not Interviewed
Yemişli	14	9	5
Çakırören	11	5	6
Kızıлтаhta	7	6	1
Adalı	11	4	7
Çavuşlu	3	1	2
Kesikli	4	3	1
Helvacı	6	3	3
Kiremitli	4	1	3
Total	60	32	28

1.4.3. Data collection

The field survey consisted of standardized questionnaires and face-to-face interviews with members of the four major target groups. The utmost effort was made to conduct interviews with children in the absence of any other household member in order to minimize outside influences and biased responses. Nevertheless, some problems were encountered in that children often showed signs of fatigue during the interviews, which were usually conducted in the evening. There were no similar problems encountered with the other three target groups.

1.4.4. Data Analysis

Field data collected by researchers was entered by hand using the appropriate questionnaire forms. Following field collection, data from the completed questionnaires was checked and corrections and additions made, as necessary. Data was transferred from questionnaires to data recording forms and then entered into the computer using the programme SPSS. Alternative responses to open-ended questions were coded to ensure that raw data from questionnaires could be properly transferred to computer. SPSS was used in the preparation of cross tables and data analysis. (It should be noted that as a result of non-responses, the number of respondents recorded in the tables may differ from the total number of sampled units.)

1.5. Survey team

Assoc. Prof. Bülent Gülçubuk

Specialist in rural sociology and development. Since 1990, Assoc. Prof. Bülent Gülçubuk has been involved in various research activities in the fields of rural development, rural sociology, agricultural policy, participatory rural development techniques, rural industries and the economics of small-scale enterprises. He has acted in the capacity of expert or advisor to national and international and has participated in various research projects in Great Britain, Germany, Israel, Spain and Greece. Assoc. Prof. Gülçubuk has published around 50 articles in national and international journals. He is currently a member of faculty in the Department of Agricultural Economics at Ankara University's Faculty of Agriculture.

Ertan Karabıyık

Development specialist. Ertan Karabıyık has been involved in program/project development, implementation, training and monitoring/evaluation in the field of rural development for the past 12 years and in activities targeting the elimination of rural child labour for the past 10 years. Within the framework of the ILO's International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), Karabıyık has contributed to a Baseline Survey on Children Working in Cotton Harvesting and a project entitled Recommendations on Children Working in the Streets. He has taken part in various other baseline surveys, project development work, local organising and adult training programs in different regions of the country, including the Hacımahmutlu Village Sanitation Project and a Social Impact Assessment for the Erzurum-Sinop Rural Development Project.

Assistant Prof. Ferdi Tanır

Public health specialist. Since 1994, Asst. Prof. Ferdi Tanır has been involved in research and training activities in areas including preventive medicine, first-step health services, workers' health and safety, child labour, seasonal agricultural work, chronic diseases, contagious diseases, health-care provision in extraordinary situations and health training and trainer training. He has had about 40 articles published, including a "Study on the Health Status of Workers in a Textile Plant" published by the Turkish Ministry of Labor and Social Security. Asst. Prof. Tanır participated in the ILO's "Child-to-Child Training Program for Working Children" and is currently managing the Adana component of the UN ESPAD programme. He is a member of the faculty of the Public Health Department of Çukurova University's School of Medicine.

1.6. Problems encountered during survey implementation

The original number of interviewers proved to be insufficient for conducting the necessary fieldwork. To remedy this, the number of interviewers was doubled after the start of field activity; however, the newly recruited interviewers encountered some difficulties in adapting to the local conditions and survey implementation procedures. In spite of the additional personnel, only 75 percent of the households could be interviewed because some had left the area before the survey could be completed.

Interviews with children and household heads were conducted in their tents at the end of the working day between 19:00 and 22:30. As a result, children were often tired and had difficulty responding to questions, and it was impossible to interview children without the presence of household heads or other household members. Moreover, because the tents lacked electricity, interviews were conducted under inadequate lighting conditions (lantern, oil lamp, etc.). Heavy rains and wind also caused severe damage to some of the tents and badly affected the survey team. Furthermore, the location and composition of campsites made it difficult for field staff to find level ground, which created problems in accurately measuring the weight of the children.

Chapter Two

Turkish Agricultural Sector

2.1 Sectoral Characteristics

Agriculture continues to represent a considerable part of the Turkish economy. Although recent economic policies have effectively shrunk the share of agriculture to 10-11 percent of Turkey's exports, the sector remains of major importance, not as a primary driver of the economy, but for its social significance and the large number of people it employs.

Thirty-five percent of the Turkish population resides in rural areas, and agricultural accounts for 71.9 percent of rural employment. Overall, the Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) in Turkey is higher for rural areas (57.9%) than for the country as a whole (48.7%). This is largely due to the higher LFPR among women in rural areas (40.8%, as compared to 25.9% for Turkey as a whole).

Table 2.1. Labour Force Participation Ratios (LFPR) in Turkey (%)			
Participants	LFPR (proportion of economically active individuals to total population)	Rural LFPR	Share of Agriculture in Total Rural Employment
Total	48.7	57.9	71.9
Male	71.7	75.3	61.1
Female	25.9	40.8	90.5

Source: (Anonymous, 2003)

Women are involved in agricultural work at far greater rates than men. While the rural population is distributed fairly evenly by sex (Males: 49%; Females: 51%), 61.1 percent of all economically active females, as compared to 26 percent of all economically active males, are employed in the agricultural sector. In terms of rural employment, 90.5 percent of women are employed in agriculture, as compared to 61.1 percent of men.

According to the 1999 Household Labour Force Survey, while 35.4 percent of the entire economically active population was employed in agriculture, the sector accounted for only 12-13 percent of Turkey's GNP. While overall GNP per capita in Turkey for 1999 was US\$3,016, GNP per capita for the agricultural sector was only US\$1,257 (Anonymous, 2003).

2.1.1 Agricultural labour

The term "agricultural worker" describes an individual who resides at an agricultural enterprise owned by another, who is provided meals by his/her employer and whose manual labour is used in agricultural activity in exchange for a wage. Small landowners and their family members who engage in agricultural activity without hiring outside labour are not considered to be agricultural workers.

Agricultural workers can be classified as either permanent or temporary. Permanent agricultural workers remain at the same place of employment for at least one full agricultural season and are engaged in various activities at all stages of the cultivation process. In contrast, temporary, seasonal agricultural workers are employed for relatively short periods of times at specific seasons, usually those requiring the most intensive manual

labour. Temporary agricultural workers may be paid daily, monthly or seasonally, depending on the type of work they perform. (Erkuş et al. 1995).

2.1.2 Seasonal agricultural labour

Changes in the economy over the last half-century, particularly in the agricultural sector, have contributed to the phenomenon of seasonal agricultural labour in Turkey. While agricultural mechanization has enabled new land to be brought under cultivation, population growth and land inheritance have led to an overall reduction in the size of individual agricultural plots from 77 decares in 1952 to 57.7 decares in 1991. Furthermore, 30.2 percent of agricultural households own no land at all, but engage in either sharecropping or wage work. Both landless households as well as households unable to survive on the income from their own small holdings are forced to engage in seasonal agricultural work in order to subsist.

Families engaged in seasonal agricultural work migrate on a temporary basis to the Çukurova, Black Sea, Aegean and Central Anatolia Regions where they are employed in the cultivation of labour-intensive industrial crops such as cotton, tobacco, hazelnuts, tea, and sugar beets. During that part of the year when they are not engaged in agricultural work, they are often employed in low-skilled jobs in the urban economy or remain unemployed. However, even during their most work-intensive periods, they cannot be considered to be “fully employed.”

Seasonal agricultural labour can be observed on a widespread basis in the harvesting of cotton, which is the industrial crop that requires the most manual labour. This is due to both the high amount of labour required per acre as well as the amount of land under cultivation. According to the General Directorate of Village Services, cultivation of one acre of cotton requires 170-220 hours of manual labour, as compared to 170-175 for tobacco and 105-100 hours for sugar beets. And, while there are 235,000 hectares of land under tobacco cultivation in Turkey, there are 410,000 hectares under sugar beet cultivation and 654,000 hectares under cotton cultivation (Anonymous, 2000).

2.2 Cotton cultivation in Turkey

2.2.1 Distribution

Cotton is both a traditional crop as well as one of economic importance for Turkey. The nation's cotton industry is the seventh-largest in the world in terms of amount of land under cultivation, accounting for 1.9 percent of the world total. Of the 18.2 million hectares of land under cultivation in Turkey, 3.6 percent is devoted to cotton. (Anonymous, 2000). According to 2001-2002 data, geographical distribution of cotton cultivation in Turkey is as follows: Southeastern Anatolian Region, 48.8 percent; Aegean Region, 31.9 percent; Çukurova (Adana), 17.4 percent; Antalya, 1.9 percent. Cotton output from these regions is as follows: Southeastern Anatolian Region, 44 percent; Aegean Region, 32 percent; Çukurova (Adana), 23 percent; Antalya, one percent (Anonymous, 2002).

2.2.2 Characteristics of the cotton industry in Karataş

Adana ranks fifth in Turkey after Şanlıurfa, Aydın, Diyarbakır and Hatay as the province with the most land under cotton cultivation, accounting for 8.9 percent of the national total.

Of the 45,000 hectares of land in Adana devoted to cotton, 19,000 (42%) are in the Çukurova in the district of Karataş, making the district one of the primary cotton harvesting centres in the country. As such, Karataş attracts approximately 35,000 of the 100,000-120,000 migrant agricultural workers estimated to be employed in the province of Adana each year. Based on the amount of land under cotton cultivation and the amount of labour hours required, this figure, provided by the Adana Employment Office, appears to be accurate.

According to the District Directorate of Agriculture, the Chamber of Agriculture and local farmers, almost all hoeing and harvesting work in Karataş is performed by seasonal migrant workers. Tractors and other mechanical equipment are used in the preparation of cotton fields in spring and again in autumn. Manual labour is first employed in hoeing, which takes place 20-25 days after sowing (April-May) and again 20-25 days later. At this stage, children are employed. May to September is devoted to irrigation, fertilization and application of pesticides. Harvesting is performed manually, usually twice a year, and begins once at least 60 percent of the cotton bolls have fully blossomed. This occurs in September, October or November, depending on the weather. In this stage, child labour is used intensively.

2.2.3. Determination of wage rates

The wage rate for cotton harvesting is based on the amount of cotton harvested. Customarily, the rate is 10 percent of the base price for cotton, which is set by the central government or the local cotton farmers' union. In Karataş, the Union of Çukurova Agricultural Sales Cooperatives (ÇUKOBİRLİK) sets the floor price for cotton, whereas wage rates are set at the provincial level by the Board for Addressing the Problems of Agricultural Workers in Adana. The Board, whose decisions are advisory rather than binding, convenes under the auspices of the provincial governor or deputy governor and is comprised of representatives of the Turkish Employment Agency, the Directorate of Agricultural Chambers, the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture, the Provincial Governorate and the Union of Agricultural Workers. While not grounded in any legal status, this practice was first initiated in Adana around 50 years ago and has since spread to other provinces in Turkey.

Although the Board meets annually to determine wage rates, the practice of setting wages at 10 percent of the cotton base price has remained constant, despite recent drops in domestic prices resulting from changes in government policy on imports. For the 2001-2002 season, the price of cotton stayed the same or dropped, despite concurrent high inflation rates. This directly and negatively affected the incomes of households that rely on seasonal work harvesting cotton for their subsistence.

While wage rates may remain steady, actual earnings over the harvesting season vary. Harvesting generally consists of three rounds, with the total harvest yield dropping with each round. Since wages are calculated based on the amount harvested, earnings are reduced as well. As a rule, the yield from the second round is between 40-60 percent of the first round, and the yield of the third too low to warrant the employment of seasonal labour. For this reason, migrant workers, including children, generally return to their places of residence after the second round of harvesting.

2.3 Agricultural intermediation system

In order to match labour supply with demand in seasons when agricultural work intensifies, a system of brokerage has been established in Turkey by which an intermediary conducts relations with workers on behalf of landowners/employers. This system of agricultural intermediation is particularly effective in cotton harvesting, which tends to employ migrant workers who have no contact with landowners/employers (Sanal, 1994).

2.3.1 Definition and role of the agricultural intermediary

Agricultural intermediaries are known by different names in different regions in Turkey. These include: *elçi*, *çavuş*, *dayıbaşı*, *elçibaşı*, *boladur*, *dragoman*, *kahya*, *başkan* and *başçıl*. Regardless of their title, these individuals are important for both landowners/employers and workers.

Before the start of the working season, intermediaries meet with landowners/employers to assess the number of workers needed and to receive advance funds with which to recruit them. The amount paid in advance varies with respect to the extent of the land to be worked, workers' demands and what each landowner/employer can afford. In securing an agreement with an intermediary, landowners/employers expect their needs for labour will be met, without the necessity of interviewing and hiring workers or discussing wages/working conditions on an individual basis. In general, intermediaries also supervise the workers they have recruited on behalf of landowners/employers.

Intermediaries are important for poor households in that they secure them the seasonal agricultural work they need in order to subsist. Intermediaries establish ties with potential workers – usually individuals from the same town, tribe, or family – and offer them cash advances to meet their needs in winter in return for their guaranteed labour during the peak agricultural season. During the work season, intermediaries also provide workers with cash advances, contact families and make necessary arrangements in cases where sick workers need to be sent home (Anonymous, 1985).

2.3.2. Legal regulations governing agricultural brokerage

The practice of brokerage in labour recruitment was first brought under regulation in Turkey with the 1936 Labour Law. The Labour Placement Office, the precursor to the Turkish Employment Agency, was established in 1946, and job brokerage in agriculture was placed under the supervision of this Office. The Labour Law was amended in 1971, and, in 1978, two new regulations came into effect, namely, the By-law on Job and Labour Brokerage in Agriculture and the Regulations on the Supervision of Agricultural Intermediaries (Sanal 1995). In May 2003, the Turkish Employment Agency replaced the Labour Placement Office as the official body responsible for regulating the system of agricultural intermediation.

The Turkish Employment Agency defines an agricultural intermediary as “a real or legal person licensed by the Agency to recruit workers for agricultural work” (Anonymous, 1978a). Only individuals licensed by the Agency may act as agricultural intermediaries. In order to qualify for a license, an individual must be a Turkish citizen over the age of 18, literate, and cannot have been convicted of certain crimes (such as theft, bribery or corruption). The Agency is responsible for checking the backgrounds of individuals

applying for a license to make sure they meet these conditions (Anonymous, 1978b). Once granted, licenses are not transferable.

Responsibilities of intermediaries

Article 6 of the Employment Agency's Regulation on the Supervision of Agricultural Intermediaries sets out the following legal responsibilities of individuals acting as intermediaries:

- a. The relationship between intermediaries and employers, including the amount to be paid to intermediaries by employers, must be specified in an agreement provided by the Agency. Within one week of signing an agreement with an employer, the intermediary must submit the completed contract to the Agency for approval. Intermediaries may receive no payment, fees or any other remuneration other than those specified in their contracts.
- b. When applying for renewal of their licenses, intermediaries must complete forms providing information on the workers they have recruited and submit these completed forms to the Agency.
- c. Agricultural intermediaries cannot receive payment from any individuals other than employers.
- d. Agricultural intermediaries must inform workers in advance about the nature of the work they will be expected to perform, wage rates and other issues relevant to their employment.
- e. Agricultural intermediaries must ensure workers are provided quick and safe transportation to and from their workplaces and must accompany them during their travel.
- f. Agricultural intermediaries must ensure that wages (daily, weekly or monthly) are paid directly to each individual employed through their intermediation.
- g. Agricultural intermediaries must ensure that daily gross wages meet the legal minimum wage requirements.
- h. Agricultural intermediaries must ensure that workers' living conditions, including shelter, meals, etc., are in line with proper health, safety and nutrition standards.
- i. In cases of disputes with employers, agricultural intermediaries must defend the contractual rights of workers and immediately report any unfair practices to the Agency.
- j. Agricultural intermediaries must file reports with the Agency at the end of the 6th and 12th month of the year that provides information about the number, places of residence and destination of workers recruited through their activities (Anonymous, 1978b).

Supervisory responsibilities of the Turkish Employment Agency

Article 7 of the Agency's Regulation on the Supervision of Agricultural Intermediaries outlines the legal responsibilities of the Agency in supervising the activities of agricultural intermediaries. As mentioned above, the Agency requires intermediaries to file detailed reports of their activities once every six months to ensure they are fulfilling their obligations under law. The Agency may revoke the license of any intermediary who fails to submit information on time, falsifies reports, charges fees to workers or in any other way fails to conform to legal requirements. Individuals who have had their licenses revoked are ineligible to reapply. To ensure that the agricultural community is aware of the legal status of intermediaries, the Agency is required to publish in the local press lists of those individuals licensed to act as intermediaries as well as those whose licenses have been revoked.

2.3.3. Problems encountered in implementation

The system of agricultural intermediation places significant obligations upon intermediaries to guarantee the basic human rights of the workers they recruit. The system also contains adequate regulatory mechanisms to ensure that intermediaries live up to their obligations. Unfortunately, to a large extent, human resource limitations severely hamper the Turkish Employment Agency's ability to fulfill its supervisory responsibilities. For example, provincial officials estimate that of the 1,300-1,500 individuals acting as agricultural intermediaries in Adana, over 80 percent are able to do so without a license (42 percent of intermediaries in Karataş were found to be unlicensed), and field inspections are rarely conducted, due to insufficient staffing. Overall, the Agency has difficulty monitoring such areas as worker recruitment; work/wage agreements and payment; transportation; working and living conditions; and mediating in disputes arising among workers, intermediaries and landowners.

The failure to complete formal contracts between employers, intermediaries and workers as required may lead to a variety of problems, up to and including the failure of intermediaries to contract workers after receiving advance payment from landowners/employers and the failure of workers to show up for work in spite of receiving advance payment. By far the most contested issue resulting from the lack of formal written agreements has to do with deductions from workers wages by intermediaries. While landowners/employers and intermediaries consider their agreements to be for gross wages including both workers' wages as well as the percentage due to intermediaries, workers consider the amount paid to intermediaries as a wage deduction, which is prohibited by the regulations governing agricultural intermediation in Turkey.

As the individuals most dependant on intermediaries for work, seasonal migrant and temporary workers are the ones most affected by the laxity in compliance and supervision. This is particularly true for workers in cotton harvesting, where the system of intermediation is most widespread, although agricultural workers involved in citrus fruit, peanut, vegetable and melon cultivation are also strongly affected.

2.4. Additional legislation related to agricultural employment in Turkey

As field observations have shown, most of the regulations governing the intermediation system, particularly those designed to ensure healthy living conditions for workers, are not put into practice. While there is little legislation specifically addressing the problems of

seasonal agricultural workers, both national and international provisions exist for the protection of workers in general.

2.4.1 National legislation

The Turkish Constitution is the primary legal instrument governing all individuals in Turkey. Article Two of the Constitution states that the Republic of Turkey is a “*social state where the rule of law presides*.” In this regard, the State undertakes the task of regulating working life, including agricultural work. The State is also responsible for mitigating or eliminating social and economic imbalances in society.

In line with the principles of the “social state”, Articles 48 and 49 of the Constitution state that “*each citizen is free to work and contract in any field he or she chooses*” and that “*all citizens have the right and duty to work*.” The State is given the task of “*adopting relevant measures to protect working people, improve their working and living conditions and create an economic environment in which unemployment is effectively prevented*.”

Article 50 on “*working conditions and right to rest*” is an important Constitutional provision governing working life. It specifically guarantees protection to women and children in terms of working conditions and forms the basis for all related legal measures. According to this Article, “*no one should be forced to engage in work unsuitable for their age, sex or capacities. Minors, women and individuals with physical or mental disabilities should be afforded special protection in terms of working conditions. Workers have the right to rest. Legislative provisions will be made regarding the right to paid holidays and annual leave*.”

Other Articles of the Constitution that include provisions pertaining to working life are Article 51, which guarantees the right to organize in trade unions; Article 53, which grants the right to collective bargaining, strike and lock-out; Article 55, which guarantees fair wages; and Article 60, which grants rights to social security and protection. These Articles form the basis of Labor Law No. 1475, which in addition to the Constitution, is the main piece of legislation regulating working life in Turkey.

Until May 2003, when major amendments in the Labour Law went into effect, the actual status of seasonal agricultural workers under the Law was unclear. According to Article Two, the provisions of the Law applied to all workplaces, irrespective of their employers, workers or sectors of activity, yet Article Five stated explicitly that its provisions were not applicable to agricultural workers. At the same time, Article Four provided that the minimum wage in agricultural work be set separately under Article 33 “*until such time as the Agricultural Labor Law takes effect*” (Izveren and Akı, 1999). However, although the 2003 changes placed some agricultural workers under the scope of the Law, the majority still remain outside, and a specific Agricultural Labour Law has yet to be put in place. This situation has exacerbated the problems of seasonal agricultural workers.

Agricultural Worker Social Security

Following the 1982 Constitution’s mandate that the State “*take all pertinent measures to provide social security to all working people*,” Parliament passed two laws creating the legal basis for a social security scheme covering the agricultural sector. Law No. 2925 governing Social Security for Agricultural Workers and Law No. 2926 governing Social

Security for Self-Employed Individuals in the Agricultural Sector were passed in 1983. Until that time, agricultural workers in Turkey had remained outside the scope of social security and protection schemes.

However, despite the new legislation, only 1.5 percent of agricultural workers are covered by social security, whereas all agricultural employers are covered. This is a result of differences in the two laws that makes social security for employers compulsory but allows coverage of workers to be undertaken on a voluntary basis. Moreover, the law stipulates that only workers employed for a minimum of 180 days per year are eligible and that premiums must be paid in part by workers. These conditions effectively prevent the social security of seasonal agricultural workers, who tend to be employed for less than 180 days and who cannot afford their premium contributions.

2.4.2 International conventions

ILO Conventions and Recommendations pertaining to agricultural workers are important for individuals of all ages working in the sector. In addition to ratification of Conventions No. 138 and No. 182 pertaining to child labour (See section 3.3 below), Turkey has ratified the following relevant ILO Conventions:

- Convention No. 87 on the “*Protection of the Right to Unionization*” – requires States to introduce or adopt relevant measures to safeguard the right to organize freely in trade unions and prohibits barriers to establishing and becoming a member of a union.
- Convention No. 99 on “*Methods of Determining Minimum Wage in Agriculture*” – requires states to set appropriate rules in determining minimum wages in agriculture in consultation with agricultural workers and unions. Under this Convention, both workers and employers must abide by wage rates set through this participatory process. The Convention also prohibits any deductions from the minimum wage and allows for legal action in cases of dispute.
- Convention No. 100 on “*Equal Wages for Men and Women in Return for Equal Work*” – prohibits any bias in remuneration based on sex, and requires wage regulations to cover all men and women without any discrimination. (Anonymous, 1992).

In addition to the above-mentioned conventions, guidelines regarding agricultural workers’ health and safety can be found in the ILO *Agricultural Guide*, which includes specific references to women and workers of all ages. The *Guide* specifically emphasizes the need to consider age and sex in the assignment of work that involves carrying loads and transporting material.

Chapter Three

Child Labour in Turkey

3.1. Child labour data

The presence of child labour is closely associated with a nation's population, level of education, employment and economic development. Not just in Turkey, but throughout the world, millions of children are engaged in work that is damaging to their physical, mental, educational, social, emotional and cultural development.

Prior to 1994, limited data was available on child labour in Turkey. In 1994 and in 1999, within the framework of ILO-IPEC, the SIS conducted child labour surveys to increase the quantitative information available on child employment. According to the SIS 1999 Child Labor Survey, 25.4 percent of Turkey's total population of 65 million was between six and 17 years of age, and nearly 1,635,000 of children in this age group (10.2%) were economically active. Looked at by age, 1.1 million were older children in the 15-17 year age group and .5 million younger children in the 6-14 age group.

The majority of economically active children (66.2%, or 1,082,370 children) lived in rural areas. In terms of sector, over half of all working children (57.6%, or 942,000 children) were employed in the agricultural sector, making it the leading sector for child employment (57.6%), followed by industry (21.8%), trade (10.2%) and services (10.4%). While boys outnumber girls in other sectors, the situation was found to be the reverse in agriculture, though by a slight margin (Girls: 50.3%; Boys: 49.7%).

Overall, 58.8 percent of all economically active children were unpaid family workers; however, the percent of unpaid family workers among rural children was 83.7 percent, and among children engaged in the agricultural sector, 93.1 percent.

When figures from the 1994 and 1999 surveys are compared, the most striking difference is the decline by almost half in the number of children below age 15 engaged in economic activity. The increase in compulsory education in Turkey from five to eight years in 1997 is likely to have played a major role in this reduction, as education is widely acknowledged to be the most compelling potential alternative to children's involvement in full-time work. In spite of the new legislation on education, according to the 1999 survey, 13.1 percent of children 6-14 years of age did not attend school. These rates were higher among children in rural areas (14%) than urban areas (10.4%) and among rural girls (17.3%) than rural boys (10.7%) (Anonymous, 2001a).

3.2 Children engaged in seasonal agricultural work as a worst form of child labour

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 a subsistence from their own agricultural holdings, seasonal migrant work becomes their only alternative. In this event, 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.

Children work unbearably hard in such activities as fetching water and firewood, harvesting, hoeing and weeding crops either alone or together with their families. Girls are also engaged in taking care of siblings, cleaning tents and cooking. Inadequate nutrition exacerbates the health risks posed by a lack of safe water, plumbing and electricity at campsites, and the use of agro-pesticides and agricultural machinery increase the risk of occupational health problems and work-related accidents. Moreover, children are unable to attend school at their permanent places of residence and have no educational opportunities available to them at their temporary sites. All of these contribute to deep negative affects on the physical and psychological development and future prospects of children engaged in seasonal agricultural work.

As mentioned above, 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.

3.3 Legislation related to children and work

Despite national legislation and international conventions designed to combat child labor, the phenomenon is still widespread in Turkey, as in other developing countries. In order to eliminate child labour in the long term, countries need to adopt a range of strategies to complement legal regulations. While legislation alone cannot eliminate child labour, without an effective legal framework and mechanism for monitoring and supervision, the phenomenon is likely to persist (Anık, 2001).

Since the very formation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, legislative arrangements have been in place to protect children involved in working life. As mentioned above (see Section 2.41), Article 50 of the Turkish Constitution specifically guarantees children are protected from working conditions that may be hazardous to their development. In terms of labour legislation, a “child” is defined as any individual under the age of 18. Provisions related to children and work are found in Labour Law No. 1475, the most comprehensive national legislation governing working life in Turkey. Under this law, MOLSS Labour Inspectors are officially authorized to ensure that employers adhere to regulations governing children and work and to remove children from work that is unsuitable for their age. However, while this law covers the manufacturing, maritime, mining and commercial sectors, children in agricultural work remain outside the scope of this legislation.

Steps towards developing a comprehensive legislative framework to regulate and monitor the activities of working children and initial steps have accelerated in recent years, particularly as part of Turkey’s European Union accession process. The following provisions with direct bearing on child labour have been included in Turkey’s regular progress reports towards accession:

- Amendment of the Labour Code to unconditionally prohibit the employment of children under age 15 (medium term);

- Provision of longer periods of leave and rest and shorter working hours for children under age 18 (medium term);
- Development of a definition of “light work” and establishment of sectors in which children in the 15-17 age group may be employed (long term).

ILO Conventions set certain standards in regard to the working conditions of children under 18, the minimum age for admission to different forms of employment, and the prohibition of children from engaging in certain types of work. In 1998, the Turkish Government ratified ILO Convention No. 138 on Minimum Wage for Employment. In 2001, the Government ratified ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, which calls for immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of these forms of labour for all children under the age of 18 as a matter of urgency. Turkish national legislation has since been amended to conform to both these conventions.

In line with Convention No. 182, the Turkish Government in 2002 initiated the development of an explicit policy on child labour with the aim of eradicating the worst forms of child labour within a defined period of time. This resulted in the adoption of a Time-Bound Policy and Programme Framework (TBPPF) for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in Turkey, which have been identified as work in seasonal commercial agricultural; in small- and medium-scale enterprises (SMEs) under hazardous conditions; and street work. (It is within the priority areas of the TBPPF that this study has been conducted.)

Although certain gaps and confusion exist in terms of implementation, legislation regarding children and work in Turkey is in general quite comprehensive. However, although there are numerous regulations governing the employment of children under age 18, none of them apply to children employed in seasonal agricultural work, despite its recognition as one of the worst forms of child labour in Turkey. For example, Labour Code provisions on minimum age, working hours, exclusion from certain types of employment, medical examinations, leaves and wages are not applicable to children working in agriculture. For this reason, the full implementation of ILO Convention No. 182 on the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour and the related Recommendation No. 190 is of utmost important.

Legislation related to education

According to a UNICEF report, one in every three children in Turkey aged 12-19 is engaged in work in the agricultural, industrial or service sector, and half of them have no access to education as an alternative to work (Anonymous, 2001b).

In spite of both Article 42 of the Turkish Constitution, which states that all Turkish children are entitled to free education provided by the State, and the 1997 Basic Education Law, which extended compulsory education from five to eight years, most children engaged in seasonal agricultural work do not attend school full time. Because these children are driven by economic necessity to migrate along with their families, and because the peak agricultural season overlaps with the school year, many of these children either leave school early, start late or never enroll in the first place. Thus, they are deprived of one of their most basic rights, the right to an education. As a result, illiteracy rates are high,

education levels low, and the possibility of social mobility almost non-existent among these children.

3.4. Institutional responsibilities

In order to ensure that the Turkish Constitution's clear directive preventing children from engaging in work that is unsuitable or harmful to their development is reflected in the agricultural sector, the creation of an institutional structure specifically responsible for the problems of seasonal agricultural workers is vital. In Turkey there is no one government agency responsible for addressing the problems of working children. At the same time, the institutions that do play a role in this area operate with little co-operation or co-ordination. The principal government bodies with responsibilities that have a bearing on issues of concern to working children include the MOLSS (including the Turkish Employment Agency and various social security institutions), the MONE, the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection (SHÇEK), provincial governorates, local municipalities and state universities. However, none of these agencies have any specific mechanism for addressing children working in the agricultural sector.

In terms of education and its relevance to the elimination of child labour, the Turkish government is committed to ensuring full implementation of the Basic Education Law, and the Ministry of National Education (MONE) is making strong efforts in this direction. However, the provincial and district offices of the MONE responsible for monitoring compliance are limited in their capacity to do so. Factors including shortages and insensitivity of staff, the mobility of agricultural workers and the desperate need of poor households to earn supplementary income for subsistence makes full implementation difficult among children of seasonal agricultural labourers.

Recently, a number of NGOs have begun to take up the issue of working children. For the most part, however, they have focused on children working on the streets. Similar to state organizations, no civil society organization has yet to be created that specifically addresses the problems of children in agriculture.

Chapter Four Survey Findings: Children

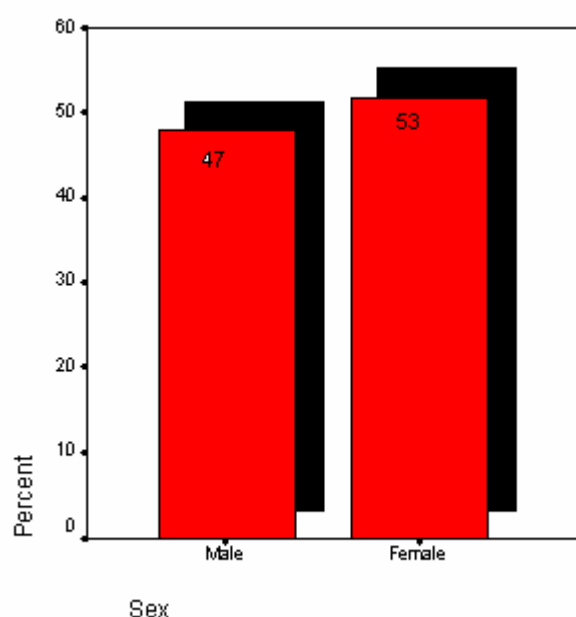
4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of children

4.1.1. Age, sex and marital status of children

This survey was designed to study working children between the ages of five and 17 engaged in cotton harvesting; however, no working children under the age of six were found to be engaged in this type of work. Of those children surveyed, 66.4 percent were in the 6-14 age group and the remaining 33.6 percent were in the 15-17 age group; and 47.1 percent were male and 52.9 percent were female (N=6,387). The similarity in rates between boys and girls indicates that all members of migrant households engage in work, regardless of sex. However, whereas the majority of the younger age group was male, the majority of the older age group was female.

Table 4.1. Distribution of Children by Age Group (%)			
Age Groups	Male	Female	Total
6-14	71.4	61.9	66.4
15-17	28.6	38.1	33.6
Total (N: 6,387)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Graph 1: Gender Distribution of Children



None of the children surveyed were married. While this is most likely due to the postponement of marriages due to necessity of mobilizing all labour available to a household, it is also possible that families may have failed to identify the existence of married children between the ages of 6-17, because once married, individuals are considered by these communities to be “adults” rather than “children”, irregardless of their age.

4.1.2. Place of birth and permanent residence of children

In addition to rural residents, seasonal agricultural work is performed by poor urban dwellers, generally those who were forced to migrate from rural to urban areas due to a lack of land, but who lack the necessary knowledge and skills to obtain other employment. This survey found an approximately equal balance between children born in rural areas and children born in urban areas (Table 4.2). However, while males accounted for the majority of children of urban origin, females accounted for the majority of children of rural origin.

Table 4.2. Child's Place of Birth (Rural/Urban) (%)			
Place of Birth	Male	Female	Total
Urban	53.1	45.7	50.8
Rural	46.9	54.3	49.2
Total (N: 6387)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Over half of the children surveyed (58.5%) were born in one of four provinces – Adıyaman, Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep – in the Southeastern Anatolia Region. It should be noted that the majority of children born in other provinces belonged to households who had originally migrated from this region, as can be seen by the fact that 69.0 percent of household heads surveyed were born in one of these four provinces.

The birthplaces of most of the children surveyed represent some of the most underdeveloped provinces in Turkey. For example, the province of Adıyaman, the birthplace of over one-third of all children surveyed, ranked 67 among 80 provinces in Turkey according to the UNDP 2001 Human Development Report, which is based on such criteria as life expectancy, level of education and GDP.

Table 4.3. Child's Place of Birth by Province (%)			
Provinces	Male	Female	Total
Adıyaman	34.2	35.4	34.8
Şanlıurfa	10.9	19.7	15.6
Hatay	17.0	12.2	14.4
Kahramanmaraş	15.1	12.2	13.6
Adana	8.9	10.1	9.6
Diyarbakır	8.5	6.6	7.5
İçel	2.0	3.8	2.9
Tekirdağ	2.1	-	1.0
Gaziantep	1.3	-	0.6
Total (N:6387)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Map 2. Distribution of Children's Birth Places by Provinces

Çocukların Doğum Yerlerinin İllere Göre Dağılımı (%)



Table 4.4. Distribution of Children by Permanent Residence (%)			
Provinces	Male	Female	Total
Adıyaman	35.3	33.8	34.5
Adana	13.5	17.4	15.6
Hatay	17.0	12.2	14.4
Kahramanmaraş	15.1	12.2	13.6
Şanlıurfa	8.9	15.1	12.2
Diyarbakır	7.1	6.6	6.8
İçel	1.6	2.7	2.2
Gaziantep	1.3	-	0.6
Total (N:6387)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Southeastern Anatolia was also the place of permanent residence of most children surveyed, over half of whom resided in either Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa or Gaziantep.

Interestingly, more children surveyed (57.3%) resided permanently in urban areas than rural areas (42.7%).

4.1.3. Number of children per household and household size

The working children surveyed are generally from large households, with rural families in particularly tending to have more children. Rural households in general tend to be large, and this is particularly true of those subsisting on agricultural work, which regard children

as both a source of labor and a guarantee for the future and tend to lack sufficient information on family planning.

Table 4.5. Distribution of Children by Number of Siblings (%)	
Number of Siblings	%
2	2.9
3-4	11.8
5-6	40.9
7-9	40.1
10 and more	4.3
Total (N: 6387)	100.0

Close to half of all children surveyed (44.4%) come from families with seven children. The average number of children per family is 6.6. In addition to the members of the nuclear family, most households also included extended family members, including elderly relatives such as grandparents. This naturally increases the size of the households.

Table 4.6. Distribution of Households by Total Number of Members (%)	
Number of Members	%
3-5	5.9
6-7	24.6
8-9	49.6
10 and more	19.9
Total (N:6387)	100.0

Almost all households (94.1%) with working children had at least six members, and the average number of household members was 8.7. This is considerably larger than the average size of rural households, which is 5.4 (Yıldırak and Ark, 2003). Furthermore, the large number of individuals living in a single tent is detrimental to all family members, particularly children, as it is largely impossible to maintain minimum standards of social comfort and for parents to maintain their normal biological roles and functions.

4.1.4. Education levels of children

Education is a significant problem for children of families engaged in seasonal agricultural work. Because the agricultural season runs from May to November, children are either forced to drop out of school or do not enroll in the first place. Although eight-year basic education is compulsory, some households faced with economic difficulties, particularly those in rural areas, may opt to remove their children from school after five years.

As Table 4.7 shows, 13.2 percent of the children surveyed were illiterate and another 47.2 percent were literate but had not completed any formal education. Only 34.2 percent had graduated from primary school, only 4.7 from middle school and only 0.7 from high school. Illiteracy rates were significantly higher among girls (18.0%) than boys (8.8%). This difference reflects social attitudes and roles that keep girls from being enrolled in or attending school.

Table 4.7. Distribution of Children by Age Group and Level of Education (%)			
	Male	Female	Total

Level of Education	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total
Illiterate	6.3	4.1	8.8	20.9	13.2	18.0	13.5	9.6	13.2
Literate (no diploma)	56.3	11.4	41.0	53.3	52.0	52.8	54.8	35.2	47.2
Primary school diploma	33.9	60.2	41.3	24.0	33.9	27.7	29.0	44.4	34.2
Middle school diploma	3.5	20.3	8.3	1.8	0.9	1.5	2.6	8.7	4.7
High school diploma	-	5.5	1.6	-	-	-	-	2.2	0.7
Total	100.0 N=2146	100.0 N=859	100.0 N=3005	100.0 N=2094	100.0 N=1288	100.0 N=3382	100.0 N=4240	100.0 N=2147	100.0 N=6387

Among children surveyed, 20 percent said they had dropped out of primary school to engage in agricultural work, and another 2.5 percent said they had dropped out of middle school for the same reason. While rates were the same for male and female children who dropped out of middle school, the primary school dropout rate due to seasonal agricultural work varied greatly according to sex, with girls dropping out to engage in seasonal agricultural work at far greater rates (31.6%) than boys (6.9%). The systematic removal of girls from school at earlier ages than boys can be explained by several factors. One set of factors is related to the low educational status of fathers and the closed nature of their communities, in which females are expected to remain in the domestic sphere; another set of factors is related to limited household finances and the sense that because girls will leave the household after marriage, investing in their education is less worthwhile than investing in boys' education.

When asked, "Why aren't you attending school?" 97.4 percent of children answered, "Because I am working," whereas 1.7 percent said, "Because my parents don't let me" (N=1,333). However, based on their observations, field researchers concluded that children who had to leave school to start work would have preferred to remain in school. In fact, 40.3 percent of children said they would begin to attend school again after the end of the cotton harvesting season. More boys (54.5%) than girls (27.7%) said they would return to school, which is an indication of the higher value that families place on the education of male children, for whom it is regarded as a guarantee for the future.

In cases where migrant families are able to leave their children behind in their permanent place of residence, the conflict between the agricultural calendar and the school year does not pose a problem in terms of school attendance. However, among those children who accompanied their families in seasonal agricultural work, only 3.0 percent were able to attend school on a regular basis. In order to do so, children were forced to live temporarily with relatives until their parents' returned from agricultural work.

Over two-thirds of children surveyed missed more than a month of school, although the amount of time children remained out of school varied. Of those surveyed, 19.5 percent missed between 46-60 days of school, 49.1 percent missed between 31-45 days, 24.9 percent missed between 16-30 days and 6.5 percent missed at least 15 days. As a result of their extended absences, children had difficulties in adapting to the school regime and catching up with those children who attend school regularly. Of those children surveyed, 73.4 percent said their school performance was negatively affected by their irregular attendance.

While most children surveyed wanted to attend school, they had different reasons for this. When asked what they liked most about school, they responded as follows: "my friends" (17.1%); "my teachers" (15.7%); "learning new things" (5.2%); and "other reasons" (10%)

(N=5,196). When asked what they disliked most about school, they responded as follows: “lessons/content” (13.8 %); schoolmates (5.2%); “crowded classes” (3.7%); “teachers” (2.3%); and “school location” (0.8%) 16.2 percent of children could not answer to this question while the remaining 47.3 percent made no consideration of this question (N=5,478).

Of all children surveyed, 13.2 percent had never attended school; of these, 43.2 percent said this was due to economic difficulties (Table 4.8). Interestingly, 13.8 percent of girls said their parents did not send them to school “because they are girls.” Their openness on this matter suggests that many girls who are not permitted to attend school would like to do so.

Table 4.8. Reasons Why Children Do Not Attend School (%)			
Reasons	Male	Female	Total
Unfavorable material conditions	45.6	42.3	43.2
Parents don’t send children	46.8	19.5	24.9
Parents don’t send female children	-	13.8	11.0
Must work in fields	-	12.2	9.7
Dislike school	-	6.7	5.3
Other	7.6	5.5	5.9
Total (Total NT=843, male children NE=171, Female children NK=672)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Of all children surveyed, 18.5 percent said that some of their siblings who had migrated with them for work had returned to their permanent residence at the beginning of the school year and were living with a relative in order to attend school. Of those children with siblings who had returned to their permanent residence to attend school, 52.5 percent had one sibling who had returned home, 27.9 percent had two siblings and 19.6 percent had three siblings (N=1,184).

4.2. Working conditions

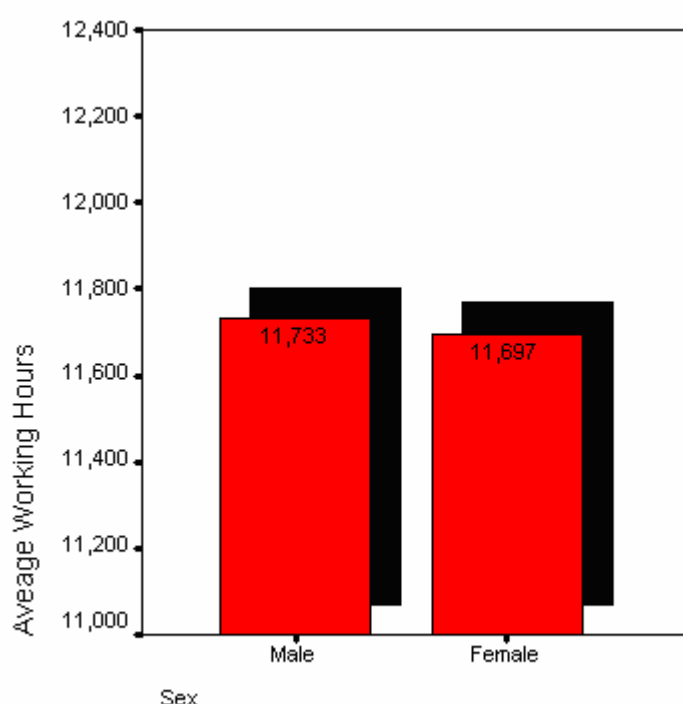
4.2.1. Daily working hours

Daily working hours in agriculture vary depending on many factors, including type of crop, work activity, wage structure and demands of workers and landowners/employers. In cotton harvesting, daily wages are determined by the amount of cotton harvested per day. As a result, workers push themselves physically to earn as much as possible, starting work early in the morning and ending late in the evening. This kind of toil naturally affects the physical and mental health and nutritional status of all workers, in particular, children.

Table 4.9. Daily Working Hours of Children in Cotton Harvesting (%)									
Daily Working Hours	Male			Female			Total		
	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total
4-5	1.1	-	0.8	2.6	-	1.6	1.9	-	1.2
6-7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8-11	23.4	28.0	24.7	27.6	11.6	21.5	25.5	18.1	23.0
12-15	75.5	72.0	74.5	69.8	88.4	76.9	72.7	81.9	75.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=2,146	N=859	N=3,005	N=2,094	N=1,288	N=3,382	N=4,240	N=2,147	N= 6,387

Three-quarters (75.8%) of children surveyed worked at least 12 hours per day, with girls working slightly longer hours (76.9%) than boys (74.5%). On average, children worked 11.7 hours per day. Working hours as a rule were dictated by parents, with children having little control over their work schedules.

Although children were asked whether or not there were any other children in their household also harvesting cotton, no reliable information could be obtained from them. Hence, data on this subject was collected from household questionnaires, which showed 3.2 children per household (single and living with household) were engaged in harvesting cotton.



Graph 2: Children's average daily working hours (by sex).

4.2.2. Total hours engaged in harvesting cotton

As stated earlier, seasonal workers who are paid by the amount of crop harvested attempt to work as many hours as possible in order to earn the most money. Household members thus tend overwhelmingly to work every day of the week. Of those children surveyed, 99.3 percent worked seven days per week (Boys, 100%; Girls, 98.7%).

Children themselves do not determine when they will work. Of those surveyed, 62.5 percent said their schedules were fixed jointly by intermediaries and landowners/employers and 30.7 percent by their households. Only 3.1 percent of children were able to make their

own decision as to how many days they would work. Agricultural intermediaries maintain their large role in determining the work schedules of seasonal workers because their own earnings increase with the increase in workers' hours.

Children are engaged in cotton harvesting for an average of 47 days per year. While the number of days children work range from one to 60 days, 92.2 percent are engaged in cotton harvesting for 31-60 days. These figures are similar for boys and girls (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10. Distribution of Children by Total Days Engaged in Harvesting Cotton (%)									
Number of Days	Male			Female			Total		
	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total
1-15	0.5	4.8	1.8	1.0	-	0.6	0.7	1.9	1.1
16-30	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.2	8.9	7.2	6.1	7.7	6.7
31-45	56.7	54.0	55.9	64.5	55.4	61.0	60.5	54.8	58.4
45-60	36.8	35.2	36.3	28.3	35.7	31.2	32.7	35.6	33.8
Total	100.0 N=2,106	100.0 N=859	100.0 N=2,965	100.0 N=2,066	100.0 N=1,288	100.0 N=3,354	100.0 N=4,172	100.0 N=2,147	100.0 N= 6,319

4.2.3. Additional agricultural and non-agricultural work

Children who harvest cotton may also be engaged in other work in cotton fields, primarily hoeing. Overall, 33.7 percent (N=2,155) of children (Boys, 31.2%, N=939; Girls, 35.9%, N=1,215) also hoe cotton. Because hoeing requires more attention than harvesting, this work is generally performed by adults or older children. As girls outnumber boys in the 15-17 age group, it is not surprising to learn that more girls than boys are engaged in hoeing. On average, children who engage in hoeing spend 30.6 days on this activity.

In addition to harvesting and hoeing cotton, children may engage in other agricultural work on a daily, weekly or monthly basis, depending on the situation of their households.

Table 4.11. Other Crops Harvested by Children Engaged in Cotton Harvesting (%)			
Crops	Male	Female	Total
Hazelnuts	1.6	9.9	5.9
Peanuts	1.2	4.8	3.1
Sugar beets	5.4	9.7	7.7
Citrus fruit	1.4	8.0	4.9
Pulses	3.6	9.5	6.7
Vegetables	1.5	12.5	7.3
Cumin	0.4	8.1	4.5
Other (N: 6387)	6.9	6.6	6.7

Table 4.11 shows the rates at which children engaged in harvesting crops other than cotton. Although rates are higher for girls than for boys in all crops, there is no logical reason for this, and it is more than likely a random outcome. Average work periods for children engaged in harvesting other crops are as follows: cumin, 29.8 days; sugar beets, 26.8 days; vegetables, 25.21 days; citrus fruits, 21.9 days; hazelnuts, 21.9 days; pulses, 16.8 days; peanuts, 3.6 days.

Some children who engage in seasonal agricultural work also engage in non-agricultural work in order to contribute to the family income. As Table 4.12 shows, all of this work is urban-based, and most children engaged in this work are urban residents. While the overall rate of engagement in non-agricultural work was 20.7 percent, the rate for boys (34.1%, N=1,025) was much higher than for girls (8.7%, N=294). This is due to the fact that families are less willing to allow their daughters to engage in urban employment and also because it is more difficult for them to find jobs.

Table 4.12. Non-Agricultural Work Children Engage In (%)			
Type of Work	Male	Female	Total
Services	13.5	25.2	16.1
Manufacturing/Industry	9.7	15.4	11.0
Wholesale and/or Retail Trade	9.6	4.2	8.4
Other	67.2	55.2	64.5
Total (Total NT=1319, Male NE=1025, Female NK=294)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Generally out of unwillingness or embarrassment, nearly two-thirds (64.5%) of children engaged in non-agricultural jobs did not identify the type of work they performed. However, it is most likely that they engage in various types of work on the streets or marketplaces, such as selling tissues, shining shoes, washing cars and selling vegetables. Children's hesitancy in providing details about their specific work can be explained by the fact that these activities are conducted as part of the informal, unregistered economy without the necessary municipal permits.

4.2.4. Ages at which children start work

Entering work at very young ages has serious negative effects on the health and education of children. However, despite legislation prohibiting young children from engaging in work, the ability to monitor compliance is lacking. As a result of ineffective implementation, children as young as six years of age can be found engaging in seasonal agricultural work.

Table 4.13. Age Children First Started to Work (%)			
Age (yrs)	Male	Female	Total
6	10.6	2.7	6.4
7-9	44.6	49.6	47.2
10-12	36.8	39.5	38.3
13-15	5.9	8.2	7.1
16-17	2.1	-	1.0
Total (Total N _T =6359, Male N _E =3005, Female N _K =3354)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Of those children surveyed, more than half (53.6%) started working at nine years of age or younger, and the average age for entering work was 9.4 years. This figure was slightly higher for girls (9.6) than for boys (9.2). On average, children surveyed had engaged in harvesting cotton for 3.4 years (four agricultural seasons) prior to the study.

4.2.5. Securing employment

The decision as to where children will work is made by parents or elders according to the work found for them by the agricultural intermediaries with whom they are acquainted. According to the children surveyed, 66 percent found work through intermediaries, 22.8 percent through their parents, 2.9 percent through landowners/employers and 1.7 percent through acquaintances. Another 6.7 percent gave various other answers or could not understand the question.

The majority of children (87.3%) migrated to their places of work along with their households, 5.0 percent with a close relative such as an uncle and 7.7 percent with more distant relatives, neighbours or fellow villagers. All children whose parents were living migrated to work with their own households.

4.2.6. Wage rates

Table 4.14 provides information about the amount of cotton children harvest per day. On average, children harvested 78.2 kg per day during the first round of harvesting and 37.9 kg in the second round of harvesting. Interestingly, girls harvested larger amounts than boys in the first round of harvesting (Boys: 72.1 kg; Girls: 85.1 kg), whereas boys harvested larger amounts than girls in the second round (Boys: 38.1 kg; Girls: 36.4 kg). Furthermore, in the first round, the percentage of girls harvesting between 76-200 kg of cotton per day (59.8%) exceeded that of boys (43.4%).

Table 4.14. Amount of Cotton Children Harvest per Day (First Round) (%)									
Amount of cotton harvested per day (kg)	Male			Female			Total		
	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total
5-25	5.9	-	4.2	6.8	-	4.3	6.4	-	4.3
26-50	42.3	8.9	32.6	28.3	5.4	19.4	35.3	6.8	25.7
51-75	14.5	32.6	19.8	23.3	5.7	16.5	18.9	16.5	18.0
76-100	31.6	42.7	34.8	35.3	49.2	40.5	33.4	46.5	37.9
101-150	5.7	13.2	7.9	6.3	28.0	9.0	6.0	22.1	11.3
151-200	-	2.6	0.7	-	11.7	10.3		8.1	2.8
Total	100.0 N=2,146	100.0 N=859	100.0 N=3,005	100.0 N=2,067	100.0 N=1,287	100.0 N=3,354	100.0 N=4,213	100.0 N=2,146	100.0 N= 6,359

The relatively higher performance of girls in the first round of harvesting can be explained by the fact that there are more girls than boys in the 15-17 year age group as well as by the relatively higher obedience they show their parents. In the second round, the relatively higher performance of boys can be attributed to the large number of boys able to harvest over 100 kg per day.

In Karataş, the Union of Çukurova Agricultural Sales Cooperatives (ÇUKOBİRLİK) sets the floor price for cotton, whereas wage rates are set at the provincial level by the Board for Addressing the Problems of Agricultural Workers in Adana. Because payment for cotton harvesting is based on the amount harvested, children's earnings are largely dependent on their age and physical capacity. Based on the formula "*Average amount of cotton picked x 10 percent of the base price for cotton x number of days engaged in harvesting cotton*", the average earnings of the children surveyed can be determined as follows:

First Round: 78.2 kg/day x TL 70,000/kg = TL 5,474,000/day (US\$3.30)
 TL 5,474,000 x 32 days = TL 175,168,000 (US\$106.80)

Second Round: 37.9 kg/day x TL 70,000/kg = TL 2,653,000/day (US\$1.60)
 TL 2,653,000 x 15 days = TL 39,795,000 (US\$24.30)

In total, it is possible to conclude that children earn an average of TL 214,963,000 (US\$131.10) for one-and-a-half months' work harvesting cotton. When this figure is divided by average total working hours, it can be seen that children earn less than twenty-four cents per hour harvesting cotton.

4.2.7. Disposal of earnings

Since children engage in cotton harvesting mainly to contribute to family income, wages children's wages are usually paid to their mothers or fathers as heads of the household. Only 2.2 percent of children use their earnings for his/her own needs and 90.1 percent give their wages to their mothers and fathers (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15. How Children's Earnings are Distributed			(%)
	Male	Female	Total
Give it to father	88.3	79.6	83.7
Give it to mother	4.9	7.7	6.4
Use for his/her own needs	1.4	3.0	2.2
Never takes the pay himself/herself	2.1	3.6	2.9
Other	3.3	6.2	4.8
Total (Total NT=6,357, Male NE=2,975, Female NK=3,382)	100.0	100.0	100.0

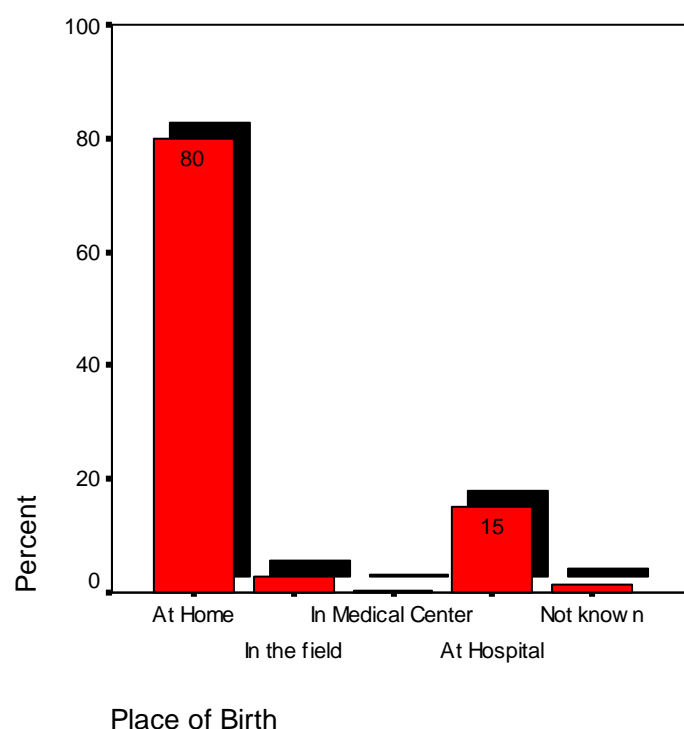
4.3. Health status

4.3.1. Birth conditions

The overall poor economic and living conditions of seasonal agricultural workers are reflected in the conditions under which their children are born (Table 4.16). (Note: To ensure the accuracy of information provided in the sections below, household heads were asked to confirm the responses provided by children.)

Table 4.16. Where Children Were Born	
Place	%
Home	77.4
Field	2.8
Dispensary/Clinic	0.3
Hospital	17.4
Unknown	2.1
Total (N:6387)	100.0

As Table 4.16 makes clear, 80.2 percent of children surveyed were born under improper sanitary conditions. This rate is not only much worse than the national average (24.4%), it is also significantly worse than the rate for Southeastern Anatolia (46.8%), which has the worst average out of all seven regions in Turkey (Anonymous, 2002).



Graph 3: Where Children Were Born (%)

Only 7.4 percent of the births of children surveyed were attended by doctors (Table 4.17). Whereas village midwives, rather than doctors, preside in 24.1 percent of rural births in Turkey (Anonymous, 2002), rates for the children surveyed were nearly twice this. Furthermore, over a quarter of all children surveyed were born without any birth attendant whatsoever. When the birth conditions are looked at separately for rural and urban children, these figures are 42.0 percent and 12.8 percent, respectively.

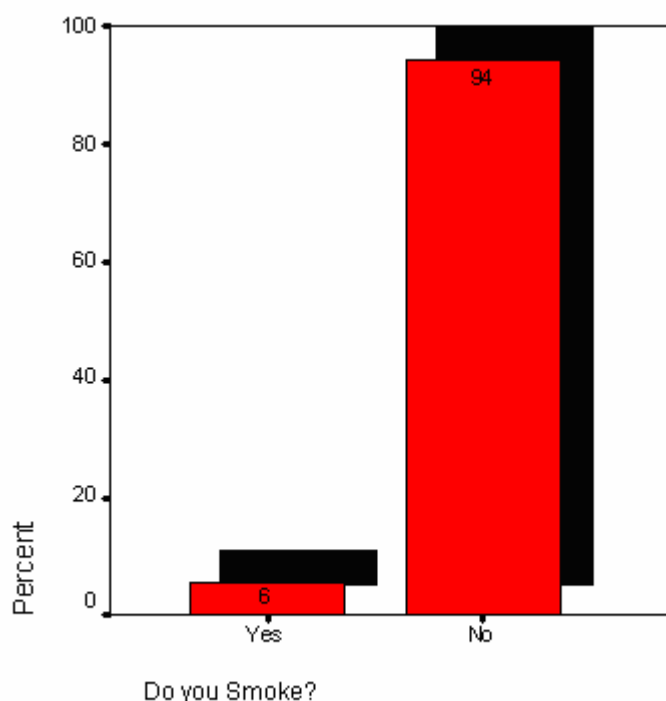
Table 4.17. Birth Attendants	
Birth Attendant	%
None (Mother by herself)	27.2
Village (unlicensed) midwife	45.4
Official (state licensed) midwife	13.4
Doctor	7.4
Unknown	3.1
Other	3.4
Total (N=6,387)	100.0

4.3.2. Immunization

The unhygienic conditions of the living environments of seasonal agricultural workers directly affect children's immune systems. According to the survey, only 52.4 percent of boys and 27.4 percent of girls received regular vaccinations against preventable diseases and 3.4 percent of boys and 12.9 percent of girls never received any vaccinations at all. Overall, around half of boys and nearly three-quarters of girls do not have sufficient levels of immunization to protect them against preventable diseases.

Table 4.18. Vaccination Status of Children		
Vaccination Status	Male (%)	Female (%)
Regular vaccinations	52.4	27.4
Irregular vaccinations	38.9	58.5
No vaccinations	3.4	12.9
Unknown	5.4	1.2
Total (Total NT=6387, female NK=3382, male NE=3005)	100.0	100.0

Considering the conditions in which they live and work, it is not surprising that children engaged in seasonal agricultural work suffer from poor health. In fact, 30.5 percent of the children surveyed (N=1,945) said they had contracted some type of serious disease. Specific illnesses mentioned included kidney problems (6.2%), rheumatism (3.1%) and heart problems (1.5%). Additionally, 4.9 percent (N=312) suffer from night blindness and 5.5 percent (N=351) from pica (habitual eating of dirt, clay, paper, etc.) and 5.6 percent (N=357) smoke cigarettes. Moreover, the overwhelming majority (89.2%) of children surveyed could not provide any information related to their medical history.



Graph 4: Smoking among working children (%)

4.3.3. Health complaints and treatment

At the time of the survey, the Karataş District Dispensary was the closest health facility to the survey area. According to health workers at the dispensary, due to their limited budget and medical equipment, they are unable to provide certain routine health services, including family planning, pre-natal care, screening for malaria and parasites, personal hygiene and environmental health education and home (tent) visits. The centre had also ceased to provide immunization and monitoring services for children under six due to a lack of resources.

According to dispensary records, 69 percent of the working children ages 5-17 who applied to the centre were examined at the polyclinic and 31 percent by emergency care. Overall, 39 percent of the children treated were in the 5-9 age group, 32 percent in the 10-14 age group and 29 percent in the 15-17 age group. Almost all of the children (94.5%) who applied to the health center were diagnosed as having either diarrhea, upper respiratory infections or skin problems. While the great majority of children were treated as outpatients, 3.4 percent were referred to inpatient facilities for further tests and 1.4 percent underwent basic surgery.

Information provided by the health centre confirmed information provided by parents regarding the most common health problems of their children. Overall, 61.8 percent of household heads said that at least one household member had required medical treatment for a health problem contracted in direct connection with either working or living conditions associated with cotton harvesting. These included diarrhea, sunstroke, colds/flu, insect bites, food poisoning, malaria and snake/scorpion bites. Of these conditions, sunstroke is related to working in cotton fields, diarrhea to poor water quality and nutrition, food poisoning to improper food storage and insect and snake/scorpion bites to living in tents. In addition, 6.6 percent of children and other household members have suffered work-related accidents.

4.3.4. Exposure to agro-chemicals

Children engaged in seasonal agricultural work also run the risk of contracting acute or chronic health problems related to the use of agro-chemicals in cotton harvesting, either through their active involvement in applying pesticides or by such practices as playing with empty pesticide containers. While relatively few children were involved in the application of chemicals (3.7%; N=236), 90.2 percent of those who were (N=214) used no protective equipment. Moreover, 15.8 percent of working children with health problems related to contact with agro-chemicals did not directly take part in their application.

4.3.5. Physical appearance

On observation, many working children appear thin, some to the point of being cachexic, a condition caused by malnutrition. Their skin, hair and nails are all in poor condition, and their clothing is both unsanitary and unable to offer sufficient protection against environmental conditions.

Table 4.19 shows the Body Mass Indices (BMIs) of the children surveyed based on height and weight measurements taken by researchers. As the table shows, less than 29.5 percent of children could be classified as “normal”, whereas 67.1 percent were classified as “thin” and 3.4 percent as “slightly obese”. These figures suggest that the physical growth and development of these children has been compromised by poor nutrition.

Table 4.19. Physical Status of Working Children			
Average body weight (kg.)	42 kg.		
Average height (cm.)	146.8 cm.		
Body Mass Index (BMI)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
< 20 (Thin)	35.1	32.0	67.1
20-25 (Normal)	11.0	18.5	29.5
25.1-30 (slightly obese)	1.0	2.4	3.4

Mean BMI	19.1±2.8 p = 0.5
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4.3.6. Eating and sleeping habits

The children surveyed sleep an average of 7.5 hours per day. Along with their households, children wake at around 05:00-05:30 and eat a traditional breakfast consisting of bread, olives and cheese before heading out to the cotton fields. Lunch, eaten between 12:00-13:00, is usually the same as breakfast. Harvesting continues until around 18:00, after which the baled cotton is loaded onto vehicles. Dinner is eaten between 19:00-20:00 and consists of a few basic items including flour, ground wheat, lentils, beans and rice. While this diet contains sufficient fat and carbohydrates, it lacks sufficient protein, vitamins and antioxidants. In other words, children do not enjoy the balanced nutrition vital for proper growth and development.

4.3.7 Mental health

In addition to risks to children's physical development, cotton harvesting also poses threats to their psycho-social development. Long hours spent at difficult and monotonous work combined with a lack of time for sleeping and playing have negative affects on children's mental as well as physical health. Without the opportunity to attend school and to make friends with other children, they become introverted and indifferent, developing a sense of worthlessness and hopelessness regarding the future.

4.4. Children's perceptions regarding seasonal agricultural work

4.4.1. Most tiring work

Despite their age, children engaged in seasonal agricultural work labour under the same difficult conditions as adult workers. Needless to say, children are more affected by the long hours of physical activity conducted under the hot sun and with few breaks.

Table 4.20. Most Tiring Work for Children			
Type of work	Male	Female	Total
Picking and carrying	84.1	95.1	89.9
Baling and loading	9.7	0.5	4.8
Services (carrying water, cooking, childcare, etc.)	1.5	1.9	1.7
Nothing (not tiring)	0.4	2.2	1.3
Other	4.3	0.4	2.2
Total (N: 6387)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Cotton harvesting involves picking and filling a sack of cotton, carrying the full sack of cotton (10-15 kg) to an area set aside for baling (1 bale=75-100 kg) and loading it onto trucks. When asked which aspect of cotton harvesting was most tiring, 89.9 percent of children surveyed said harvesting and carrying full sacks of cotton (Table 4.20). Girls complained about harvesting and carrying sacks more than boys, whereas boys complained more about baling and loading. When looked at by age, 93.5 percent of children in the 6-14 age group said picking and carrying was the most tiring and 10.7 percent said baling and loading was the most tiring (Table 4.21). Among children in the 15-17 age group, 82.9 percent said picking and carrying was the most tiring and 1.9 percent said baling and loading was the most tiring. No girls in the 14-16 age group and only 1.3 percent of girls in

the 15-17 age group said baling and loading was the most tiring. This is most likely due to the fact that this activity is mainly performed by males aged 15 or older. It is significant to note that in general, workers are not paid for baling and loading, since it is considered an inherent part of harvesting, which, as mentioned above, is paid for by kilograms of cotton picked.

Table 4.21. Most Tiring Activity Associated with Cotton Harvesting by Age Group (%)

Activity	Male		Female		Total	
	6-14	15-17	6-14	15-17	6-14	15-17
Picking and carrying	94.2	59.1	92.8	98.7	93.5	82.9
Baling and loading	3.7	24.7	-	1.3	1.9	10.7
Services (carrying water, cooking, childcare, etc.)	-	5.4	3.1	-	1.5	2.1
Nothing (not tiring)	0.5	-	3.5	-	2.0	-
Other	1.6	10.8	0.6	-	1.1	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=2,146	N=859	N=2,094	N=1,288	N=4,240	N=2,147

Mean differences with respect to perceptions of most tiresome work were examined for significance by sex and age (Table 4.21a). Results showed differences in perceptions among boys aged 6-14, boys aged 15-17, girls aged 6-14 and girls aged 15-17 (Significance level ≤ 0.05).

“Paired Samples Correlation” was also used to examine the effect of age and sex on children’s perceptions of types of tiresome work. Results revealed high positive correlation between the perceptions of younger and older boys ($r=0.934$); younger and older girls ($r=.999$); boys and girls aged 5-14 ($r=0.998$); and boys and girls aged 15-17 ($r=0.926$). Accordingly, it can be said that perceptions of younger boys and girls are the same, whereas there are slight variations between older boys and girls regarding the types of tiresome work they carry out.

Table 4.21a. Children’s Perceptions Regarding Most Tiresome Work, by Age and Sex (A Sample Test)

Variable	tH	Significance Level	Conclusion
Male Age 6-14	1,078	0,342	There are differences among the types of most tiresome work carried out by male children aged 5-14
Male Age 15-17	1,886	0,132	There are differences among the types of most tiresome work carried out by male children aged 15-17
Female Age 6-14	1,098	0,334	There are differences among the types of most tiresome work carried out by female children aged 5-14
Female Age 15-17	1,016	0,367	There are differences among the types of most tiresome work carried out by female children aged 15-17

4.4.2. Positive experiences

Although few and far between, children engaged in cotton harvesting may still experience events that make them happy, despite the conditions under which they labour. Happiness for these children is not derived from material objects or rewards, which are sorely lacking, but from such non-material experiences as “contributing to the family’s subsistence” or “making new friends.” However, when asked what made them most happy, only 65.1 percent of children gave a response, and of those who did, 59.4 percent said that nothing

made them happy. The most frequently given positive response was “being together with friends” (32.5%), an answer that is indicative of the lack of alternatives available to children in seasonal agricultural work, which offers neither the physical environment nor the economic opportunities for happiness.

Table 4.22. What Makes Children Happy (%)			
	Male	Female	Total
Being together with friends	33.5	31.8	32.5
Earning money	4.7	5.1	4.9
Being able to contribute	5.4	1.2	3.2
Nothing	56.4	61.9	59.4
Total (Total NT=4,159, Male NE= 1,889, Female NK= 2,270)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4.23. What Makes Children Happy by Age and Sex (%)						
	Male		Female		Total	
	6-14	15-17	6-14	15-17	6-14	15-17
Being together with friends	36.1	26.8	38.9	23.7	37.4	24.7
Earning money	3.4	7.9	-	10.8	1.8	9.8
Being of some use	7.5	-	2.3	-	5.1	-
Nothing	53.0	65.3	58.7	65.5	55.7	65.5
Total	100.0 N=1,371	100.0 N=518	100.0 N=1,192	100.0 N=1,078	100.0 N=2,563	100.0 N=1,596

As Table 4.23 shows, responses varied more by age than by sex. For example, the percentage of children who said being together with friends was higher for both boys and girls in the 6-14 age group than for those in the 15-17 age group. Conversely, earning money was a greater source of happiness for both boys and girls in the 15-17 age group than for those in the 6-14 age group. This may be an indication that older children have more control over their earnings than younger children. Also, the higher rates of children in the older age group who said nothing made them happy may be a reflection of their growing awareness that they lacked the necessary education or any other qualifications that could offer them a brighter future.

4.4.3. Children’s perceptions regarding parents’ attitudes towards working children

Children do not engage in seasonal agricultural work out of choice, but as a result of the overall economic situation of their households. In households of low socio-economic status and limited economic resources, children inevitably follow in the path of their elders, and any hopes for upward social mobility are rarely able to be realised. Parents expect that their children will face the same insurmountable difficulties, and despair on the part of both parents and children tends to be accompanied by a submissiveness before “fate”.

When asked about what their fathers thought about their engaging in seasonal agricultural labour, most of the children surveyed (77.9%) said that their fathers were opposed to it but were forced to allow them to work due to the difficult economic circumstances of the household (Table 4.24).

Another 21.5 percent of children said their fathers wanted them to engage in this work for various reasons, including the lack of any other available opportunity to earn money.

Table 4.24 Children’s Perceptions About Fathers’ Attitudes Towards Children Working (%)

Father's attitude	Male			Female			Total		
	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total
Absolutely against it, but has no other choice	78.0	76.3	77.5	73.3	62.9	78.2	75.7	82.2	77.9
Wants children to work	20.8	23.7	21.7	26.1	13.9	21.4	23.4	17.8	21.5
Other	1.2	-	0.8	0.6	-	0.4	0.9	-	0.6
Total	100.0 N=2136	100.0 N=858	100.0 N=2994	100.0 N=2094	100.0 N=1288	100.0 N=3382	100.0 N=4220	100.0 N=2146	100.0 N=6366

When asked about their mothers' attitudes, answers were more or less the same, with the notable exception that more girls (81.4%) than boys (71%) said their mothers were against their working. This may be due to the closer relationships girls have with their mothers, which gives them a better understanding of the difficulties work poses for their daughters than for their sons.

Among the reasons given by the 23.2 percent of children who said their mothers wanted them to work were the limited family budget, the necessity to support very large families and very crowded families against which fathers have no other choice but let their daughters work too.

It should not be forgotten that in some cases, households are headed by mothers of working children. It should not be surprising that when faced with the responsibility of managing the household, mothers also want both their sons and daughters to work. In short, due to the necessity of increasing the family income, neither mothers nor fathers make any distinctions between their male and female children in terms of allowing them to work.

Table 4.25 Children's Perceptions About Mothers' Attitudes Towards Children Working (%)									
Mother's attitude	Male			Female			Total		
	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total
Absolutely against it, but has no other choice	67.8	78.8	71.0	77.5	87.7	81.4	72.6	84.2	76.4
Wants children to work	31.1	21.2	28.2	22.5	12.3	18.6	26.9	15.8	23.2
Other	1.1	-	0.8	-	-	-	0.6	-	0.4
Total	100.0 N=2146	100.0 N=859	100.0 N=3005	100.0 N=2094	100.0 N=1288	100.0 N=3382	100.0 N=4240	100.0 N=2147	100.0 N=6387

4.4.4. Children's perceptions regarding agricultural intermediaries

Agricultural intermediaries act as a bridge between landowners/employers and agricultural workers. In addition to securing work for families, they play a large role in determining the duration of work, wage rates and working/living conditions. As Table 4.26 indicates, 61.3 percent of working children surveyed had positive perceptions of intermediaries because of their role in finding them jobs that contribute to family subsistence. However, 37.5 percent had negative perceptions of intermediaries because of their "exploitation of workers", "cutting down wages" and "not caring much for workers." Children who said that intermediaries exploited agricultural workers and that intermediaries need to pay more attention to the working and living conditions of workers were mostly those in the 15-17 age group. In this connection, it should be noted that the perceptions of younger children regarding intermediaries are shaped less by direct contact with intermediaries and more by opinions and information gathered from older household members and other adults close to them.

Table 4.26. Children's Perceptions of Intermediaries			(%)
Perception	Male	Female	Total
Positive, because they find us jobs	59.7	54.1	56.7
Angry, because they exploit workers	16.9	16.1	16.5
Negative, because they do not pay enough	7.8	7.4	17.6
Positive, because they don't cause much trouble	7.3	4.1	5.6
Dislike, because they don't care about us	4.7	2.2	3.4
Other	3.6	16.1	10.2
Total (Total N _T = 6275, Male N _E =2959, Female N _K = 3316)	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.4.5. Children's perceptions regarding landowners/employers

Because of the role of the agricultural intermediary in acting as go-between, the relationship between landowners/employers and workers is limited, and in many cases, workers have absolutely no contact with employers at all. For this reason, children's perceptions of landowners/employers are shaped mostly by what they hear from household members and other adults close to them.

Table 4.27. Children's Perceptions of Landowners/Employers			(%)
Perception	Male	Female	Total
Positive, because they give us jobs	46.5	37.8	41.9
Angry, because they exploit workers	18.7	19.1	18.9
Negative, because they do not pay enough	9.9	14.7	12.5
Positive, because they don't cause much trouble	10.1	7.4	8.7
Dislike, because they don't care about us	5.6	8.9	7.4
Other	9.2	12.1	10.7
Total (N _T = ., Male N _E = 2,971, Female N _K = 3,354)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Half (50.6%) of the working children surveyed had positive opinions of landowners/employers. However, more boys (56.6%) than girls (45.2%) had positive opinions. Those children (18.9%) with negative perceptions gave reasons such as "forcing us to work too long," "not improving working conditions" and "not providing suitable places to stay."

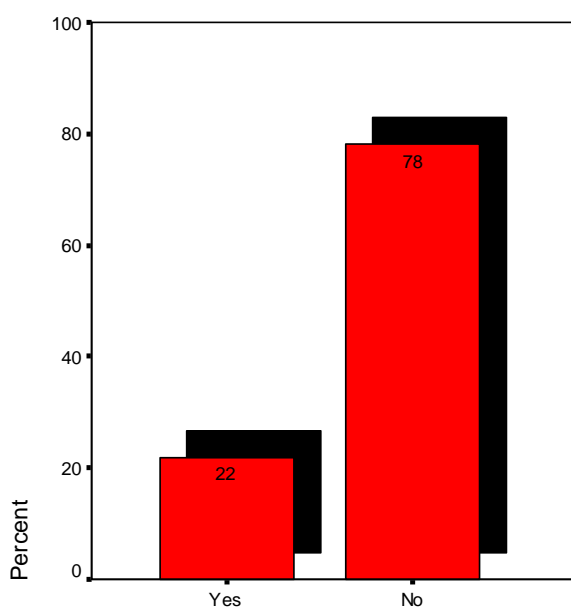
4.4.6. Children's understanding of child rights

The degree to which working children have an understanding of the concept of child rights has bearing on the way they approach their problems. Considering their low level and quality of education, it would not be realistic to expect children engaged in seasonal agricultural work to have high levels of awareness regarding their rights. Only 20.7 percent of children (Boys: 25.4%; Girls: 16.5%) surveyed said they had heard the term "child rights". Those who had heard of "child rights" had done so from other household members and close circles. In connection with child rights, children mentioned ideas such as "compulsory education", "not allowing children to work" and "providing playgrounds for children." However, they had no information about legislative protections, sanctions or institutions responsible for implementation.

Table 4.28. Children's Awareness of Child Rights by Their Educational Status (%)						
Level of Education	Aware of Child Rights					
	Male		Female		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Illiterate	-	100.0	-	100.0	-	100.0
Literate	15.8	84.2	9.5	90.5	12.1	87.9
Primary School Graduate	27.6	72.4	40.0	60.0	33.0	67.0
Middle School Graduate	72.2	27.8	24.5	75.5	64.2	35.8
High School Graduate	42.7	57.3	-	-	42.7	57.3
Total (Total N _T =6,387, Male N _E =3,005, Female N _K =3,382)	25.4	74.6	16.5	83.5	20.7	79.3

Information about child rights varied according to the age and educational status of children. Among the 6-14 age group only 17.1 percent of children had heard of child rights, whereas 27.8 percent of children in the 15-17 age group had heard of the concept. While no illiterate children and few children who had not graduated from primary school had heard of child rights, 62.4 percent of children who had completed middle school had heard of child rights.

Graph 5: Have you heard about child rights?



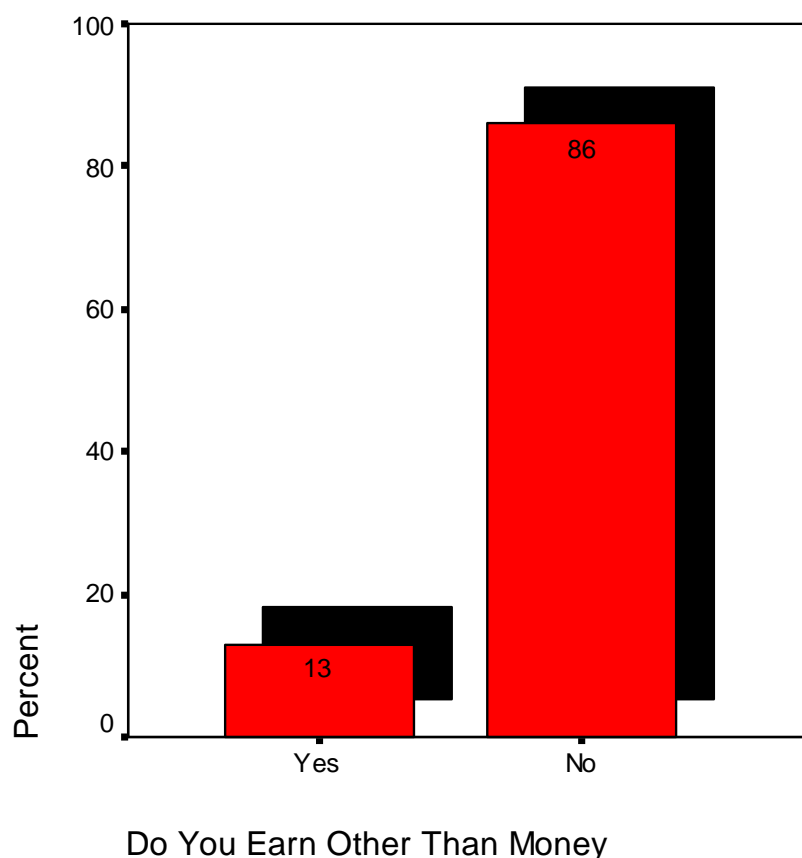
4.5. Leisure time, hopes and expectations of working children

4.5.1. Attitudes towards cotton harvesting

Children engaged in seasonal work in cotton harvesting do so out of economic necessity. When asked, “Does this work provide you with any rewards other than money?” only 13.1 percent said “yes.” Positive responses were higher among male children (18%) than female children (8%). These differences are to be expected, since boys are relatively free to play with other children within the campsite or even walk to neighboring villages, whereas social pressure limits the freedom of movement of girls. Of those children who said that cotton harvesting provided them rewards other than money, 30.3 percent said it supported their education (because the money earned would go towards school expenses), 5.6 percent

said that it “taught them the hardships of life” and 4.7 percent said “it made it possible to get together with friends.” Interestingly, 54.9 percent of children who answered the question positively were unable to say exactly what rewards cotton harvesting provided them with other than financial ones.

Graph 6: “Does your work offer you any rewards other than financial ones?”



4.5.2. Use of leisure time

Leisure, or “free time”, is commonly understood as the time available to an individual to use as he or she prefers without any externally or internally imposed mandates. It is a time outside working hours in which individuals are truly independent and free. “Use of free time” is the way a person fills this time with something of purely personal satisfaction (Tezcan, 1982).

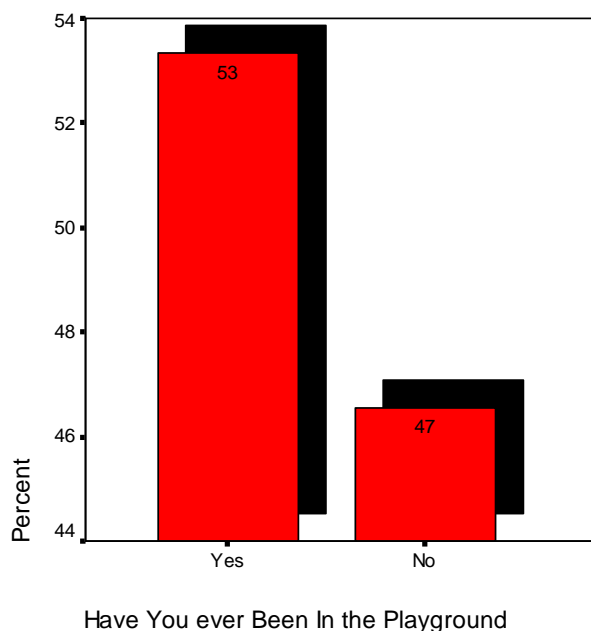
Due to the seasonal nature of much of the work in rural areas, rural residents tend to associate the concept of “free time” with “winter”. However, this differs from “leisure” in that the “free time” of winter is not a matter of personal choice but a result of the very nature of agricultural activities. Children working in cotton fields tend to interpret “free time” as meaning the time not engaged in agricultural activities when people do nothing, rather than a period of leisure that an individual creates and uses as he or she wishes. For this reason, 22.8 percent of children could not answer the question, “How do you use your leisure time?”

Table 4.29. Children’s Leisure Time Activities by Age Group (%)									
Activity	Male			Female			Total		
	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total
Play games	90.2	64.0	84.5	45.1	8.4	35.3	69.6	25.2	56.2
Chat	7.7	29.4	11.9	34.4	67.3	44.4	18.7	57.1	30.7
Read books	-	-	-	6.7	3.0	4.2	3.5	-	2.4
Listen to radio	-	-	-	-	4.3	1.6	-	3.0	0.9
Watch TV	-	1.8	0.4	-	-	-	-	0.5	0.1
Nothing	2.1	4.8	3.2	13.8	17.0	15.5	8.2	14.2	9.7
Total	100.0 N=1,655	100.0 N=456	100.0 N=2,111	100.0 N=1,811	100.0 N=1,048	100.0 N=2,859	100.0 N=3,466	100.0 N=1,504	100.0 N= 4,970

Leisure time activities of children surveyed vary according to sex. While 84.5 percent of male children spend their free time “playing”, 44.4 percent of female children spend their free time “chatting.” This difference can be explained by the relatively greater freedom of movement of boys both inside and outside the campsites, which makes it easier for them to establish contacts with others. Girls, on the other hand, are expected to stay in their tents and help their mothers and older relatives. As a result, they rarely go outside, but spend their leisure time either chatting with girls in neighbouring tents or doing nothing. Interestingly, whereas boys were able to spend some of their leisure time watching TV in neighbouring villages, girls, who lacked that opportunity, were more likely to read books and listen to the radio.

In order to learn more about children's understanding of play, the survey asked if children had ever been to a playground. Overall 53.4 percent of children (57.7%; Girls: 49.6%) had been to a playground. Of these, 90 percent were children whose permanent place of residence was in an urban area.

Graph 7: Have you ever been to a playground? (%)



4.5.3. Empathy

All human beings wish for greater opportunities, the chance to realize certain dreams, or to be able to change places with or be more like someone they idolize. Children are no exception. Children's idols or role models may be famous celebrities, athletes, or someone in a profession the child aspires to in the future. In order to understand more about the professions or individuals with whom children empathize, children were asked, "Who would you like to trade places with?"

Table 4.30. Persons or Professions with whom Children Empathize (%)									
Person/ Profession	Male			Female			Total		
	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total
Teacher	19.1	17.1	17.5	41.5	23.6	33.2	28.5	22.4	25.6
Singer	21.0	17.5	19.5	9.7	14.3	11.5	15.7	14.2	15.4
Doctor	23.5	18.4	19.5	11.9	3.1	7.2	16.2	10.5	13.3
Police	8.9	12.6	9.4	3.7	20.6	12.3	6.5	18.8	10.9
Sportsman	8.9	13.2	11.9	-	3.1	1.3	6.0	7.9	6.5
Father	8.9	11.8	10.6	2.9	-	1.7	8.2	1.6	6.0
Mother	3.8	-	3.5	9.6	5.3	7.2	6.2	3.8	5.4
Employer	1.7	4.7	3.4	-	15.3	6.6	1.3	10.4	4.5
Nurse	-	-	-	8.9	6.0	7.7	4.1	3.9	3.9
Engineer	2.9	4.1	3.1	1.2	5.6	3.6	2.1	3.6	3.3
Elder brother/sister	-	-	-	10.6	-	6.4	4.6	-	3.1
Landlord	-	-	-	-	3.1	1.3	-	2.0	0.7
Prime minister	1.3	0.6	1.2	-	-	-	0.6	-	0.5
Farmers, others	-	-	0.4	-	-	-	-	0.9	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=1,403	N=624	N=2,027	N=1,221	N=931	N=2,152	N=2,624	N=1,555	N=4,179

Interestingly, only 65.4 percent of all children (Boys: 67.5%; Girls: 63.6%) were able to respond to the question, while the remaining found it difficult to develop any "empathy" with another. The leading figures with whom children empathized were teachers (25.6%). This likely derives from the fact that following family members, children have the most interaction with teachers, and they also have respect and a longing for education.

Another 21.9 percent of children empathized with either singers or sports figures, indicating they have been influenced by popular "success stories" that show a quick and easy route to celebrity. This was more prevalent among boys (31.4%) than among girls, who following teachers showed most interest in "being a police officer." This is likely due to the widespread association of police (and uniforms in general) with authority and status, which girls, suffering heavily under the power and authority of others, may wish for themselves. Other household members are also prominent role models for girls, most likely as a result of the relatively closed and limited environments in which they grow up. Of those girls surveyed, 15.3 percent had empathy for fathers, mothers, elder brothers and sisters.

4.5.4. Expectations for the future

Children's expectations for the future, including their preferred occupations and the qualifications they would like to acquire, are shaped by their present conditions. The difficulties children observe and experience fill them with aspirations for a more

comfortable life. When asked what occupation they would like in the future, most children said they wanted to become doctors or teachers (Table 4.31). Such responses reflect the desire for high-status jobs, which is in part shaped by their present difficult circumstances. Notably, the range of aspirations was wider for boys than it was for girls.

Table 4.31. Occupations Children Aspire to as Adults									
Occupation	Male			Female			Total		
	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total	6-14	15-17	Total
Teacher	52.0	29.3	46.2	69.4	74.4	71.0	60.1	53.3	58.2
Doctor	30.1	27.3	29.4	30.6	9.3	24.0	30.3	17.7	26.8
Athlete	8.9	24.6	12.9	-	4.6	1.4	4.8	14.0	7.3
Singer	5.3	8.3	6.1	-	3.5	1.1	2.9	5.7	3.6
Worker	1.5	8.3	3.2	-	-	-	0.8	3.9	1.7
Engineer	0.7	-	0.5	-	8.2	2.5	0.4	4.4	1.5
Businessperson	1.5	-	1.1	-	-	-	0.7	-	0.6
Pilot	-	2.2	0.6	-	-	-	-	1.0	0.3
Total	100.0 N=1,629	100.0 N=556	100.0 N=2,185	100.0 N=1,417	100.0 N=633	100.0 N=2,050	100.0 N=3,046	100.0 N=1,189	100.0 N=4,235

In order to understand to what degree children accepted their current situation, children were asked whether or not they wanted to work in the cotton fields again next year (Table 4.32). Only 14.9 percent of children said they didn't want to work again next year, which is a reflection of the fact that this decision is not made by the children themselves but is shaped by the overall needs of the household.

Table 4.32. Children's Attitude Towards Working in Cotton Fields Next Year			
Attitude	Male	Female	Total
Want to work (out of necessity)	85.8	84.5	85.1
Don't want to work	14.2	15.5	14.9
Total (Total NT= 6,341, Male NE= 2,959, Female NK= 3,382)	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.5.5. Opinions on siblings and future generations working in cotton fields

While the children interviewed may have been resigned to their own "fates", they did not want their younger siblings or close relatives to engage in work in cotton harvesting, nor did they want their own children to have to work in the cotton fields in the future. As seen in Tables 4.33 and 4.34, only 8.4 percent of children wanted siblings to work as agricultural labourers and only 3.9 percent wanted their own children to engage in such work. In reality, however, these children have little chance of upward social mobility. Unless they are able to receive a high-quality education, marry into a wealthy family or benefit from some other extraordinary opportunity, it is likely that very few of their own children will be able to secure any better opportunities for earning a livelihood.

Table 4.33. Children's Attitudes Towards Siblings Engaging in Agricultural Labour			
Attitude	Male	Female	Total
Want them to work	11.1	6.1	8.4
Don't want them to work	88.9	93.6	91.6
Total (Total NT= 6,114, Male NE=2,813, Female NK=3,301)	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4.34. Children's Attitudes Towards Own Children Engaging in Agricultural Labour in the Future			
Attitude	Male	Female	Total
Want them to work	5.1	2.9	3.9
Don't want them to work	94.9	97.1	96.1
Total (Total NT= 6,370, Male NE=3,005, Female NK=3,365)	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.6. Children's perceptions of problems and solutions relating to cotton harvesting

When asked about the major problems related to seasonal work harvesting cotton, children mention such things as the difficulty of the work itself, the low wage rates, the unfavourable working and living conditions and the lack of basic necessities. Of those children surveyed, the most frequently cited problem (43.5%) was that the work was too tiring. This problem was mentioned more frequently by younger children in the 6-14 age group (69%) than by older children in the 15-17 age group (31%).

Table 4.35. Children's Perceptions of Most Significant Problems Related to Cotton Harvesting			
Most Significant Problems	1st	2nd	3rd
Being too tired	43.5	23.5	8.5
Being kept from school	11.7	12.7	14.3
Facing hazards and risks in fields	10.6	3.7	3.6
Not getting a fair return for labour	7.8	14.2	10.7
Not being able to satisfy basic needs	7.5	10.6	8.6
Being away from home	4.4	27.4	34.5
Negative behaviour of intermediaries	0.5	0.4	2.0
Other	14.0	7.5	17.1
Total	100.0 N=6,301	100.0 N=5,466	100.0 N=3,104

Also, "being away from home" was at the top of list in problem groups of second and third level importance. In the group of problems of first level importance, 11.7 % of children stated "being away from school." as a problem area. Almost all children who said not attending school was the most significant problem had attended school at the start of the school year but had been forced to leave in order to migrate for seasonal agricultural work. Girls constitute the majority of those who stated "being deprived of means to meet basic needs" as their major problem, which reflects both girls' participation in cooking and cleaning as well as the lack of appropriate sanitary facilities, which is a more significant problem for girls than for boys.

"Paired Samples Correlation" revealed interesting results for coefficients relating to the ranking of problems in cotton harvesting. While the correlation coefficient for first- and second-priority problems is 0.493, the correlation coefficient for first- and third-priority problems is -0.164 and for second- and third-priority problems 0.725. This means that while problems of first- and second-level priority overlap, there is a negative association between problems of first- and third-level priority. The highest correlation is obtained through pairing first- and second-priority problems.

Table 4.35a. Children's Perceptions Regarding Most Significant Problems Related to Cotton Harvesting (A Sample Test)			
Variable	t_H	Significance Level	Conclusion
1st Most Significant Problem	2,246	0,060	Children differ among each other as to the 1st priority problem
2nd Most Significant Problem	3,824	0,007	Children do not differ as to the 2 nd priority problem
3rd Most Significant Problem	3,281	0,013	Children do not differ as to the 3 rd priority problem

Children were also asked to suggest ways in which these problems could be solved. Of the 74.7 percent of children who were able to respond to this question (N=4,771), 23.1 percent said "families need to be materially more well off," 21.5 percent that they should be guaranteed permanent jobs at their regular places of residence, 13.8 percent that the State needs to provide adequate health, education and other basic services at their regular places of residence, 12.4 percent that they need to be provided with basic services (housing, infrastructure, health, etc.) where they worked and 12.4 percent said that the mechanization of cotton harvesting would solve their problems. Another 16.9 percent were extremely pessimistic regarding the future, saying that irregardless of what was done, there would be no solution. Children's responses indicate they are aware that economic problems can be solved through job creation and social problems through the intervention of a responsive State.

Children were also asked what they thought could be done to totally eliminate child labour in the cotton industry. Of the 79.1 percent of children responding to this question (N=5,052), 24.8 percent said well-paying jobs must be created for their parents where they have their permanent residence, 13.0 percent said non-agricultural sources of income must be developed, 12 percent said their families needed to be materially more well off, 11.1 percent said the State needs to be committed to solving the problem, 6.9 percent said parents, intermediaries and landowners/employers involved in employing children need to be punished and 5.6 percent that politicians need to show more commitment. Clearly, the suggestions put forward by children converge around three major points: Employment, education and political commitment. These three points are both the sources of the problem as well as the main channels for a solution.

Chapter Five

Survey Findings: Households

5.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of household heads

In rural Turkey, heads of households are overwhelmingly male. Women only take on the role and responsibilities of household head if their husbands have died or are too old or sick to work. In order to obtain information about the households of working children, household heads were interviewed. Household heads were considered to be the fathers of working children, or, in their absence, mothers of working children, or, in cases where neither father nor mother was present, the oldest sibling with decisionmaking authority in the household.

5.1.1 Age, sex and marital status

Especially in rural areas, age is an important factor in how an individual is perceived and treated, his or her place in the community and the influence he or she has in public/community affairs. Of those household heads surveyed (N=3,617), 67.9 percent were in the 31-50 age group, 10.4 percent were over 50 and 9.6 percent were 20 years of age or younger. The latter were elder siblings or other young family members who were considered to be household heads in the absence of fathers and mothers of working children.

Table 5.1. Ages of Household Heads	
Age	%
20 and younger	9.6
21-30	12.1
31-40	35.3
41-50	32.6
51-60	9.0
Older than 60	1.4
Total (N =3,617)	100.0

In terms of sex, 83.4 percent of household heads surveyed were male. In terms of marital status, 84.5 percent were married, 13.6 percent were single and 1.9 percent were divorced or widowed. Overall, 64.8 percent were fathers of working children, 16 percent were mothers, 15.5 percent were oldest male siblings, 0.6 percent were oldest female siblings and 3.1 percent were other relatives.

5.1.2. Place of birth and permanent residence

The majority (69.1%) of household heads surveyed were born in the Southeastern Anatolia Region (Adıyaman, Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Gaziantep) and the remainder in the Eastern Mediterranean Region (Kahramanmaraş, Hatay, Adana). Most household heads born in Adana and Hatay were under age 30 and had parents of Southeastern Anatolian origin.

Table 5.2. Birthplaces of Household Heads	
Birthplaces (Province)	%
Adıyaman	37.5
Şanlıurfa	20.1
Kahramanmaraş	14.2
Hatay	13.4
Diyarbakır	8.9
Mardin	1.6
Adana	1.6
Van	1.6
Gaziantep	1.0
Total (N: 3,617)	100.0

Approximately two-thirds of household heads were born in rural areas and the remaining one-third in urban areas. In terms of language, while all household heads spoke Turkish, their mother tongues varied between Kurdish (57.2%), Turkish (24%), Arabic (11%) and Zaza (7.9%).

Although 69.1 percent of household heads were born in Southeastern Anatolia, only 56.5 percent had their permanent residence in that region. This is due to the fact that many households have settled in the areas to which they originally migrated for agricultural work. For example, while 20.1 percent of household heads were born in Şanlıurfa, only 12.7 percent maintain their permanent residence in that province (Table 5.3). Over one-third (35.3%) of the household heads surveyed were permanent residents of the Southeastern province of Adıyaman. In terms of urban-rural breakdown, 51.2 percent of household heads resided permanently in rural areas and the remaining 48.8 percent in urban areas (N=3,595). (Permanent residence of the household head is also the permanent residence of all household members, including working children.)

Table 5.3. Permanent Residence of Household Heads	
Permanent Residence	%
Adıyaman	35.3
Kahramanmaraş	14.3
Hatay	13.5
Şanlıurfa	12.7
Adana	12.3
Diyarbakır	7.5
İçel	3.3
Gaziantep	1.0
Total (N= 3,595; Non-Response NM =22)	100.0

5.1.3. Level of education

Level of education, which in itself is shaped by socio-economic factors, in turn has an influence on the overall status of seasonal migrant workers. As Table 5.4 indicates, a significant proportion (30%) of household heads surveyed are illiterate and an additional 23 percent are literate but have not completed any formal education. Only 1.9 percent of household heads graduated from middle school, which is the highest level of education completed by any of the household heads surveyed.

Table 5.4. Level of Education of Household Heads	
Level of Education	%
Illiterate	30.0
Literate	23.0
Primary School Graduate	45.1
Middle School Graduate	1.9
Total (N: 3617)	100.0

As Table 5.5 shows, education level is strongly correlated with age. In most cases, as the age of the household head increases, the level of education falls. For example, 56.6 percent of household heads over 60 are illiterate and none have completed any formal education.

Table 5.5. Level of Education of Household Heads by Age Group					
Age Group	Level of Education				Total
	Illiterate	Literate	Primary School	Middle School	
20 or younger	33.9	24.1	42.0	-	100.0 (N=347)
21-30	20.3	11.4	52.8	15.5	100.0 (N=438)
31-40	30.4	20.5	49.1	-	100.0 (N=1277)
41-50	27.6	25.7	46.7	-	100.0 (N=1179)
51-60	42.6	34.4	23.0	-	100.0 (N=326)
Over 60	56.0	44.0	-	-	100.0 (N=50)

Statistical analysis showed that while age was not a significant factor in determining whether or not a household head was literate or illiterate (Significance level ≤ 0.05), age was significant in determining whether or not a household head was a primary or middle school graduate (Table 5.5a).

“Paired Sample Correlation” coefficients for age group and educational status reveal a correlation coefficient for literacy status and age group as high as 0.955, whereas the coefficient for status as primary and middle school graduate and age group is only 0.507. This means that while there is more or less a uniform structure in the distribution of literate and illiterate household heads by age group, distribution of primary and middle school graduates varies by age group.

Table 5.5.a. Distribution of Household Heads by Age Groups and Level of Education (A Sample Test)			
Variable	t_H	Significance Level	Conclusion
Illiterate Household Heads	5,160	0,004	Illiterate household heads do not differ with respect to age.
Literate Household Heads	4,591	0,006	Literate household heads do not differ with respect to age.
Household Heads with Primary School Diplomas	2,431	0,059	Household heads with primary school diplomas differ with respect to age.
Household Heads with Middle School Diplomas	1,000	0,363	Household heads with middle school diplomas differ with respect to age.

5.1.4. Occupation

In rural society, the terms “agricultural worker” and “farmer” are distinct from one another. The former refers to an individual who works in the enterprise of another, whereas the latter refers to an individual who owns his or her own land and agricultural enterprise. As Table 5.6 shows, while 88.2 percent of household heads surveyed gave their occupation as “agricultural worker” 11.8 percent did not consider this to be their primary occupation.

Table 5.6. Occupations of Household Heads	
Occupation	%
Agricultural Labourer	88.2
Farmer	5.6
Intermediary	1.6
Housewife	1.2
Shopkeeper	1.2
No occupation	0.6
Other	1.6
Total (N: 3617)	100.0

5.2. Agricultural household assets

5.2.1. Status of agricultural land

Agricultural production is by far the most important source of income for rural residents. The primary capital endowment in agriculture is land. Besides making it possible to maintain production, land ownership has a social implication in the sense that it provides a guarantee for the future. For households who do not own land as well as for households that do not own enough land to subsist on, agricultural wage work forms the leading source of income. Of those household heads surveyed, 69.4 percent said they did not own any land, 29.7 percent said they were small landowners and 0.8 percent did not provide any information regarding land ownership.

Table 5.7. Distribution of Households by Amount of Land Owned (those owning land)	
Land (decares)	%
10 and under	34.1
11-20	35.1
21-50	15.2
51-100	13.5
101-200	2.1
Total (N= 1,024)	100.0

Wage work was found to be a necessity even for those household heads who were landowners because their own land did not provide enough income for subsistence. Of those household heads who were landowners (N=1,024), 34.1 percent said they owned 10 decares or less and 35.1 percent between 11 and 20 decares. Most of these farmers (87.8%) were dependent on rainfall, and those who did practice some type of irrigation (12.2%) tended to be those with very small plots of land (7.3 decares, on average). A lack of operating capital (machinery, seed, chemicals, cash, etc.) and labour resulting in an inability to properly manage their enterprises was a common problem, requiring them to engage in land leasing or sharecropping in order to earn money for basic necessities.

While 13.6 percent of landless households are able to earn additional income through animal husbandry and small-scale trade, non-agricultural sources of income for both landless and small-landholding households are limited. In this regard, rural residents are in a less advantageous position than urban residents, who may have more opportunities to supplement their household income through the informal sector of the economy.

5.2.2 Animal husbandry

Animal husbandry can be a significant income-earning activity, especially for rural households. However, limited capital with which to purchase animals and feed prevent most households from engaging in animal husbandry. Of those households surveyed, only 26 percent own any cattle (N=940), and of these, 68.8 percent own only one cow, 27.1 percent own two, 1.1 percent own three and 3.0 percent own four cows. Of the 10.7 percent of households owning sheep or goats (N=388), 46.1 percent own between 1-5 animals, 21.6 percent between 6-10, 24.4 percent between 11-25 and 7.9 percent between 26-40 animals. As these figures make clear, domestic consumption is the main purpose behind engaging in animal husbandry for these families. A few households are also engaged in poultry farming, but again, this is mainly for domestic consumption.

Of those families owning livestock, very few (4.3%) bring their animals with them when migrating for seasonal agricultural work. The majority either sell their livestock or leave them in the care of trusted individuals, since the opportunity to look after animals while working in the fields is limited.

5.2.3. Permanent housing

Housing is a significant problem among agricultural workers, particularly those who reside permanently in urban areas. Overall, 82.6 percent of household heads surveyed said they owned their own houses, 13.9 percent paid rent and 3.5 percent lived with relatives without paying rent. All those who paid rent, which takes up a significant portion of income, were urban residents. Those who did own their own homes, all of whom were rural residents, said they were quite small and poorly constructed.

5.3. Household income levels and sources

For most of the households surveyed, harvesting cotton formed the major source of income. However, regardless of the income earned harvesting cotton, all households had other supplementary sources of income. Factors influencing overall income included number of members per household, non-agricultural sources of income and agricultural assets held. As seen in Table 5.15, 84.5 percent of households had an annual income of between TL 501 million-TL 3 billion (US\$ 306-1,829). Household earning 501 million-2 billion TL from cotton picking constitute 75.2 % of total, which is higher than other sources of income.

Table 5.8. Distribution of Households by Annual Income (%)					
Income (TL Millions)	Sources of Income				
	Income from Cotton	Other Agricultural Income	Total Agricultural Income	Total Non-agricultural Income	Total Income
Less than 500	22.5	90.1	87.1	78.5	4.8
501-1,000	52.0	5.2	8.7	10.6	30.0
1,001-2,000	23.2	4.8	3.0	7.2	39.3
2,001-3,000	2.3	-	0.3	3.7	15.5
3,001-4,000	-	-	0.9	-	8.2
4,000+	-	-	-	-	2.2
Total	100.0 N=3,589	100.0 N=3,589	100.0 N=3,589	100.0 N=3,589	100.0 N=3,589

5.3.1. Type of seasonal agricultural work performed by household heads

Most of the household heads surveyed said they migrated to the same place each year for seasonal agricultural work that allows them to supplement their incomes in order to subsist. Of those surveyed, 72 percent said they come to Adana to harvest cotton annually, whereas the remaining 28 percent said their annual destination varies depending on the availability of other seasonal work. While seasonal workers are not formally tied to specific work or enterprises, 33.9 percent of household heads surveyed said they were employed by the same enterprise every year.

5.3.2. Securing employment

Of those household heads surveyed, 97.6 percent secured employment in seasonal agricultural work through an agricultural intermediary. The remaining 3.4 percent secured employment by directly contacting the landowner/employer for whom they had worked during the previous year.

5.3.3. Wage, income and social security status

Determination of Wage Rates

As explained in Chapter Two above, wages paid for cotton harvesting are based on the amount of cotton harvested and are set by the Governor's Provincial Wage Commission at a rate of 10 percent of the base price for cotton (set by ÇUKOBİRLİK). Although this practice has a history of at least 50 years in the area, agricultural workers are largely unaware of the process by which their wages are determined. When surveyed, only 6.1 percent of household heads knew that wage rates were set by the Provincial Wage Commission, whereas 60.8 percent said wage rates were set by ÇUKOBİRLİK, 14.4 percent said the provincial chamber of agriculture, 9.3 percent said employers in conjunction with intermediaries, 5.7 said employers alone, 1.9 percent said the district directorate of agriculture, 1.0 percent said intermediaries and 11.3 percent were unable to say how wage rates were determined (N=3,208).

While wages are generally determined before the start of the season, recent government policies related to cotton have sometimes caused delays. Among those household heads surveyed, 86.5 percent said wage rates were set after the start of work and 12.6 percent after the end of the harvesting season. Only 0.9 percent were informed of their wage rates before they started work.

Payment dates and wage cuts

In general, wages for seasonal agricultural work are not paid on a regular (daily, weekly or monthly) basis but delayed until the completion of all work at a given enterprise. As a result, workers are forced to purchase items on credit and thus accumulate interest payments for the time until they receive their wages at the end of the work period. Of those household heads surveyed, 97.9 percent said they were paid a lump sum when all of the work at their place of employment was complete, and the remaining 2.1 percent said they were only paid after their employers sold the harvested cotton. Overall, 92.4 percent of household heads said that they received advances for urgent needs that were later deducted from their wages.

Although the agricultural intermediation system in place in Turkey prohibits intermediaries from receiving any payments other than from landowners/employers, as mentioned earlier, whether or not this occurs in practice is a matter of dispute among workers, intermediaries and landowners. While landowners/employers and intermediaries consider their agreements to be for gross wages including both workers' wages as well as the percentage due to intermediaries, workers consider the amount paid to intermediaries as a wage deduction. Thus, it was not surprising to find that 96.6 percent of household heads said intermediaries cut an average of 10 percent from the wages of workers.

According to the survey, only 5.7 percent of workers are paid directly by their employers and the remaining 94.3 percent by intermediaries. Beyond the "percentage" for intermediaries considered by workers to be "pay cuts", researchers found that some intermediaries deducted additional amounts from workers wages, although both landowners/employers and intermediaries were reluctant in providing detailed responses to questions related to this issue.

Wage disputes

Although agricultural intermediaries are bound by the regulations of the Turkish Employment Agency to complete formal written contracts with workers and landowners/employers, in practice this is not the case. Of those household heads surveyed, 72.4 percent had neither a written or verbal agreement with landowners/employers and the remaining 27.6 percent said they had a verbal agreement only. Despite the lack of a formal work agreement, 76.5 percent of household heads said they did not expect to encounter any problems related to payment. Of those who thought the lack of a formal agreement could result in wage disputes, 3.2 percent said they could solve any disputes by legal means, 15.3 percent said they could be solved by "resorting to force" and 5.0 percent that they could not be solved. In fact, only 10.7 percent of household heads said they had had a dispute with landowners/employers and intermediaries regarding wage issues, which is a rather low percentage, considering the informal nature of their agreements. However, field observations suggested to researchers that workers were reluctant to press their claims out of fear of losing their jobs.

Social security status

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes social protection as a basic right of all individuals, and the Turkish Constitution requires the State to take all necessary measures to guarantee this right. In spite of this, agricultural workers benefit little from social security provisions. This is due to reasons such as low levels of income, lack of

permanent employment and low levels of awareness. A lack of social security naturally leads to a lack of confidence regarding the future.

Agricultural workers in Turkey may be entitled to social security coverage by one of two institutions, the Social Security Institution (SSK), covering permanently employed wage workers, or Bağ-Kur, Turkey's social security scheme for the self-employed. However, among those household heads surveyed, 62.9 percent had no type of social security whatsoever. Among the remainder who did, 6.7 percent were insured through SSK and 1.5 percent through Bağ-Kur; however, most workers with SSK coverage had obtained this through other non-agricultural employment, so that in total, only 2.0 percent of workers were insured by their agricultural employers. While 29.0 percent of household heads surveyed held green cards, which entitle low-income individuals to free basic health services provided by the State, this is not based on a worker-contribution scheme and is therefore considered outside the scope of social security in the modern understanding of the concept. According to 97.8 percent of the household heads interviewed, inclusion of seasonal agricultural workers in a social security scheme is an urgent need.

Awareness of labour regulations

Agricultural workers seem to know little about the laws and regulations governing their work. Of those household heads surveyed, 72.4 percent said they had no information about codes and regulations, and the remaining 27.6 percent who said they had some limited information about codes and regulations could not give any details when asked. Obviously, without an awareness of their rights, seasonal agricultural workers are unable to secure these rights.

5.4. Working conditions

5.4.1. Working hours

Household heads work as long as possible since their earnings are determined by the amount of cotton harvested. As Table 5.8 shows, household heads work at least nine hours a day.

Table 5.9. Daily Working Hours of Household Heads (%)	
Daily Working Hours	%
9	0.6
10-12	72.3
13-16	27.1
Total (N =3,595)	100.0

On average, household heads work 12.2 hours a day, compared to 11.7 hours for children. Household heads also stated that they worked seven days a week as long as there is work to perform.

Household heads are engaged in cotton harvesting from 16-60 days per year (Table 5.9). On average, household heads work 45.6 days per year, as compared to 47.2 days per year for children. In addition to harvesting, 49.8 percent of household heads engage in hoeing

(N=1,790), which they perform for an average of 32.4 days per year. Thus, household heads are employed in cotton-related work for an average total of 78 days per year.

Table 5.10. Total Days Worked Harvesting Cotton by Household Heads (%)	
Total Days Worked	%
1-15	-
16-30	6.8
31-45	53.1
46-60	40.1
Total (N= 3500)	100.0

Once they have exhausted work in cotton fields, household heads, together with other household members, may move to other localities on a daily, weekly or monthly basis to engage in employment involving other crops. As Table 5.10 shows, most household heads who engage in work harvesting crops other than cotton are employed in hazelnut orchards, in comparison with children, who, following cotton, tend to engage in work harvesting sugar beets. This difference can be attributed to the different conditions associated with the harvesting of different crops. Household heads were found to spend the following amounts of time working with crops other than cotton: hazelnuts, 18.7 days; peanuts, 6.7 days; sugar beets, 33.9 days; citrus fruit, 38.2 days; pulses, 23.7 days; vegetables, 33.2 days; and cumin, 37.3 days.

Table 5.11. Crops Harvested by Household Heads in Addition to Cotton (%)	
Crops	%
Hazelnuts	10.8
Peanuts	3.7
Sugar beets	6.1
Citrus fruit	3.9
Pulses	4.5
Vegetables	6.6
Cumin	3.5
Other (N=3,617)	14.8

5.4.2. Working conditions

Cotton is harvested under difficult working conditions. As a result of picking cotton with bare hands, workers suffer from skin rashes and various cuts and bruises. While these could be avoided by the use of gloves, workers say they are unable to afford gloves, and employers do not provide them. Dragging sacks of cotton through the fields and carrying full sacks to the baling station is also difficult and tiring work.

As there are no sanitary facilities available, workers relieve themselves in the fields under unsuitable conditions. Landowners/employers and intermediaries are responsible for providing workers with safe drinking water, but they rarely fulfil this responsibility. Those who do send tankers to the fields once or twice a day, but the quality of the water provided in this way is dubious. Meals are brought to the fields by individual workers or households.

Transportation to and from cotton fields and campsites poses another problem. According to 98.1 percent of household heads surveyed, workers are transported to and from cotton

fields on tractors provided by landowners/employers, whereas the remaining 1.9 percent walk. Tractors may carry as many as 40 workers for journeys from between 15 minutes to an hour, and as a result of this overloading, frequent accidents occur. Despite prohibitions and extensive media coverage of accidents, the inability to adequately monitor this practice has allowed it to continue.

According to household heads, no precautions are taken against possible workplace accidents. For example, despite the responsibilities of landowners/employers and intermediaries, there are no first aid kits in any of the workplaces surveyed. Furthermore, long working hours without breaks increase the possibility of workplace accidents. According to the survey, 14 percent of household heads never rest during work, 64.7 percent take one break, 16.8 percent take two breaks and 4.5 percent take three or more breaks per day. In order to increase their earnings, most household heads chose to work as much as possible and take breaks only for meals or water/tea.

5.5. Living conditions

Living conditions at campsites pose additional problems for seasonal agricultural workers. Most workers establish campsites on vacant land at some distance from the closest villages. The location of a campsite is determined primarily by the proximity to the cotton fields and the availability of water and cooking fuel. As seen in Table 5.11, 36.4 percent of households set up camp near a source of water. It should also be noted that no migrant households chose to live in a village or town. This may be due to the hostility and prejudices of local residents towards the migrant workers, as well as to the preference of migrant workers themselves, who may have their own preconceptions regarding the local culture and feel themselves unable to adapt to these perceived expectations.

Table 5.12. Location of Campsites (%)	
Location of Campsites	%
Near a brook	36.4
Adjacent to a village	14.7
At least 1 km away from a village	24.0
In cotton fields	3.0
Other	21.9
Total (N=3,617)	100.0

As seen in Table 5.12, the number of persons living in the same tent varies according to the size of the household concerned. On average, six people were found per tent. Considering the average number of children per household, researchers had expected to find more people per tent; however, this was found not to be the case, due to the fact that some large households consisted of more than one tent (for example, in certain cases, married children set up their own tent).

Table 5.13. Number of Individuals per Tent (%)	
No.	%
3-5	5.9
6-7	24.6
8-9	35.2
10-+	34.6
Total (N=3,617)	100.0

Tent characteristics

Despite the large number of members, 90.5 percent of households inhabit a single tent, 8.1 percent live in two tents and 1.4 percent in three tents. The survey found that tents ranged in size from 4-62m², the majority of tents (62.6%) were between 10-25m² and the average tent size was 14.8m². Given that an average of six individuals inhabit each tent, the available living area per person can be estimated as 2.5m².

Of those households surveyed, 83.3 percent lived in tents constructed of plastic/nylon, 14.3 percent in cloth tents and 1.4 percent in shelters constructed of other materials. Tent floors are usually covered by low-quality carpets or similar materials. The temperature inside the tents, particularly those constructed of nylon, can become unbearably hot during the daytime. Furthermore, although some households use reeds or other available plant material to provide added support to the tents, they are still vulnerable to wind and rain, which may cause collapse or damage to the tents as well as damage to household goods. All of these unfavourable conditions have the greatest affect on children, particularly young children and infants.

Infrastructure and accessibility

Lack of water is also a serious problem, leading many workers to complain of the indifference of landowners, intermediaries and local residents. As Table 5.13 shows, for the large majority of households (88.2%), water is provided by tankers and is used for washing dishes, laundry and bathing in addition to drinking. Water quality varies, and is wholly dependant upon the sensitivity of individual landowners/employers. Households that rely on village fountains for their water needs say that local residents do not always display an understanding attitude in this regard. In cases where water supply is limited, households camped near streams make use of this water for washing dishes, laundry and other needs. Overall, practices obviously do not conform to basic minimum standards for sanitation and hygiene.

Table 5.14. Households' Source of Drinking Water	
Source	%
Tankers provided by intermediaries and landholders/employers	88.2
Village fountain	5.5
Well	5.3
Other	1.0
Total (N= 3,617)	100.0

Of those households surveyed, 79.8 percent had no electricity. Those with electricity tended to be those located closest to existing villages, but even in those cases electricity was only sufficient for lighting purposes. As a result, 96.1 percent of household heads said that they could not store food requiring refrigeration.

Lack of sanitary/sewage facilities at campsites poses another health threat to seasonal workers. Without appropriate toilet facilities, 59.5 percent of household heads said workers relieved themselves in the fields, whereas 36.5 percent said they used nylon-covered pits dug for this purpose and 1.3 percent said rivers/stream beds were used. The lack of sanitary facilities is particularly problematic for women.

Without any type of sewage system, disposal of wastewater from bathing, cooking and cleaning also creates problems. Of those household heads surveyed, 78.1 percent said wastewater collected in the open, 18.9 percent said it ran into existing irrigation canals and 3.9 percent that it collected in pits dug for that purpose.

As a result of the lack of sanitary/sewage facilities, campsites are permeated with a nauseating odor that becomes worse as the weather grows hotter, creating an ideal breeding ground for disease. In particular, the unsanitary environment attracts mosquitoes, which carry diseases that have the greatest affect on children.

Pesticides and other agro-chemicals are another source of problems. Empty chemical containers are not disposed of properly. Strewn randomly in fields and campsites, these pose hazards to children, who, with little else to occupy their free time, find these empty containers attractive playthings. According to the survey, 38.3 percent of household heads said empty agro-chemical containers could be found at their campsites. Moreover, field observations showed that some households use these containers to store water and detergent.

The above-mentioned lack of basic infrastructure and environmental hazards create assorted health risks for both children and adults. Children, particularly young children, are most vulnerable to these risks, which may have profound negative impact on their physical development.

Basic amenities and nutritional status

When leaving their permanent residence and traveling to their temporary place of work, seasonal workers bring with them materials to be used for shelter, basic foodstuffs and other items needed at the campsites. These include cooking utensils and gas canisters as well as bedding. In order to save money on transportation costs, some workers travel on the same trucks that are transporting their cargo, despite the fact that it is illegal.

Transported foodstuffs include flour, ground wheat, pulses, rice, butter and cooking oil, which form the majority of their daily food intake. Consumption of meat, chicken, fish, dairy products, vegetables and fruits is minimal among migrant workers, who, without proper nutritional awareness, consume mostly pulses and flour-based dishes as a means of economizing. It is clear that this diet does not provide the balanced nutrition required to engage effectively in productive activity and resist disease. As a result of below-standard nutrition, both adults and children are more vulnerable to a variety of health problems.

Materials provided by landowners/employers

Despite the fact that landowners/employers are formally responsible for providing certain amenities for their workers, whether or not these obligations are fulfilled in practice depends on the individual landowners/employers. In fact, landowners/employers tend to consider assistance given to workers as “charity” rather than the fulfillment of an obligation. According to the survey, while 93.8 percent of household heads said landowners/employers provided water and 80.1 percent said they assisted in finding campsites, only 13.1 percent said landowners/employers provided electricity, only 1.6 percent said they paid transportation costs (92.3% said costs were split between employers and workers) and only 0.6 percent said they provided food and clothing. According to household heads, no landowners/employers cover healthcare costs for workers.

5.6. Health status

Although the Labour Code assigns agricultural intermediaries with the responsibility of ensuring that working and living conditions of seasonal agricultural workers conform to specific health and sanitation standards, in practice these conditions fall far short of meeting such standards. Failure to comply with basic standards negatively affect the health and nutrition status of seasonal agricultural workers, and public health services are unable to provide sufficient remedies due to their limited availability in the locations in which migrant workers are employed.

The most common health problems among agricultural workers stem mainly from their unsuitable working and living conditions, which result in a wide spectrum of health problems. As Table 5.14 shows, the most common health problem among workers is diarrhea, which was mentioned by 85.5 percent of household heads, and which is mainly a result of unsafe water and poor nutrition. Other common health problems include colds and flu as well as sunstroke. One notable problem mentioned by 17.8 percent of household heads was snakebites and scorpion stings, which affect mostly households camping near streams, and which cannot be easily treated and in fact may be fatal. Allergic reactions and skin diseases caused by fungi were also mentioned by 32.5 percent of household heads. These diseases are contracted by children walking barefoot and stem from the unsanitary conditions of campsites as well as contact with agro-chemicals.

Table 5.15. Most Common Health Problems	
Problems	%
Diarrhea	85.5
Cold, flu	75.2
Sunstroke	72.7
Bitten by vermin	65.6
Malaria	33.8
Food intoxication	26.1
Snakebites, scorpion stings	17.8
(N=3,617)	

When household heads were asked about specific health problems experienced by household members over the most recent agricultural season, 61.8 percent responded. The

most frequently cited problem was diarrhea (38.2%), followed by sunstroke (35.8%). Other problems mentioned include cold/flu, insect bites, food poisoning, work-related accidents, malaria and snake-scorpion bites.

Although landowners/employers are responsible for providing necessary medical treatment for workers, less than one percent of workers surveyed said treatment was provided/paid for by their employers. Whereas 53.6 percent of workers applied to the nearest health center for treatment when needed, 13.2 percent went to a hospital and 33.2 percent either treated themselves or did nothing.

5.7 Perceptions of household heads regarding child labor in agriculture

5.7.1 Attitudes towards children working

As parents, most heads of households do not want their children to work harvesting cotton or in any other job. Despite their concerns, however, household heads tended to resign themselves to their situations under the pressure of economic difficulties. Of those household heads surveyed, 85.8 percent said they allowed their children to work because they had no other choice. Only 0.4 percent said that children must work “to learn about the difficulties of life.” These responses conform with those of children, who said their parents did not actually want them to work (77.9 percent for fathers, 76.4 percent for mothers). It is significant to note that field observers sensed a feeling of guilt and embarrassment among household heads when acknowledging the need to send their children to work. Furthermore, household heads had little in the way of expectations regarding their children’s future, but tended to believe that without economic means and education, their children will continue to engage in agricultural work as adults.

Table 5.16. Household Heads Views Regarding their Children Working (%)	
Views	%
Don’t want them to work, but have no choice	85.8
They should be at school, but they need to work to support the family	8.8
Children want to work	0.6
Children need to work to learn about the difficulties of life	0.4
Other	4.4
Total (N:3617)	100.0

5.7.2 Perceptions regarding hazards children face and measures to eliminate them

Although household heads are aware that their working and living conditions pose a danger to their children as well as themselves, they have resigned themselves to the situation since they do not believe that the radical solution needed can be found. However, their perceptions regarding the hazards children face differ significantly from the perceptions of the children themselves. Moreover, the wider distribution of problems cited by household heads suggests they are more aware than their children of the hazards posed by their working and living environments.

As Table 5.17 shows, 53.8 percent of household heads (as compared to 11.7 percent of children) said not being able to attend school was the most significant problem. The

exhaustive nature of the work was mentioned by 21.3 percent of household heads (as compared to 43.5 percent of children). According to household heads, other significant hazards for children included work accidents and injuries, snakebites and scorpion stings and the possibility of drowning in streams and irrigation canals.

Table 5.17. Greatest Hazards Children Face (%)	
Hazard	%
No opportunity to receive an education	53.8
Work-related illness	10.7
Hard physical labour	10.6
Inability to meet basic needs	10.6
Work accidents, injuries	4.8
Snakes and scorpions	1.5
Drowning in streams/irrigation canals	0.5
Other	7.5
Total (N=3,526)	100.0

Table 5.18 provides a list of suggestions offered by household heads designed to minimize or eliminate the risks inherent in the working and living environments of children engaged in seasonal agricultural labour.

Table 5.18. Measures to Eliminate Risks Faced by Children (%)	
Measures	%
Provide educational opportunities to children	27.8
Provide employment in permanent places of residence	24.0
Provide infrastructure, electricity and health facilities at campsites	14.3
State should be more sensitive towards their problems	10.1
Prevent children from migrating to workplaces	7.9
Provide income-generation opportunities to families	4.8
Lift quotas on tobacco production	4.8
Nothing can be done	6.3
Total (N = 2,959)	100.0

Providing educational opportunities for children was the most frequent suggestion given, followed by the provision of employment opportunities in their permanent places of residence. Notably, only 14.3 percent suggested measures directly related to the elimination of workplace/environmental risks, whereas the large majority of suggestions related to the broader socio-economic context in which child labour exists. (For example, all suggestions regarding the lifting of tobacco quotas came from household heads residing permanently in Adiyaman, where quotas have led to reduced employment/income opportunities and forced families to migrate for seasonal agricultural work.)

Household heads were also asked what they thought was necessary to totally eliminate child labour. Of those who responded (N=3,024), 30.4 percent of household heads said educational opportunities needed to be increased, 26.8 percent said decent and permanent employment was needed for adults, 19.5 percent said opportunities for employment at their permanent place of residence were necessary, 10.7 percent mentioned intervention and sensitivity on the part of the State, 7.1 percent said children's basic rights of education,

healthcare and social protection needed to be ensured and 5.4 percent said that land redistribution would lead to the elimination of child labour.

5.7.3. Future expectations and aspirations

Low levels of education, low economic status and difficult living circumstances limit the mobility of adults and children alike. Therefore, while household heads may harbour hopes for their children's future, there is little likelihood of them being realized unless radical changes occur in the present.

Table 5.19. Household Heads Hopes for Their Children's Future (%)	
Status/Occupation Desired for Children	%
"I want them to get a good education."	79.7
"I want to see them in business."	10.5
"I would like to see them in any other job but agricultural work."	1.7
"I want them to be rich."	1.6
"I want them to be farmers."	0.8
Other	5.7
Total (N = 3,601)	100.0

Like most parents, the household heads interviewed would like to see their children have opportunities that they have been denied themselves. Of those surveyed, 79.7 percent of household heads said they want their children to receive a good education that will allow them to find a good job and 10.5 percent said they want their children to go into business. In general, responses were a reflection of household heads' aspirations to comfort and wealth. Furthermore, an overwhelming 97.9 percent of household heads said they did not want their children to engage in agricultural wage work in the future.

5.8. Future expectations and tendencies of household heads

5.8.1. Perceptions regarding cotton harvesting and other employment

Once again, it should be stressed that engaging in seasonal work harvesting cotton is a matter of necessity, not one of choice. Of those household heads surveyed, 47.3 percent said they engage in such work because they have no other skill or profession and 41.7 percent in order to secure the minimum income necessary for subsistence. In addition, 9.3 percent said they engage in seasonal work harvesting cotton to supplement their income and 1.7 percent because they have no land of their own. When asked if they would continue this practice again next year, 89.9 percent of household heads said they have no other choice. This is in line with the responses of their children, 85.1 percent of whom also said they have no alternative but to engage in seasonal work harvesting cotton next year.

Survey findings showed that household heads have modest aspirations of being able provide for the basic needs of themselves and their families. When asked what type of employment they would prefer, 42.5 percent said they would like to work at a commercial enterprise and attain a reasonable level of income, 30.6 percent said they would prefer a job as a public employee or civil servant, 24.7 percent said they want to own enough land to support their family and 2.2 percent said they would like a job in the private sector. These

answers varied significantly from children's answers to the same question; whereas children wanted "status" careers as teachers, doctors or celebrities, household heads wanted jobs that would give them security and a basic income.

5.8.2. Perceptions regarding living standards

As stated earlier, the base price of cotton has continued to drop as a result of agricultural policies adopted by the government, especially those related to importation of agricultural goods). Because their wages are pegged to the base price of cotton, seasonal agricultural workers are directly and negatively affected by this drop to the point that their real wages and living standards may decrease despite an increase in work hours. Of those household heads surveyed, 80.2 percent said their situations had continued to worsen over the past five years, 17.4 percent said there has been no significant change and only 2.4 percent said their situations have improved. Considering these responses, it is not surprising that the majority (57.6%) of household heads said they expect their situation to worsen in the future, 11.9 percent said they do not expect it to change and only 2.7 percent said they expect improvements. Moreover, 27.8 percent of household heads said they could not comment. These responses are a reflection of a general pessimism among workers, which limits their abilities to persist in the face of adversity.

5.8.3. Recommendations regarding working conditions and wages

Although the need for manual labour in agriculture is declining as a result of mechanization, crops such as cotton, hazelnuts, tobacco and sugar beets still require considerable amounts of manual labour. At the same time, seasonal agricultural work is an indispensable means of subsistence for some segments of the population in Turkey. Recommendations for improving working conditions in this sector need to take into account both of these facts.

When asked what could be done to improve their working conditions and wages, 29.5 percent of household heads surveyed said cotton prices need to be indexed to inflation, 19.9 percent said the State needs to fulfil its supervisory obligations, 17.4 percent said landowners/employers, intermediaries and related institutions need to be sensitized about the issue, 12.8 percent said agricultural workers need to organize, 12 percent said campsites need to be provided with adequate infrastructure and 9.4 percent said their working environments need to offer basic facilities (toilets, water, health services) (N=3,046). Interestingly, the suggestion that cotton prices be indexed to inflation shows that workers are aware that their real wages rise and fall with the price of cotton.

Chapter Six

Survey Findings: Agricultural Intermediaries

6.1 Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of agricultural intermediaries

The agricultural intermediaries who recruited the children and families surveyed for work harvesting cotton in Karataş were also interviewed within the framework of this study. In total, 44 intermediaries were interviewed.

6.1.1 Place of birth and permanent residence

As with the children and household heads surveyed, the majority of intermediaries surveyed were born in Southeast Anatolia. In total, 76.7 percent were born in the Southeast (Adıyaman, 34.9%; Şanlıurfa, 30.2%; Diyarbakır, 9.3%; Gaziantep; 2.3% and the remaining in the South (Hatay, 9.3%; Kahramanmaraş, 9.3%; Adana, 4.7%) (N=43).

The majority of agricultural intermediaries (59.5%) also gave their permanent residence as the Southeast (Adıyaman, 28.5%; Şanlıurfa, 16.7%, Diyarbakır, 9.5%; Gaziantep, 2.4%) or the South (Adana, 19.0%; Hatay, 9.5%; Kahramanmaraş, 4.8%). Changes in rates between birthplace and permanent residence show that some agricultural intermediaries have settled in the areas where they work. A similar situation was found to exist among migrant workers as well.

6.1.2 Age, sex and marital status

Most agricultural intermediaries (65.6%) were over 40 years of age (as compared to 43.0% of household heads interviewed). This is likely related to the fact that the position of intermediary requires the ability to command respect among workers, which demands both experience and age.

Table 6.1. Age of Agricultural Intermediaries (%)	
Age Groups	%
Under 30	6.8
31-40	27.3
41-50	27.3
51-60	22.7
Older than 60	15.9
Total (N=44)	100.0

All intermediaries surveyed were male, and 90.9 percent were married.

6.1.3 Educational and occupational status

As is typical for rural residents, agricultural intermediaries had low levels of education. This has a negative impact on their willingness and ability to abide by legal procedures and establish mutually beneficial relations for workers and employers.

Table 6.2. Level of Education of Agricultural Intermediaries (%)	
Levels of Education	%
Illiterate	13.6
Literate	29.5
Primary School Graduate	52.3
Middle School Graduate	4.5
High School Graduate	-
University Graduate	-
Total (N=44)	100.0

While the overall level of education of intermediaries was higher than that of workers, none of the intermediaries surveyed had completed more than a middle school education. While a primary school diploma is a prerequisite for obtaining a license, since almost half of the individuals acting as intermediaries did so without a license, it was not surprising to find that some intermediaries were illiterate.

Of those intermediaries surveyed, 74.4 percent stated their occupation as “agricultural intermediary”, 18.4 percent as “farmer” and seven percent as “other” (N=13). When asked if they had a second occupation, 53.8 percent said they had none, 12.8 percent said they were also “farmers” and 7.7 percent that they were “agricultural workers” (N=39).

6.1.4 Work experience

Work experience of intermediaries differs by age. According to survey findings, 34.9 percent of intermediaries had engaged in this activity for five years or less, 32.6 percent for 6-10 years, 11.6 percent for 11-20 years, 11.6 percent for 21-30 years and 9.3 percent for more than 30 years (N=43).

6.1.5 Legal and insurance status

As mentioned previously, only 58.1 percent (N=25) of intermediaries operated with the required license. When others were asked why they did not have a license, they responded with such comments as: “We don’t need to”; “We don’t have enough information”; “It doesn’t matter because there’s no supervision, anyway”; “We have to, but we haven’t gotten around to it”; and “We are illiterate.” Of those intermediaries operating with a license, 32 percent had held a license for only one year, 28 percent for 2-5 years, 12 percent for 6-10 years, 8 percent for 11-20 years and 20 percent for more than 20 years.

Only a little over half (56%) of intermediaries with licenses renew them annually as required (N=14), and only 36 percent submit annual reports to the Employment Agency as required (N=9). In other words, out of the 44 intermediaries surveyed, only nine (20.9%) performed these activities in line with existing regulations.

Equally as important as having a license is fulfilling its responsibilities. However, it is fair to suggest that those intermediaries who are willing to disregard regulations pertaining to licensing may be more likely to disregard regulations designed to protect the adults and children for whom they secure work.

The rate of social security coverage of agricultural intermediaries was only slightly higher than the rate of coverage for household heads. Of those surveyed, 11.3 percent were covered by SSK or Bağ-Kur for their work as intermediaries and an additional 4.5 percent for other non-agricultural employment. Considering the lack of concern taken on their own behalf, it is unrealistic to expect agricultural intermediaries to take an interest in the health and insurance status of the workers they recruit.

6.2 Working conditions and income

Earnings of agricultural intermediaries are related to those of the workers they recruit; however, due to insufficient records, it is difficult to determine the exact earnings of agricultural intermediaries. In order to provide an estimate, this study relied on expert opinion and field observation of researchers, who suggest that agricultural intermediaries recruit an average of 50 workers. Based on prevailing wage rates and estimates of average amounts worked by those they recruit (50 workers x 80 kg/day x 50 days), it can be determined that intermediaries earned TL 8,000/kg cotton harvested, for a total of TL 1.6 billion (US\$975) for the 2002 agricultural season, or US\$20 per day – an amount 7.2 times greater than that of a child worker.

6.2.1 Recruitment of workers

In order to establish mutual trust and favourable working conditions it is preferable that agricultural intermediaries have some sort of social ties with the workers they recruit. Of those agricultural intermediaries surveyed, 34.1 percent said they recruited workers from their own villages, particularly their relatives; 27.3 percent recruited workers from district and provincial centers, also mainly from among their own relatives; and 38.6 percent recruited workers from villages other than their own. Additionally, 97.7 percent of intermediaries recruited workers on a household basis, whereas only 2.3 percent recruited workers on an individual basis.

It is common for intermediaries to recruit the same workers each year for the same type of work in the same region, even the same enterprise. Of those surveyed, 90.9 percent of intermediaries brought the same workers to the same area every year and 54.5 percent to the same enterprise. Of those intermediaries surveyed, 97.7 percent said they receive funds from landowners/employers prior to the work season that they advance to prospective workers in order to bind them for the upcoming season.

Before harvesting cotton, 18.2 percent of intermediaries engage the same workers in hazelnut, sugar beet and citrus fruit cultivation. Since the harvesting of other crops is usually concluded at the same time as the cotton harvest, most workers return to their permanent residences following cotton harvesting. Only 11.6 percent of intermediaries engaged their workers in other agricultural activities following the close of the cotton season.

6.2.2 Transportation of workers

Transportation is a significant problem in seasonal migrant and temporary agricultural work. Vehicles must be provided to transport not only workers but also their possessions,

which workers bring with them in order to economize. Until five or six years ago, it was common for workers to travel in trucks loaded with their possession. However, overloading of vehicles led to serious accidents, as a result of which stricter traffic controls were put in place and the practice largely, if not totally, eliminated.

Today, it is more common for workers to travel to their places of employment by bus or train. While this represents an improvement over the former situation, workers complain that employers only pay for their transportation at the start of their employment and not for their return home. According to intermediaries, who are legally responsible for ensuring safe transportation of workers to and from their workplaces, 97.7 percent of landowners/employers pay to transport workers on arrival whereas only 2.3 percent cover the cost of return transportation. Moreover, while 81.8 percent of workers were reported to travel by bus or minibus, 15.9 percent by train and 2.3 by private car, 15.9 percent of workers still travel on trucks in spite of its prohibition. This is a reflection of intermediaries' concerns with transportation costs rather than safety of the workers they supervise.

6.2.3 Problems and solutions regarding work-related disputes with landowners/employers and workers

Because of the limited contact between landowners/employers and workers, intermediaries have a large responsibility in ensuring smooth work relations and in resolving disputes. The system can be said to be successful both as a result of its long-standing nature and the social ties between intermediaries and workers as well as the fact that no other alternative exists. Of those intermediaries surveyed, 84.1 percent said they have no dispute with landowners/employers. The remaining 15.9 percent said problems sometimes arose in relation to wage rates, time of payment and living conditions at campsites. Intermediaries sometimes turn to the Gendarme, village headmen or agriculture chamber, in order to resolve disputes with landowners/employers, but for the most part they defer to the wishes of landowners/employers. Fewer problems arise between intermediaries and workers than between intermediaries and landowners/employers. The 6.8 percent of intermediaries who said problems sometimes arose in regard to wages and payment schedules were able to settle disputes without resorting to any third party largely as a result of the close social ties between intermediaries and workers.

6.3 Living conditions of workers

Under existing regulations, landowners/employers are responsible for providing suitable campsites for seasonal workers. According to those intermediaries surveyed, 81.8 percent apply to landowners and the remaining 18.2 percent to village headmen in order to establish a campsite for workers. According to intermediaries, they must accept whatever places are proposed, which in general are at a sizeable distance to the nearest village and are below standard in terms of availability of water, electricity and sanitary facilities.

According to agricultural intermediaries, most campsites lacked electricity (84.1%) toilets, (68.2%), bathing facilities (56.8%) and dishwashing/laundry facilities (43.2%). These responses conformed to those of household heads. While only 15.9 percent of agricultural intermediaries said that campsites lacked safe drinking water, the frequency of such

problems as diarrhea among workers raises doubts as to the actual quality of the drinking water provided.

6.4 Health status of workers

Sub-standard working and living conditions result in a number of health problems among seasonal agricultural workers. Although landowners/employers are responsible for taking measures against work-related illnesses and accidents among workers, most landowners evade this responsibility, workers lack insurance, and intermediaries remain passive in this regard.

When asked about the most common health problems arising from working conditions and environments, intermediaries mentioned the following: fatigue (97.7%), wrist pains (93.2%); sunstroke (75%); fainting (65.9%); allergies (43.2%) and work accidents (25.9%). In addition, 31.8 percent of intermediaries said that workers suffered from food poisoning as well.

When asked about the procedures in cases where workers needed medical attention, 34.9 percent of intermediaries said they are brought to the nearest health facility, 30.2 percent said that “employers take the necessary measures”, 23.3 percent said the procedure varies according to the nature of the problem, 9.3 percent said workers resolve the problem themselves and 2.3 percent said there is no pre-established procedure. These responses vary significantly from those of household heads. For example, whereas 30.2 percent of intermediaries said landowners respond to health problems of workers as required, only 0.6 percent of household heads said that this was the case. This difference may be explained as the result of misrepresentation by intermediaries in the interest of maintaining good relations with landowners/employers and avoiding inspection by authorities.

6.5 Perceptions of intermediaries regarding child labour in agriculture

Agricultural intermediaries usually live together with or in close proximity to seasonal workers throughout the agricultural season and are therefore well aware of the problems of children engaged in seasonal agriculture work. In addition, some intermediaries, their wives and their children also engage in seasonal agricultural work themselves.

According to intermediaries, children engage in seasonal agricultural work due to the economic circumstances of their households. Of those surveyed, 88.4 percent of intermediaries say that children work because their families are extremely poor, whereas 11.6 percent think children work mainly because they accompany their families to their workplaces (N=43).

Of those intermediaries surveyed, 79.1 percent believe that children are affected by the working and living conditions associated with seasonal agricultural work (n=43). As seen in Table 6.3, being deprived of an education was considered to be the most significant risk by 40.5 percent of intermediaries surveyed (as compared to 53.8% of household heads and 11.7% of children).

Table 6.3. Hazards Children Face (According to Agricultural Intermediaries) (%)			
Hazard	Priority 1	Priority 2	Priority 3
No opportunity to receive an education	40.5	22.2	13.0
Lack of a healthy environment	16.7	22.2	17.4
Poor housing conditions	11.9	5.6	13.0
Drowning in streams/irrigation canals	4.8	13.9	4.3
Malnutrition	4.8	13.9	26.1
Other	21.3	22.2	26.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=42	N=36	N=23

In order to find out more about the relationship between seasonal agricultural work and the school attendance of children, agricultural intermediaries were asked about the educational status of the school-age children from their campsites.

Of those surveyed, 22.7 percent said no children at their campsites were sent back to their places of permanent residence at the start of the school year. Of those intermediaries who said some children were sent back, 18.2 percent said 1-2 children were sent from their campsite, 22.7 percent said that 3-5 children were sent back, 25 percent said 6-10 children were sent back and 11.4 percent said that 11-15 children were sent back (N=34). As a result, it can be concluded that an average of 6.3 children per campsite are sent back to their permanent residences to attend school.

Agricultural intermediaries were asked about the number of school-age children at their campsites who were not enrolled or who were removed from school at the start of the agricultural season. Of those surveyed, 23.3 percent of intermediaries said no school-age children at their campsites were kept out of school. Of those who said some children from their campsites kept out of school, 7 percent said there were 1-2 such children 13.9 percent said there between 3-5 children, 28.0 percent said 6-10 children, 20.9 percent said 11-20 children and 6.9 percent said there were between 21-70 children kept from school (N=33). As a result, it can be concluded that an average of 12.3 children per campsite are kept from school. Thus, the number of children not enrolled or withdrawn from school is twice that of the number of children sent back to their permanent residences to attend school at the start of the school year.

Chapter Seven

Survey Findings: Landowners/Employers

7.1. Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of landowners/employers

Due to the significant role played by the agricultural intermediary, landowners/employers and the seasonal agricultural workers they engage in harvesting cotton rarely have any direct contact. Still, the attitude and behaviour of landowners/employers towards workers is important, since it is the landowners/employers who are responsible for addressing many of the workers needs and solving any problems that may arise in the course of their employment.

This study surveyed 32 landowners/employers who employed the children and households surveyed. Landowners/employers resided either in the provincial capital, Adana, or in the Karataş District. Half of the landowners surveyed resided permanently in rural areas, whereas the other half lived in villages during the cotton harvesting season and in urban areas during the remainder of the year (N=32).

7.1.1. Age, education and occupational status

The majority of landowners/employers surveyed were between 31-60 years of age. All were male, and with one exception, all were married.

Table 7.1. Distribution of Landowners/Employers by Age (%)	
Age (years)	%
21-30	6.5
31-40	35.5
41-50	19.4
51-60	22.6
60+	16.1
Total (N=31)	100.0

The level of education of landowners/employers is much higher than that of both workers and intermediaries. This is unsurprising, given their overall higher socio-economic status. Only 3.1 percent of landowners/employers surveyed are illiterate, and all of these are in the 60+ age group. By contrast, the one university graduate among landowners/employers surveyed was below 30 years of age. Those landowners/employers surveyed who are primary school graduates (65.6%), middle school graduates (6.3%) and high school graduates (21.9%) are distributed fairly evenly over all age groups (N=32).

Relatively few landowners/employers (6.2%) engage in any economic activity other than farming.

7.1.2. Status of agricultural enterprises

All employers engaging wage workers in cotton harvesting own their own land. Of these, 78.1 percent either lease land or engage in sharecropping in addition to cultivating their own land. Both the amount of land owned and the amount of land under cotton cultivation by those landowners/employers surveyed varied. While 50 percent of

landowners/employers owned less than 100 decares of land, at the same time, due to the practice of leasing/sharecropping, 78.1 percent of land under cotton cultivation is part of an enterprise larger than 100 decares Table 7.2).

Table 7.2. Distribution of Landowners/Employers by Amount of Land Owned (%)			
Land (Decares)	Total Owned	Total Under Tenancy and/or Sharecropping	Total Under Cotton Cultivation
Less than 50	28.1	4.0	3.1
51-100	21.9	24.0	18.8
101-250	31.3	40.0	40.6
251-500	15.6	24.0	28.1
500+	3.1	8.0	9.4
Total	100.0 N=32	100.0 N=25	100.0 N=32

7.1.3. Labour used in cotton cultivation

Due to the intensive requirements for manual labour in cotton cultivation, most landowners/employers rely on an external labour force other than family members. Only 15.6 percent of those landowners/employers surveyed used the labour of family members in harvesting and/or hoeing cotton. In most cases, seasonal agricultural workers are employed in hoeing and harvesting, and all landowners/employers who employ seasonal agricultural workers do so through agricultural intermediaries. The number of workers employed varies according to the amount of land under cotton cultivation and according to the season, with the need for labour at its highest during the harvesting season. Table 7.3 shows the number of workers employed in hoeing and harvesting by the landowners/employers surveyed.

Table 7.3. Distribution of Enterprises by Number of Workers Employed (%)		
Number of Workers	Hoeing Cotton	Harvesting Cotton
Less than 10	6.5	-
11-20	22.6	3.2
21-30	51.6	25.8
31-40	16.1	32.3
40+	3.2	38.7
Total (N=31)	100.0	100.0

All landowners/employers said that they advance payments to agricultural intermediaries before the start of the agricultural season. While 93.8 percent of landowners/employers said they pay their workers after the harvest is completed, 6.2 percent said they pay their workers after the harvested crop is sold. Landowners/employers also said that part of the amount paid as wages to workers is given directly to intermediaries. According to landowners/employers, in 2002 workers were paid a wage of TL 78,000/kilogram of cotton harvested, with 10 percent going to the intermediary. Based on average amounts harvested, this amounts to a daily wage of TL 5,600,000 (US\$3.30).

7.2. Responsibilities of landowners/employers employing seasonal workers

Landowners/employers are legally required to cover some of their workers' expenses. Of those landowners/employers surveyed, 87.5 percent said they paid the costs of transporting workers between the cotton fields and their campsites. All landowners/employers said they

provided drinking water and water for other uses at the campsites, and 6.3 percent said they paid for electricity as well.

While the prime responsibility for providing workers with suitable and sanitary campsites lies with landowners/employers, only 56.3 percent of those surveyed claimed to fulfill this responsibility. Moreover, field observations and descriptions provided by workers indicate that in fact campsites fall below minimum standards, particularly in terms of toilet and bathing facilities.

Most landowners/employers also fail to fulfill their responsibilities towards workers regarding work accidents and health problems. Of those landowners/employers surveyed, 64.5 said they take workers to the nearest health dispensary in cases of work accidents or urgent health problems, 22.6 percent said they take workers to a hospital and 3.9 percent they did not take any action in such cases (N=31). These responses conflict with those of household heads, only 0.6 percent of whom said landowners/employers became involved in cases where a worker fell sick or was injured.

While 64.5 percent of landowners/employers said they have had no disputes with workers, 35.5 percent said they had occasional disputes over such issues as wage rates, payment schedules and campsites (N=31). As to their relations with intermediaries, 68.8 percent of landowners/employers said they have no problems with intermediaries, whereas 31.2 percent said they have had problems over issues such as failing to recruit the required amounts of labour, not keeping them adequately informed and not taking their obligations seriously.

7.3. Perceptions of landowners/employers regarding child labour in agriculture

Despite their limited contact, landowners/employers may observe or be informed to a certain extent regarding the working and living conditions of seasonal agricultural workers and any hazards they may face.

Of those landowners/employers surveyed, 81.3 percent think that engaging in work harvesting cotton or any other crop negatively affects the growth and development of children, particularly in terms of limiting their education; 9.4 percent do not think children are negatively affected; and another 9.4 percent did not indicate whether or not they think children are affected (N=32). When asked why children worked, 81.2 percent of landowners/employers said it was due to the poverty of their families and 18.8 percent said it was an inevitable consequence of their accompanying family members who migrated for work (N=32).

As part of the survey, 62.5 percent of landowners/employers gave their opinions regarding the most significant problems faced by children engaged in cotton harvesting (N=20). In order of significance, landowners/employers mentioned missing out on an education, followed by the lack of a suitably healthy environment, inadequate nutrition, the inability to fully experience childhood and the risk of drowning in a stream or irrigation canal.

Most landowners/employers said children below a certain age should be prevented from engaging in harvesting cotton or any other economic activity because of their limited physical development and their need for basic education. Of those surveyed, 43.7 percent

said children should not be permitted to work until they reached age 15, 21.9 percent said age 16 and 34.4 percent said age 17-18.

Landowners/employers also suggested the following strategies for addressing the problem of children engaging in work harvesting cotton: persuade seasonal agricultural workers not to bring their children with them; ensure that the State effectively monitors children's enrolment and attendance in compulsory basic education; dispatch mobile health units to provide children with regular health checkups; provide vocational training courses to create new employment opportunities for children; establish child/youth centres and provide extracurricular courses/tutoring, especially for children under age 10; construct housing for seasonal workers that meets minimum standards; offer training programmes to parents; prevent children from wandering alone in open fields; create employment opportunities for migrant agricultural workers in their permanent places of residence.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions and Recommendations

While agriculture continues to constitute an important part of the Turkish economy, national economic and rural demographic trends have led to major structural changes within the sector. Reduced family holdings and landlessness have made it more and more difficult for rural families to earn a living and are the primary factors driving the phenomenon of seasonal migrant and temporary agricultural work. Small landowners unable to subsist on their own holdings, large numbers of landless rural residents and new urban settlers of rural origin who lack adequate skills and training for urban employment constitute the source of seasonal migrant and temporary agricultural labour.

Children are the most seriously affected by the difficult conditions associated with seasonal agricultural work. The hazards they face from sub-standard working and living environments disrupt their normal physical and psychological development. Moreover, because they are not enrolled in school or are forced to drop out in order to work, they are denied the education necessary to improve their status in the future.

The total elimination of child labour could be achieved by eliminating the economic and social factors that push children into the workforce. Unfortunately, current labour-market dynamics and household economic conditions generate many incentives for children to become economically active at an early age. Factors that attract children to working life include the desire for extra income, the wish to secure an occupation and failure in school. However, ultimately, children engaged in seasonal agricultural labour do not do so out of choice, but as a result of the low socio-economic status of their families. Working beyond their physical capacity and missing out on educational opportunities, these children are deprived of the opportunity to change their social status, thus undermining inter-generational social mobility. As a result, their expectations for the future remain low and their outlook fatalistic.

8.1 Risks to children

Despite the overall reduction in agricultural employment in relation to the rest of the Turkish economy, agriculture remains the sector to rely most commonly on child labour. Children engaged in seasonal agriculture work can be distinguished from children engaged in other forms of child labour by the fact that they are temporarily subjected to substandard living conditions in addition to their unfavourable working conditions. According to this survey, the most significant risks to children can be placed in one of two basic categories, as follows:

Educational Risks. Children engaged in seasonal agricultural work miss out on an education. Rarely is this a matter of choice. Despite the existence of eight-year compulsory basic education in Turkey and sanctions to ensure compliance, many children engaged in seasonal agricultural work either drop out of school or never attend in the first place. Of those children surveyed, 12.2 percent had never been to school and 20.0 percent had dropped out before fifth grade.

Physical and Mental Health Risks. Children engaged in seasonal agricultural work face numerous physical health risks as a result of their working and living conditions, particularly risks related to contaminated water and food, unsanitary waste disposal and agro-chemical usage. Nearly 40 percent of children surveyed had not been fully immunized against preventable diseases and 67.1 percent were found to be underweight. Malnutrition, combined with long working hours, hard physical labour, the monotonous nature of work and a lack of any beneficial leisure activities give rise to problems including retarded personality development, lack of creativity, delayed mental development and problems in psycho-social development.

The total elimination of child labour in seasonal agricultural work, as envisaged in national legislation and international conventions, is an important goal for Turkey. However, given the current realities in the country, continuation of this form of child employment seems, to a certain extent, to be inevitable. Thus, in addressing the problem in the short term, the focus must be placed on improving the working and living conditions of seasonal agricultural workers in general. This is also necessary if Turkey is to fulfil its commitments on 'Fair Working Conditions' as outlined in the European Social Charter and bring environmental health and nutrition standards in line with ILO recommendations as laid out in the 'Guidebook for Health and Safety of Agricultural Workers'.

Measures to be taken should include the following: decreasing working days/hours; increasing rest periods, play and leisure time; ensuring the proper nutrition of workers; enhancing education opportunities and ensuring full compliance with compulsory education regulations; establishing mobile health services to provide free immunization, periodic health check-ups and other medical services; and supporting inter-agency collaboration for the improvement of environmental conditions of seasonal workers. This in turn requires increasing the capacity of government authorities to conduct systematic monitoring of all aspects of the child labour situation.

8.2 Roles and responsibilities: Households

The use of child labor in agriculture is directly related to household economic, social and cultural status and behavior. First of all, the socialization process of children is determined by the norms and values adopted by communities and households. Household attitude towards the education of children as well as social values and norms that assign a certain meaning to education play a role in determining the dimensions of child labor. The phenomenon would clearly be limited if households were to regard children not as additional sources of income but as young individuals requiring education and socialization. Once children are seen as mere instruments for obtaining extra income, the risks they face as a result of employment may be underemphasized.

It cannot be overstated that the driving factor behind child labor is the low economic status of the households in which working children reside. For this reason, it is important to help parents of working children build income-generation skills and support the establishment of small family enterprises that will allow households to reduce their reliance on the income of working children. Such income-generating activities must be supported by increasing parental awareness of programs and agencies offering assistance to low-income households, supporting basic health/nutrition of children and their families, and improving the educational infrastructure. In this regard, civil marriages among household heads and

official birth registration of children are a matter of urgency in order to ensure that families of working children are able to benefit from the basic rights available to them as Turkish citizens.

While the above-mentioned roles and responsibilities pertain to parents of working children, the main responsibility for ensuring their implementation rests with the relevant government organizations and agencies.

8.3. Roles and responsibilities: Agricultural intermediaries

As agents tasked with striking a balance between agricultural labor supply and demand during months in which agricultural work intensifies, agricultural intermediaries are important for both workers and landowners/employers. Through their unique position as bridge between workers and employers, as well as their legal reporting obligations, agricultural intermediaries are well placed to play a role in finding a solution to the problem of child labour in agriculture.

Unfortunately, the state agency charged with regulating the activities of agricultural intermediaries is ill equipped to fulfill its supervisory role. In the absence of effective supervisory mechanisms, intermediaries may act irresponsibly. Under present conditions, unlicensed and untrained intermediaries conduct activities in an unmonitored environment in which the system of labor brokerage operates through traditional practices and norms rather than according to legal regulations designed to protect workers. Inadequate reporting and monitoring has made it impossible to detect whether or not intermediaries fulfill their main responsibilities, particularly in terms of securing suitable campsites and transportation to and from worksites, or if they make deductions from workers' wages, which is legally prohibited.

In order to ensure that the system of labour brokerage in seasonal agricultural work functions effectively and efficiently and protects children from related hazards, training needs to be offered to agricultural intermediaries that focuses on raising awareness on the effects of inappropriate living and working conditions on the physical and mental health and development of children. (Training material prepared in this regard may also be used to inform landowners/employers and parents of working children of the risks associated with child labour.)

8.4. Roles and responsibilities: Landowners/employers

As a result of the use of agricultural intermediaries in brokering labour for seasonal agricultural work, landowners/employers have limited contact with the workers they employ. While most landowners/employers surveyed were found to be aware of the problems of seasonal agricultural workers, there were very few who actually took measures to improve health and safety conditions at workplaces or campsites. Moreover, while intermediaries may be responsible for actually selecting the individuals who will be engaged in work, none of the landowners/employers surveyed took any measures against employing children. In fact, employing children may be looked on by employers as profitable, since children are less aware of their rights than adults and are more willing to engage in even the most hazardous work.

In the short term, awareness-raising programs are needed to ensure that landowners/employers fulfill their responsibilities in relation to the health, first-aid, working and living conditions of seasonal agricultural workers. This should include the government-supported construction of permanent/temporary sheltering places with adequate infrastructure (water, plumbing and electricity). In the long term, it must be forbidden for landowners/employers to employ children in agricultural work.

8.5. Roles and responsibilities: Institutions

Solutions to the problems of children engaged in seasonal agricultural work do not fall under the domain of any one organization or agency, for they contain educational, organizational, economical, social and cultural dimensions. For this reason, they can only be solved through joint and coordinated efforts of all relevant organizations and agencies. This primarily requires increasing the monitoring and supervisory capacity of relevant government agencies to take the lead in the fight against child labor. This must entail mitigating the hazards faced by children working in seasonal agriculture in the short term and in fully eliminating child labor in the long term.

Ministry of Labour and Social Security: As the government body responsible for providing both social security and health provisions for workers and for regulating the system of agricultural labor brokerage, the MOLSS holds primary responsibility among institutions for addressing the problem of seasonal child labour in agriculture.

In line with previous studies, the current study found that seasonal agricultural workers remain outside the scope of social protection. Only 1.5 percent of household heads surveyed enjoyed any type of social security coverage, a fact that has implications for their children as well. Moreover, because of the general lack of supervision of agricultural intermediaries, individuals acting as intermediaries failed to conform with legal regulations governing their activities. This suggests that the relevant units within the MOLSS need to be mobilized to both inform agricultural workers of their rights and to effectively supervise agricultural intermediaries and landowners/employers.

It is also important to increase the number of labour inspectors and their range of authority to monitor the use of child labour in seasonal agricultural work as well as to increase their awareness and capacity to do so.

Turkish Employment Agency: A sustainable monitoring and supervisory mechanism must be developed to ensure that the Turkish Employment Agency is able to fulfil the duty assigned to it of ensuring that agricultural intermediaries conducting their activities according to legal regulations. To a certain extent, solving the problems of working children, particularly those related to the environmental health and hygiene conditions of campsites, can be facilitating by ensuring that all agricultural intermediaries operate with valid licenses and in line with legal provisions.

Furthermore, the monitoring capacity of the Turkish Employment Agency needs to be increased to ensure that agricultural intermediaries fulfill their responsibilities of ensuring that seasonal employment contracts are agreed between all parties (intermediaries, workers

and landowners/employers) and conduct all of their duties as prescribed by law, particularly in terms of prohibitions on deductions from workers' wages.

To enhance the capacity of the Employment Agency to perform its supervisory work, local branches of the institution must be adequately staffed and informed to take a pro-active stance on child labour-related issues.

Ministry of National Education: Education is the most pressing problem for children employed in seasonal agricultural work. School enrolment and retention is crucial for their future development. Although the Basic Education Law requires children to attend compulsory basic education for eight years and forbids them from engaging in paid work of any kind while attending school, children engaged in seasonal migrant agricultural labour do not attend school as required. Both the MOLSS and the MONE need to work together jointly to address this situation.

The overall responsibility for ensuring that the educational requirements of all children are met rests with the MONE. Offering children currently engaged in seasonal agricultural work the opportunity to continue their education in boarding schools and other institutions would be a meaningful step towards solving some of their problems. Alternatively, the MONE can adapt the school year with respect to the agricultural season to accommodate these children as needed. Training programs can also be developed to change traditional attitudes that inhibit the school enrolment and attendance of children, particularly girls. Finally, changes should be made in the existing education system to make education more attractive to children and provide them with skills relevant to their future.

Ministry of Health: Local health departments have a role to play in improving the physical and environmental health and living conditions of seasonal agricultural workers. Mobile health units need to be mobilized to provide services to seasonal agricultural workers in the field. Health units can also conduct awareness-raising activities for seasonal agricultural workers, intermediaries and landowners/employers that can help them to better address environmental health-related medical problems such as food poisoning and snake bites/scorpion stings.

As stressed earlier, solutions cannot be sought within the domain of a single agency. Rather, all relevant organizations, agencies and units must be mobilized to fulfill their duties and responsibilities in their respective fields. The construction of comprehensive and reliable databases on the living and working conditions, educational status and problems of children employed in seasonal agricultural work that provide all stakeholders with accurate, up-to-date information can be a first step towards achieving this.

It has also been noted that government agencies providing services to children currently focus more on children in urban areas than those in rural areas. In this regard, another step to be taken is to raise awareness among government agencies on the specific problems of rural child labour. However, in order to do so successfully, changing existing legislation to include child workers in the agricultural sector is a prerequisite.

8.6. Legislation and conventions

In terms of legal measures, the problem of addressing the issue of child labour in Turkey is less a problem of inadequate legislation and more one of ineffective implementation. This holds true for both national legislation as well as international conventions. For example, despite the Turkish government's ratification of ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour and the identification of seasonal child labour in agriculture as one of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Turkey, national legislation still lacks specific provisions to address the issue, and a government unit designed to deal specifically with the issue of child labor in agriculture has yet to be established. Moreover, despite the ratification of ILO Convention No. 132 on minimum age for employment and subsequent amendments to bring national legislation in line with both ILO Conventions, 66.4 percent of children interviewed by this survey were found to be under the age of 14. In this regard, passage of legislation establishing a minimum age for agricultural work is sorely needed.

Although the Turkish Labor Code explicitly outlines minimum age requirements for work in industry, commerce, underground and underwater activities and heavy and hazardous work, there are no such arrangements for the agricultural sector. It should be noted that the Turkish Civil Code considers age 18 as the start of adulthood, that the Labor Code establishes 18 as the minimum age for heavy and hazardous work and sets 15 as the minimum age for employment in general (with certain flexibility regarding light work for children between 13-15 years of age), and that the General Law on Hygiene completely bans the employment of children under age 12. Considering the nature of agricultural labour, it is therefore recommended that children under the age of 17 be banned from engaging in this type of work.

In order to ensure that relevant legal changes are effective in combating child labor in the agricultural sector, it is essential to ensure the active participation of agricultural workers, intermediaries, landowners/employers, trade union representatives and representatives of the relevant ministries in the process of drafting amendments to existing legislation.

8.7. Public awareness

A multi-sectoral approach that mobilizes all segments of society is needed to alleviate the problems of children working in seasonal agriculture in the short term and to remove them from work entirely in the long term. Raising public awareness about the risks of child labor that will lead to action towards its total elimination, including child labor in agriculture, is an essential first step in this direction.

The role of the media in this regard is significant. As in every arena, the media can have significant influence in mobilizing public opinion against child labor. Therefore, it is important that the media produce and distribute programs that inform the public about the negative economic, social, cultural and psychological impacts of child labor, not only on the children involved, but on their families, communities and society as a whole. The media can also play a dissuasive role by publicly exposing individuals and organizations that engage in exploitation of child labor or create environments conducive for such exploitation.

Trade unions and other non-governmental organizations must also be mobilized to raise public awareness on child labor and lobby for its elimination. Agricultural work constitutes the most dispersed and least organized sector of the economy, and as a result, agricultural

workers are severely hampered in actively pressing for the rights to which they are entitled. It is therefore necessary to support the unionization of agricultural workers and their attainment of their rights.

Finally, it should be noted that very few studies have been conducted on child labor in agriculture. To remedy this, universities must be encouraged and supported in conducting research in this field in order to increase the available knowledge base upon which effective policies and programs may be built.

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Annex 1: Land Under Cotton Cultivation in the Karataş District of Adana, by Village (2001)

Village	Area under cotton culture (decares)
Adalı	11,938
Ataköy	4,784
Bahçe	8,608
Beyköy	708
Bebeli	7,858
Çağrışlı	8,304
Çakırören	8,074
Çavuşlu	3,125
Cırık	1,802
Çimenli	3,489
Çukurkamış	5,258
Damlapınar	162
Develiören	742
Dolaplı	2,416
Eğriçay	538
Gökçeli	2,244
Gölkaya	4,476
Gümüşyazı	5,621
Hacıhasanlı	3,600
Hasırağacı	1,088
Helvacı	5,301
İsahacılı	3,335
Kamışlı	1,376
Karagöçer	7,878
Karataş Merkez	5,152
Kesik	9,554
Kiremitli	4,971
Köprügözü	144
Kırhasan	2,372
Kızıлтаhta	2,105
Küçükkarataş	3,016
Meletmez	2,500
Oymaklı	2,829
Sarımsaklı	700
Sirkenli	11,659
Tabaklar	139
Terliksiz	2,394
Topraklı	5,078
Tuzkuyusu	1,192
Tuzla Hakkıbey	2,807
Tuzla Uğurkaya	959
Yassıören	257
Yemişli	25,817
Yenice	829

Yenimurat	718
Yüzbaşı	237
Yalnızca	675
TOTAL	190,934

Annex 2: Villages in the Karataş District of Adana Included in the Sample

Village	Number of Tents to be Interviewed
Kızıлтаhta	20
Çavuşlu	20
Kiremitli	20
Helvacı	20
Çakırören	20
Kesik	20
Adalı	20
Yemişli	20
TOTAL	160

Annex 3: Survey Selection Methodology

Identification of Sample Households by Systematic Selection Method

Systematic selection began by determining the number of households to be included in the survey as well as the total number and grouping of tents. For example, assuming that there are 183 households in three tent groups with 36, 58 and 89 tents, respectively, and that a total of 20 households will be selected, the selection process would proceed as follows:

1. Beginning with the number “1”, number tents (households) from 1-183 as follows:

Household 1: Tent Group I, Tent No. 1
Household 2: Tent Group I, Tent No. 2
.
Household 36: Tent Group I, Tent No. 36
Household 37: Tent Group II, Tent No. 1
.
Household 94: Tent Group II, Tent No. 58
Household 95: Tent Group III, Tent No. 1
.
Household 183: Tent Group III, Tent No. 89

Vacated tents should be excluded, and, where more than one tent forms part of the same household, all tents belonging to that household should be assigned the same number.

2. Determine the interval figure by dividing the total number of tents by the number of tents to be interviewed. *Do not round up the interval figure. Rounding may eliminate the possibility of the last tent appearing in the sample or prevent a total of 20 tents from being reached.*
3. Randomly select a number between 1 and 9.15. This will be the number of the first sample household to be interviewed.
4. Find the second sample household by adding the interval figure to the starting number.
5. Find the third sample household by adding the interval figure to the number of the second sample tent. Continue this process until a total of 20 sample households have been selected.

Example:

$183 \text{ (Total Number of Households)} / 20 \text{ (Number of Households to be Interviewed)} = 9.15 \text{ (Interval Number)}$

Random Starting Number (between 1 and 9.15): 2

1st Sample Household: Household No. 2 (Tent No. 2, Tent Group 1)**

2nd Sample Household: Household No. 11 (Tent No. 11, Tent Group 1) [Previous Household Number (2) + Interval (9.15) = Household Number (11.15) = Sample Household No. (11)]

3rd Sample Household: Household 20 (Tent No. 20, Tent Group 1) [Previous Household Number (11.15) + Interval (9.15) = Household Number (20.3) = Sample Household No. (20)]

...

20th Sample Household: Household 176 (Tent No. 82, Tent Group 3) [Previous Household Number (166.7) + Interval (9.15) = Household Number (175.85) = Sample Household No. (176)]

* In cases where a selected tent contains more than one household, one household is randomly selected.

**FIELD SURVEY
FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF WORST FORMS OF CHILD
LABOR IN AGRICULTURE
(COTTON CULTIVATION IN KARATAŞ DISTRICT, ADANA)**

CHILD QUESTIONNAIRE
(to be filled in with children in the age group 5-17)

EXPLANATION

The Ministry of Labour and Social Security, Child Labour Unit has developed a Time-Bound Policy and Programme Framework for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labor in Turkey. Within this framework, agriculture, industry and street work have been identified as the sectors in which worst forms of child labour exist.

The present survey aims to produce a general analysis of the status of child labour in seasonal cotton harvesting, a sector in which worst forms of child labour can be observed. Information collected through this questionnaire will be used only for purposes of statistical analysis and is thus strictly confidential. Such information cannot be used as the basis or justification of any new obligation on individuals or as evidence in any kind of judicial investigation.

QUESTIONNAIRE NO.

CHILD INTERVIEWED:

PART 1: OVERALL INFORMATION

1. Age of the Child (Age Completed)
2. Total number of family members
3. How many children in total? siblings **(including sisters)**
4. Age ranking with respect to all living children in the family?
5. Sex
 1. (...) Male
 2. (...) Female
6. Place of Birth
 - 6.1. Province
 - 6.2. District
 - 6.3. Village
7. Permanent place of residence at present
 - 7.1. Province
 - 7.2. District
 - 7.3. Village
8. Place where the birth took place (response can be taken from a parent when necessary)
 1. (...) At home
 2. (...) In the field
 3. (...) Health center
 4. (...) Hospital
 5. (...) Not known
 6. (...) Other (Please specify)
9. Presence of any attendant during birth
 1. (...) Delivery without any attending person
 2. (...) Village midwife (Any person in the village with experience in birth-giving)
 3. (...) Official midwife (Any person paid by the Government for this service)
 4. (...) Physician
 5. (...) Not known
 6. (...) Other (Please specify)
10. Marital status
 1. (...) Married
 2. (...) Unmarried
 3. (...) Divorced
 4. (...) Widowed
11. With whom you have come here for work?
 1. (...) With family
 2. (...) With friends

3. (...) With relatives such as uncles, etc.
4. (...) With other people from the village
5. (...) As a group (from an urban settlement)
6. (...) Other (Please specify).....

PART 2: EDUCATIONAL STATUS

12. Educational status/level

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. (...) Illiterate | CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 23. |
| 2. (...) Literate but never been in school | CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 23. |
| 3. (...) Attending primary school | |
| 4. (...) Primary school drop-out | CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 20. |
| 5. (...) Primary school graduate | CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 21. |
| 6. (...) Attending secondary school | |
| 7. (...) Secondary school drop-out | CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 20. |
| 8. (...) Secondary school graduate | CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 21. |
| 9. (...) Attending high-school | |
| 10. (...) High school drop-out | CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 20. |
| | |
| 11. (...) High-school graduate | CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 21. |
| 12. (...) Other (please specify) | |

13. (If presently attending school) Are you going to school here in this place?

1. (...) Yes
 2. (...) No
- CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 15.

14. To which school? (any school in the village or district center)

.....

15. Does your working affect your overall performance in school?

1. (...) Yes
2. (...) No

16. Why aren't you attending school?

1. (...) Because I am working.
2. (...) There is no school I can attend
3. (...) My family does not send me to school
4. (...) Other (Please specify)

17. Will you return to your school when cotton-picking work is over?

1. (...) Yes
2. (...) No

18. How late will you be to your school for this cotton-picking work?

..... days

19. Does your delayed arrival to school affect your performance in courses?

1. (...) Yes
2. (...) No

20. What is the reason for dropping out your school?

1. (...) My own will

2. (...) My family's will
3. (...) Having to work
4. (...) Not having sufficient economic background
5. (...) Failure in school
6. (...) Absence of any relevant school in the place I live
7. (...) Need to help my family in domestic work
8. (...) No specific reason
9. (...) Other (Please specify).....

21. What you like/liked in your school? (to be asked to drop-outs too)

1. (...) My friends in school
2. (...) My teachers
3. (...) To learn new things
4. (...) Courses
5. (...) It is a place where I don't have to work
6. (...) I dislike school
7. (...) Other (Please specify).....

22. What do/did you dislike in school? (to be asked to drop-outs too)

1. (...) Schoolmates
2. (...) Teachers
3. (...) Courses
4. (...) School as a place
5. (...) Crowded classrooms
6. (...) Irrelevance or low quality of education
7. (...) Other (Please specify).....

23. If never been to school, what are the reasons (to be asked to those above age 7)

1. (...) Parents did not let
2. (...) Far distant from a school at school age
3. (...) Not sent to school for being female
4. (...) Could not go to school for working in agriculture
5. (...) Family did not have material means (poverty)
6. (...) I did not like school
7. (...) Absence of any school in his/her permanent settlement
8. (...) Other (Please specify)

24. How many brothers/sisters do you have, who returned back home when their school started?

0. (...) None
1.

1.1.1.1.1

PART 3: HEALTH

25. Ill health-diseases

25.1. Does the child have chronic/serious illness?	25.2. If so, what? 1. Malaria 2. Cancer
--	---

1. Yes 2. No (Continue with question 26)	3. Hernia 4. Rheumatism 5. Goiter 6. Physical disability 7. Mental disability 8. Kidney problem 9. Polio 10. Diabetes 11. Heart problem 12. Other (Please specify)

26. Did you get any vaccine?

1. (....) I don't know
2. (....) Never
3. (....) I get my vaccines regularly
4. (....) Irregularly

27. Do you have the habit of eating such things as earth, clay, paper, coal, plaster, etc.

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No

28. Do you smoke?

1. (....) I do
2. (....) I don't

29. Do you have night blindness?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No

30. How many hours do you sleep a day?

.....hours

31. Physical measurements

31.1. WeightKg

31.2. HeightCm.

PART 4: WORKING ENVIRONMENT AND CONDITIONS IN COTTON PICKING

32. Do you use or get on any motor vehicle in this work (cotton picking)?

1. (....) Yes, I use.
2. (....) Yes, I get on.
3. (....) No, I don't use or get on.
4. (....) Yes, I both use and get on.

33. Have you ever experienced any accident with such vehicles?

1. (....) Yes (Please specify).....
2. (....) No

34. Have you ever been in any chemical medication in cotton fields?

1. (....) Yes

2. (...) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 36

35. Have you used protective equipment in this work?

- 1. (...) Yes
- 2. (...) No

36. During your stay here, have you even been subject to chemicals while hoeing or any other type of work? (chemicals sprayed by planes, tractors or manually)

- 1. (...) Yes
- 2. (...) No
- 3. (...) No idea

37. Do you play with cans of chemicals left in fields or their surroundings?

- 1. (...) Yes
- 2. (...) No

38. What kinds of work do you do here this year?

- | | | |
|---|--------------|-------------|
| 38.1. Cotton picking | 1. (...) Yes | 2. (...) No |
| 38.2. Carrying water | 1. (...) Yes | 2. (...) No |
| 38.3. Taking care of my siblings | 1. (...) Yes | 2. (...) No |
| 38.4. Keeping an eye on our things here | 1. (...) Yes | 2. (...) No |
| 38.5. Washing dishes | 1. (...) Yes | 2. (...) No |
| 38.6. Cooking | 1. (...) Yes | 2. (...) No |
| 38.7. Cleaning | 1. (...) Yes | 2. (...) No |
| 38.8. Herding animals | 1. (...) Yes | 2. (...) No |
| 38.9. Making bales and loading them | 1. (...) Yes | 2. (...) No |
| 38.10. Other (Please specify) | | |
| 38.11. Nothing | 1. (...) Yes | 2. (...) No |

39. (If doing some work) what do you mostly do? (single marking is required)

- 1. (...) Picking cotton
- 2. (...) Carrying water
- 3. (...) Taking care of siblings
- 4. (...) Keeping an eye on things
- 5. (...) Washing dishes
- 6. (...) Cooking
- 7. (...) Cleaning
- 8. (...) Herding animals
- 9. (...) Making and loading bales
- 10. (...) Other (Please specify)

40. At what age did you start working?

At age

41. For how long have you been working?

..... years

42. Have you worked in any other sector than agriculture?

- 1. (...) Yes

2. (...) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 44

43. In which (sector) have you mostly worked?

1. (...) Hunting, fishing, forestry
2. (...) Mines and quarries
3. (...) Manufacturing industry
4. (...) Construction
5. (...) Wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants.
6. (...) Transportation, warehouse and communication
7. (...) Services
8. (...) Other (Please specify).....

44. How long, on average do you work in cotton picking?

..... hours

45. How many days a week do you work?

..... days

46. Who determines your weekly working days?

1. (...) My family, relatives
2. (...) Intermediary, *çavuş*, employer.
3. (...) Myself
4. (...) Depends on what type of work we take on
5. (...) Other (Please specify).....

47. On average, how many days do/will you work this year in hoeing or picking cotton?

47.1. Hoeing

0. (...) I don't
1. days

47.2. Picking cotton

0. (...) I don't (QUESTIONS 48-49 WILL NOT BE ASKED IN THIS CASE)
1. days

48. On average, how many kilograms of cotton do you pick a day,?

48.1. First handkg

48.2. Second handkg

49. What do you do with money you earn in cotton picking?

1. (...) Give it to my father
2. (...) Give it to my mother
3. (...) Spend it for my personal needs
4. (...) Save it
5. (...) I never see any money
6. (...) Keep the half and give the rest to my family
7. (...) Other (Please specify).....

50. This year, other than cotton what migrant work have you been involved in?

	Work	Did you work in it? 1. Yes 2. No (1)	If yes, how many days? (2)
50.1.	Hazel nut		
50.2.	Vegetables (potato onion, tomato, cucumber, etc)		
50.3.	Ground nuts		
50.4.	Sugar beet		
50.5.	Citrus fruit		
50.6.	Chickpea, lentil		
50.7.	Cummins		
50.8.	Other (Please specify).....		

51. Does your father want you to work?

1. (...) He doesn't but we have to
2. (...) He does
3. (...) He absolutely doesn't
4. (...) Other.....

52. Does your mother want you to work?

1. (...) She doesn't but we have to
2. (...) She does
3. (...) She absolutely doesn't
4. (...) Other.....

53. What do you think about such intermediaries as *çavuş*, etc?

1. (...) I think they are fine since they find work for us
2. (...) They don't give us enough
3. (...) They don't sufficiently attend to our needs
4. (...) I am mad at them, they oppress us
5. (...) They don't mingle much in our work
6. (...) Other (Please specify).....

54. What do you think about employers/landholders?

1. (...) I think they are fine since they give us work
2. (...) They don't give us enough
3. (...) They don't sufficiently attend to our needs
4. (...) I am mad at them, they oppress us
5. (...) They don't mingle much in our work
6. (...) Other (Please specify).....

55. By using what means you arrived here from your village?

1. (...) Truck
2. (...) Bus
3. (...) Train
4. (...) Tractor

5. (....) Minibus
6. (....) Other (Please specify).....

56. With whose intermediation have you come here?

1. (....) Relatives, friends
2. (....) Employer
3. (....) Agricultural intermediary (*çavuş*)
4. (....) Father/mother
5. (....) Other (Please specify).....

57. What is most tiring for you and your peers while working in fields?

1. (....) Picking, carrying
2. (....) Baling, loading
3. (....) Services (Carrying water, cooking, attending children, etc.)
4. (....) Nothing
5. (....) Other (Please specify).....

58. What is most pleasing for you and your peers while working in fields?

1. (....) Being together with friends
2. (....) Earning money
3. (....) Feeling that you are useful
4. (....) Nothing
5. (....) Other (Please specify).....

1.1.1.1.2

PART 5: OVERALL TENDENCIES

59. Does this work give you something other than money?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 61

60. What do you gain from your work other than money?

1. (....) Gives me a chance for my schooling
2. (....) Gives me some skills and teaches new things
3. (....) It neither teaches nor develops skills
4. (....) Gives me a chance to see places other than we live
5. (....) Gives me a chance to be with my friends
6. (....) We grasp the difficulties of life
7. (....) We learn about life
8. (....) We get acquainted with different cultures and peoples
9. (....) Other (Please specify)

61. What do you do with your friends in your spare time?

1. (....) We play
2. (....) We chat
3. (....) Listen to radio
4. (....) Watch TV
5. (....) Read books
6. (....) Nothing
7. (....) Other (Please specify).....

62. Have you ever been to a park?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No

63. Have you ever heard about “**Child Rights**”?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 65

64. What have you heard about it ?

.....

65. In whose place would you like to be in life?

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. (....) Farmer | 9. (....) Doctor | 16. (....) Sheikh |
| 2. (....) Ag. worker | 10. (....) Teacher | 17. (....) Landlord |
| 3. (....) Driver | 11. (....) Nurse | 18. (....) Prime Minister |
| 4. (....) Police | 12. (....) Engineer | 19. (....) Celebrity singer |
| 5. (....) Gendarme | 13. (....) Priest | 20. (....) Football/basketball player |
| 6. (....) <i>Muhtar</i> | 14. (....) My mother | 21. (....) My father |
| 7. (....) Employer | 15. (....) My elder brother | 22. (....) My elder sister |
| 8. (....) Ag. intermediary | 23. (....) Other (Please specify) | |

PART 6: EXPECTATIONS FROM FUTURE

66. What would you like to be in future?

1. (....) Engineer
2. (....) Teacher
3. (....) Pilot
4. (....) Agricultural intermediary
5. (....) Landholder
6. (....) Businessman
7. (....) Worker
8. (....) Football player
9. (....) Artist, singer
10. (....) Like my father
11. (....) Like my mother
12. (....) Priest
13. (....) Podium manikin
14. (....) Doctor
15. (....) Other (Please specify).....

67. Do you think about working again in cotton picking next year?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No
3. (....) It is not up to me

68. Would you like your younger siblings work? (to be asked to those having younger brothers and sisters)

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No

69. Would you like your own children doing the same work in future?

1. (...) Yes
2. (...) No

1.1.1.1.3

PART 7: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

70. What do you think the most important three problems are in cotton picking?

70.1. The most important one	70.2. Second...	70.3. Third...
1. (...) It is very tiresome 2. (...) Not the get what your labor is worth 3. (...) Hazard in working place 4. (...) Not being able to meet our basic human needs (toilet, water, etc.) 5. (...) Being away from home 6. (...) Being away from school 7. (...) Negative attitudes by employers 8. (...) Negative attitudes by intermediaries 9. (...) Negative attitudes by parents 10. (...) Other (Please specify).....	1. (...) It is very tiresome 2. (...) Not the get what your labor is worth 3. (...) Hazard in working place 4. (...) Not being able to meet our basic human needs (toilet, water, etc.) 5. (...) Being away from home 6. (...) Being away from school 7. (...) Negative attitudes by employers 8. (...) Negative attitudes by intermediaries 9. (...) Negative attitudes by parents 10. (...) Other (Please specify).....	1. (...) It is very tiresome 2. (...) Not the get what your labor is worth 3. (...) Hazard in working place 4. (...) Not being able to meet our basic human needs (toilet, water, etc.) 5. (...) Being away from home 6. (...) Being away from school 7. (...) Negative attitudes by employers 8. (...) Negative attitudes by intermediaries 9. (...) Negative attitudes by parents 10. (...) Other (Please specify).....

71. How do you think these problems can be solved?

.....

72. What should be done to totally eliminate any child labor in cotton farming?

.....

**INTERVIEW ENDS HERE. PLEASE THANK RESPONDENT FOR TAKING
PART IN THIS INTERVIEW**

To be filled by the questioner after interview

A1. Was the respondent alone throughout the interview?

1.(....) Yes 2.(....) No

A2. Please fill in the table below.

	<i>Highly satisfactory</i>	<i>Satisfactory</i>	<i>No idea</i>	<i>Not satisfactory</i>	<i>Fully unsatisfactory</i>
<i>Frankness of respondent</i>					
<i>Proportion of responded questions</i>					
<i>Setting in which the interview was carried out</i>					

To be filled by the survey team

	<i>Name/Last Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Time</i>
1.1.1.1.3.1 Questioner			
<i>Field supervisor</i>			
<i>Data entry personnel</i>			

Note:

**FIELD SURVEY
FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR IN
AGRICULTURE
(CASE OF COTTON WORK IN KARATAŞ DISTRICT, ADANA)**

1.1.1.2 HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

EXPLANATION

The “Framework for a Time-Bound Policy and Program for the Elimination of Child Labor” being developed under the Working Children Unit of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security has the objective of *eliminating the worst forms of child labor*. “Industry, agriculture, street-working and domestic work” have been identified as basic fields of employment in the context of the worst forms of child labor.

The present survey aims to come up with an overall analysis of the status of those working seasonally (as migrant workers) in cotton culture where the worst forms of child labor can also be observed. Information to be collected through this questionnaire is to be used only for purposes of statistical analysis and thus strictly confidential. Such information cannot be used as the basis or justification of any new obligation on individuals or as evidence in any kind of judicial investigation.

QUESTIONNAIRE NO.

NAME/LAST NAME:

TELEPHONE:

PART 1: OVERALL INFORMATION

1. Place of Birth

1.1 Province

1.2. District

1.3 Village

2. Permanent residence

2.1. Province

2.2. District

2.3. Village

3. All household members are to be recorded. **Total number of persons in the household (tent).....**

	3.1.Affinity to household head	3.2. Name	3.3. Age	3.4.Sex	3.5.Marital status	3.6.Educational status	3.7. Occupation	3.8. Is he/she present now?	3.9.Does he/she work in cotton picking?
	1. Himself 2 Spouse 3 Son 4 Daughter 5 Daughter in law 6 Grandchild 7 Brother/sister 8 Mother/baby 9 Grandparent 10 Other relatives 11. Other			1 Male 2 Female	1 Married 2 Single 3 Widowed 4 Divorced	0 Not at school age 1. Illiterate 2. Literate without any schooling 3. Attending primary school 4. Primary school drop-out 5. Primary school graduate 6.Attending secondary school 7. Secondary school drop-out 8. Attending high-school 9.High-school dropout. 10.High-school graduate 11. University student 12. University graduate	1 Farmer 2 Agricultural worker 3 Intermediary 4 No occupation 5.Housewife 6 Artisan 7 Shepherd 8 Other	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes 2. No
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									
11.									
12.									
13.									
14.									

4. What is your mother tongue?
 1. (...) Turkish
 2. (...) Kurdish
 3. (...) Zaza
 4. (...) Arabic
 5. (...) Other (Please specify)

PART 2: INFORMATION REGARDING PERMANENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE

5. Do you have any land under your proprietorship?
 1. (...) Yes 7. CONTINUE WITH QUESTION
 2. (...) No
6. Since you have no land, what do you do for subsistence?
 1. (...) I work for someone else in my village.
 2. (...) I am engaged in trade
 3. (...) I am an artisan
 4. (...) Do nothing
 5. (...) I am engaged in livestock farming
 6. (...) I do agricultural work for wage (migrant)
 7. (...) Other (Please specify).....
7. How many decares of land do you have?
.....decares.
8. How many plots does your land consist of ?plots
9. How do you exploit this land?

	How land is exploited	1. Yes 2. No (1)	If yes, how many decares? (2)
9.1	I am engaged in dry farming		
9.2	I am engaged in irrigated farming		
9.3	I am engaged n fruit culture		
9.4	I am engaged in vegetable culture		
9.5	I lease it		
9.6	I leave it idle		
9.7	Other (Please specify).....		

10. Do you have any animals in your village?

Animals	Is there? 1. Yes 2. No	If there is, how many?
10.1 Draft animals (horse, donkey, camel, ox, etc)		
10.2 Large head (cow, young bull, heifer, calf)		
10.3 Small head (sheep, goat, lamb...)		
10.4 Poultry animals		
10.5 Beehive		
10.6. Other (Please specify)		

11. What is the status of the house you live in your permanent?
1. (...) Our own house
 2. (...) Paying rent
 3. (...) Owned by others but we don't pay rent
 4. (...) Other (Please specify).....

PART 3:LIVING ENVIRONMENT

12. How did you get this cotton-picking work this year? (The questioner is supposed make some explanation about the question)
1. (...) I go to the place and look for work
 2. (...) Through intermediaries in our village or nearby villages
 3. (...) Through intermediaries coming from the place of work
 4. (...) By negotiating with landholders
 5. (...) We directly go to places where we worked before
 6. (...) Other (Please specify).....
13. Who takes care of your small children while you are at work?
1. (...) Nobody
 2. (...) Another adult from my family
 3. (...) One or two of our children
 4. (...) There is a caretaker out of family
 5. (...) We keep caretaker by paying
 6. (...) Other (Please specify).....
14. What FOOD ITEMS did you bring here from your village?

Food	1. I brought 2. I didn't bring (1)
14.1 Flour	
14.2 Ground wheat	
14.3 Sugar	
14.4 Tea	
14.5 Butter	
14.6 Bread.	
14.7 Lentil, chickpea	
14.8 Dry beans	
14.9 Tarhana	
14.10 Rice	
14.11. Other	

15. What did you bring here as KITCHEN UTENSILS?

Kitchen utensils	1. I brought 2. I didn't bring (1)
15.1 Kettles	
15.2 Cooking pan	
15.3 Cook stove	
15.4 Big gas tube	
15.5 Tea pot	
15.6 Small gas tube	
15.7 Small oven	
15.8 Water vessels	
15.9 Other	

16. What did you bring here as SHELTERING MATERIALS?

Sheltering	1. I brought 2. I didn't bring (1)
16.1 Mattress, pillows	
16.2 Quilt	
16.3 Blanket	
16.4 Tent	
16.5 Tent materials (i.e. wood, plastic cover, etc.)	
16.6. Carpet	
16.7 Kilim	
16.8 Trunk	
16.9 Other	

17. What did you bring here as working tools/instruments?

Working tools	1. I brought 2. I didn't bring (1)
17.1 Hoe	
17.2 Shovel	
17.3 Mattock	
17.4 Basket	
17.5 Other	

18. Did you bring animals to the place where you set up your tent or did you by them here?

1. (...) Yes

2. (...) No. CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 20

19. What animals and how many of them?

Animal	How any (0) If none (1)
19.1. Sheep	
19.2. Goat	
19.3. Cow	
19.4. Chicken	
19.5. Turkey	
19.6. Duck	
19.7. Goose	
19.8. Dog	
19.9. Cat	
19.10. Other	

20. What is the location of the place where you camp?

1. (....) Near a river or stream
2. (....) In or adjacent to the village
3. (....) At least 1 km from the village
4. (....) In the fields
5. (....) Near drinking water source
6. (....) In the district center
7. (....) Other (Please specify)

21. What is the nature of the shelter where you temporarily stay?

1. (....) Plastic tent
2. (....) Normal tent
3. (....) Warehouse
4. (....) Lodgment for workers
5. (....) Simple building made of mud-brick
6. (....) Made of brick
7. (....) In open field, on ground
8. (....) A cottage made of plants or wood
9. (....) Other (Please specify)

22. In how many tents does your family presently stay?

..... tents

23. What is the size of your shelter? (tent size in square meters. ATTENTION: if it is necessary to go in tents be sure to take their permission first)

.....square meter

24. Is there electricity in this place/tent?

1. (....) All the time
2. (....) For limited periods in a day
3. (....) No electricity at all

25. Where do you keep your food?
1. (....) We don't keep them for long
 2. (....) There is a cupboard for this
 3. (....) We have refrigerator
 4. (....) We keep them underground
 5. (....) Other (Please specify)
26. Are there empty cans/bottles of agricultural chemicals and pesticides around your shelters/tents?
1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No
27. Where do you find use/drinking water?
- 27.1. Drinking water
1. (....) Village fountain
 2. (....) Standpipes in fields
 3. (....) Wells
 4. (....) Canals
 5. (....) Plumbs
 6. (....) Employer brings in by vessels or water tanks
 7. (....) Other (Please specify)
- 27.2. Use water
1. (....) Village fountain
 2. (....) Standpipes in fields
 3. (....) Wells
 4. (....) Canals
 5. (....) Plumbs
 6. (....) Employer brings in by vessels or water tanks
 7. (....) Other (Please specify)
28. What kind of latrine do you have in your shelter?
1. (....) No latrine, we just do it in open field
 2. (....) We have a latrine with a covered pit
 3. (....) We have a latrine with uncovered pit
 4. (....) We have a latrine but wastes run openly
 5. (....) We have a latrine but wastes flow in a stream
 6. (....) We have a latrine and wastes flow in a sewage network
 7. (....) Other (Please specify).....
29. Is there any place for such needs in the fields you work?
1. (....) No latrine
 2. (....) There is covered latrine
30. Where does your domestic wastewater from such places as bath, kitchen etc. flow?
1. (....) Open
 2. (....) To a canal
 3. (....) To a pit
 4. (....) To sewage system

1.1.1.2.1
1.1.1.2.2

5. (...) Other (Please specify).....

PART 4: WORKING ENVIRONMENT

31. Why do you work in cotton-picking?

1. (...) I have no other occupation or skill
2. (...) For extra income
3. (...) To make a living for my family
4. (...) We have no/only small plot of land
5. (...) Other (Please specify)

32. Do you always come in to the same region/area for cotton-picking?

	1 Yes 2 No
32.1 To the region/Çukurova	
32.2 To the area/Karataş	
32.3 To the enterprise/field	

33. How many hours a day do you work as cotton-picker?

.....hours

34. How many days a week do you work?

.....days

35. How many days, on average, a year do you work in cotton-picking?

35.1. Hoeing

0. (...) I don't do it
1. days

35.2. Cotton-picking

0. (...) I don't do it
1. days

36. How do you go to the field where you are working at present?

1. (...) By walking
2. (...) By tractors
3. (...) By minibuses
4. (...) By horse-drawn carts
5. (...) By trucks
6. (...) By pick-ups
7. (...) Other (Please specify)

37. How much time is necessary to get to the place where you work?

.....minutes

38. This year what temporary agricultural work other than cotton-picking have you done?

	Work	Have you worked in it 1. Yes 2. No (1)	If yes, for how many days? (2)
38.1.	Hazel nut		
38.2.	Vegetables (potato, onion, tomato, cucumber, etc.)		
38.3.	Ground nuts		
38.4.	Sugar beet		
38.5.	Citrus fruit		
38.6.	Chickpea, lentil		
38.7.	Cumin		
38.8.	Other (Please specify).....		

39. How any times a day do you take rest while in cotton-picking?

1. (....) No rest
2. (....) Once
3. (....) Twice
4. (....) Three times
5. (....) Other (Please specify).....

1.1.1.2.3

PART 5: HEALTH STATUS

40. This year, have you or anyone else in your family had any health problem deriving from cotton-picking or living here in this environment ?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 42

41. What health problem?

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 41.1. Flu | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 41.2. Sunstroke | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 41.3. Nutritional intoxication | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 41.4. Work accident | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 41.5. Bitten by insects | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 41.6. Bitten/shot by snake/scorpion | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 41.7. Malaria | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 41.8. Diarrhea | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 41.9. Other(Please specify) | | |

42. What are the most common diseases/health problems in the group (tent) you work with?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 42.1. Flu | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 42.2. Sunstroke | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 42.3. Nutritional intoxication | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 42.4. Bitten by insects | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 42.5. Snake/scorpion | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 42.6. Malaria | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 42.7. Diarrhea | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 42.8. Other (Please specify) | | |

43. Do your children have any skin disease (i.e. alopecia, allergy, feet fungus, etc.)

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No

44. What do you do in cases of illness or work accident?

1. (....) Home care
2. (....) Visit health center
3. (....) Visit hospital
4. (....) Receive care from mobile health units
6. (....) No cure/treatment, we do nothing
7. (....) Resort to traditional healing methods
8. (....) Other (Please specify).....

45. If any payment for health care is necessary who makes this payment?

1. (....) We do
2. (....) Intermediaries
3. (....) Employers
4. (....) Other (Please specify).....

46. Is there any health kit in your tent-camp?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No

47. Is there any health kit in the field?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No

PART 6: WAGE AND INCOME STATUS

48. How will you get paid this year in cotton-picking work?

1. (....) Daily
2. (....) Weekly
3. (....) Monthly
4. (....) In bulk at the end of work
5. (....) In bulk when the employer sells out his crop
6. (....) Before harvest
7. (....) I have already had some advance payment
8. (....) Other (Please specify)

49. Will you pay (have you paid) a share to your intermediary? A
1. (...) Yes
 2. (...) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 51
50. How much do you pay him?
 TL/Kg
51. Who pays you for your work?
1. (...) Intermediary
 2. (...) Employer
52. Who determines wage rate in cotton-picking?
1. (...) Intermediary
 3. (...) Employer
 4. (...) Provincial Commission established by the Governor
 5. (...) Province/District Directorates of Agriculture
 6. (...) District Agriculture Chambers
 7. (...) Overall rate valid in the area
 8. (...) Intermediary and employer together
 9. (...) Village headman
53. When is this wage rate determined?
1. (...) In the village, before we move out for work
 2. (...) Just before we start working
 3. (...) While working
 4. (...) After work is finished
 5. (...) I don't know
54. Did you receive any advance from the intermediary or employer before you came here?
1. (...) Yes
 2. (...) No
55. What kind of agreement did you make with the intermediary or employer before you started working?
1. (...) No such agreement
 2. (...) Oral
 3. (...) Written
56. If there is any dispute over your payment how do you go about resolving this dispute?
1. (...) By negotiation
 2. (...) By applying to courts
 3. (...) By resorting to village headman
 4. (...) By resorting to the chamber
 5. (...) By resorting to gendarme post
 6. (...) By physical force
 7. (...) Such disputes cannot be settled
 8. (...) Other (Please specify).....

57. Have you ever had any dispute with your employer?

1. (...) Yes
2. (...) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 58

58. What kind of dispute was it?

1. (...) About our camping site (i.e. its location and other accommodation, water supply, latrine, etc.)
2. (...) About wage rate
3. (...) About working hours
4. (...) About working environment (i.e. location of the field, absence of facilities to meet basic needs, etc.)
5. (...) Other (Please specify).....

59. Household Income Status

Income items	Amount Million TL (1)
1. Total income	
2. How much in total have you earned this year from other seasonal work if there is any?	
3. What do you expect to earn from cotton-picking?	
4. Income from non-agricultural activities	
5. From agricultural activities	

PART 7: SOCIAL RIGHTS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

60. Is anyone in your household covered by any social security scheme?

1. (...) None
2. (...) Social Security Institution (SSK)
3. (...) SSK on personal preference
4. (...) Bağ-Kur (for artisans and tradesmen)
5. (...) Bağ-Kur (for those working in agriculture)
6. (...) Government Employees' Retirement Fund
7. (...) Having green card
8. (...) Other (Please specify).....

61. The person in the household covered by social security scheme:

- 1 (...) Father
- 2 (...) Mother
- 3 (...) Elder son
- 4 (...) Uncle
- 5 (...) Grandparent
- 6 (...) Elder sister
- 7 (...) Other.....

62. Did your employer have you registered for insurance for your present work?

1. (...) Yes CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 64
2. (...) No

63. If no, would you like to be covered by any security scheme?

1. (....) Yes

2. (....) No

64. What do you know about labor code in agriculture?

1. (....) Nothing

2. (....) Little

3. (....) I know it

65. Other than plain wage for picking cotton does your employer contribute in any other way?

1. Supplies food

1. (....) Yes

2. (....) No

2. Supplies clothing

1. (....) Yes

2. (....) No

3. Supplies sheltering

1. (....) Yes

2. (....) No

4. Supplies electricity (including generator)

1. (....) Yes

2. (....) No

5. Supplies drinking and use water

1. (....) Yes

2. (....) No

6. Covers our health expenses

1. (....) Yes

2. (....) No

7. Fully covers our transportation costs

1. (....) Yes

2. (....) No

8. Covers half of our transportation costs

1. (....) Yes

2. (....) No

9. Other

(Please

specify).....

PART 8: WHAT HOUSEHOLDS THINK ABOUT THEIR WORKING CHILDREN

66. What do you think about your children's working in cotton picking?

1. (....) They must work to learn about life

2. (....) We don't want them to work but we have to

3. (....) They want to work

4. (....) We don't want them to work, they must go to school

5. (....) Other (Please specify).....

67. In your opinion, what kinds of risks and hazards do your children face in cotton-picking and their present environment of living? (to questioner: 3 risks/hazards considered most important will be specified)

67.1. Most important	67.2. Second	67.3. Third
1 (....) Cannot attend school	1 (....) Cannot attend school	1 (....) Cannot attend school
2. (....) Get sick because of working	2. (....) Get sick because of working	2. (....) Get sick because of working
3. (....) Not nourished adequately	3. (....) Not nourished adequately	3. (....) Not nourished adequately
4. (....) Do heavy work for their age	4. (....) Do heavy work for their age	4. (....) Do heavy work for their age
5. (....) Work accidents	5. (....) Work accidents	5. (....) Work accidents
6. (....) Working and living environments not safe and hygienic enough	6. (....) Working and living environments not safe and hygienic enough	6. (....) Working and living environments not safe and hygienic enough
7. (....) Snakes and scorpions	7. (....) Snakes and scorpions	7. (....) Snakes and scorpions
8. (....) Getting drowned in rivers, streams, canals, etc.	8. (....) Getting drowned in rivers, streams, canals, etc.	8. (....) Getting drowned in rivers, streams, canals, etc.
9. (....) Other (Please specify).....	9. (....) Other (Please specify).....	9. (....) Other (Please specify).....

68. What can be done to reduce risks/hazards your children face in their living and working environments?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

69. What can be done to stop your children working?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

70. What kind of future would you like to have for your children?

- 1. (...) I want them to get educated
- 2. (...) I want them to work with a master craftsman
- 3. (...) I want them to run their own business
- 4. (...) I want them to be farmers
- 5. (...) Whatever it is except this one
- 6. (...) I want them to be rich
- 7. (...) Other (Please specify).....

1.1.1.2.4 PART 9: HOUSEHOLD TENDENCIES AND EXPECTATIONS FROM FUTURE

71. Do you think about working in cotton picking again next year?

- 1. (...) Yes
- 2. (...) No

72. Would you prefer your children doing this work in future?

- 1. (...) Yes
- 2. (...) No

73. What kind of a job would you like them to have?

- 1. (...) Any from of self-employment
- 2. (...) Farmer running his own enterprise
- 3. (...) Salary/wage earner in a government office/enterprise
- 4. (...) Salary/wage earner in private sector
- 5. (...)Other (Please specify).....

74. How your living standards changed within the last 5 years?

- 1. (...) Improved
- 2. (...) No change
- 3. (...) Worse

75. How do you think your living standards will be in the next 5 years?

1. (...) Better
2. (...) Remain the same
3. (...) Get worse
4. (...) I can't foresee

76. In your opinion, what can be done to improve working conditions and the present wage system?

**INTERVIEW ENDS HERE. PLEASE THANK RESPONDENT FOR TAKING
PART IN THIS INTERVIEW**

To be filled by the questioner after interview

A1. Was the respondent alone throughout the interview?

1.(....) Yes 2.(....) No

A2. Please fill in the table below.

	<i>Highly satisfactory</i>	<i>Satisfactory</i>	<i>No idea</i>	<i>Not satisfactory</i>	<i>Fully unsatisfactory</i>
<i>Frankness of respondent</i>					
<i>Proportion of responded questions</i>					
<i>Setting in which the interview was carried out</i>					

To be filled by the survey team

	<i>Name/Last Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Time</i>
1.1.1.2.4.1 Questioner			
<i>Field supervisor</i>			
<i>Data entry personnel</i>			

**FIELD SURVEY
FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR IN
AGRICULTURE
(CASE OF COTTON WORK IN KARATAŞ DISTRICT, ADANA)**

**1.1.1.3 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR AGRICULTURAL
INTERMEDIARIES**

EXPLANATION

The “Framework for a Time-Bound Policy and Program for the Elimination of Child Labor” being developed under the Working Children Unit of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security has the objective of *eliminating the worst forms of child labor*. “Industry, agriculture, street-working and domestic work” have been identified as basic fields of employment in the context of the worst forms of child labor.

The present survey aims to come up with an overall analysis of the status of those working seasonally (as migrant workers) in cotton culture where the worst forms of child labor can also be observed. Information to be collected through this questionnaire is to be used only for purposes of statistical analysis and thus strictly confidential. Such information cannot be used as the basis or justification of any new obligation on individuals or as evidence in any kind of judicial investigation.

QUESTIONNAIRE NO.

NAME/LAST NAME:

TELEPHONE:

PART 1: OVERALL INFORMATION

1. Birth place of agricultural intermediary
 1. Province
 2. District
 3. Village

2. Permanent living place
 1. Province
 2. District
 3. Village

3. Personal information about agricultural intermediary

3.1. Age	3.2. Sex	3.3. Marital status	3.4. Education	3.5. Occupation	3.6. Second occupation
	1. Male 2. Female	1 Married 2 Single 3 Divorced 4 Widowed	1. Illiterate 2. Literate without any schooling 3. Primary school dropout 4. Primary school graduate 5. Secondary school dropout 6. Secondary school graduate 7. High school dropout 8. High school graduate 9. University student 10. University graduate 11. Other (please specify)	1 no occupation 2 farmer 3 shopkeeper 4 agricultural worker 5 intermediary 6.tenant/sharecropper 7 other (please specify)	1 no occupation 2 farmer 3 shopkeeper 4 agricultural worker 5 intermediary 6.tenant/sharecropper 7 other (please specify)

4. When did you start working as intermediary?

Year

5. For how long have you been doing this work?

.years

6. Are you registered to any social security scheme?
1. (....) No
 2. (....) To SSK as a worker
 3. (....) To SSK on my personal choice
 4. (....) To Bağ-Kur, agriculture
 5. (....) To Bağ-Kur, artisan
 6. (....) Private insurance
 7. (....) Other (Please specify)
7. Do you have your license for working as intermediary?
1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 10
8. How long ago did you get your license?
.....years ago
9. Do you renew it every year?
1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No
10. Do you give your annual reports to the Labor Office?
1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No
11. Do you always come to the same region/enterprise?

	1 Yes 2 No
11.1 To the region	
11.2 To the area	
11.3 To the enterprise	

1.1.1.3.1

PART 2: INFORMATION REGARDING WORKERS

12. Where do these cotton pickers of yours come from?
1. (....) From my village
 2. (....) From my district
 3. (....) From different villages
 4. (....) From my province
 5. (....) They are my relatives
 6. (....) Other (Please specify).....
13. Before coming here, did you work in any place in a tent group?
1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 15
14. Where? (THE QUESTIONER MAY TAKE DOWN WHICH WORK IT IS)
- 1 Province
 - 2 District
 - 3 Village
15. After finishing your work here, do you go elsewhere again for work?
1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 17
16. Where?
- 1 Province

2 District

17. With whom do you bring workers here?

1. (....) They come in here individually
2. (....) They come in as family (nuclear)
3. (....) As families with their relatives as well
4. (....) Other (Please specify).....

18. How do workers come here from their places?

1. (....) By cars
2. (....) By bus/minibus/midi-bus
3. (....) Truck/ tractor
4. (....) Train

19. Who covers their transportation expenses?

1. (....) Themselves in both coming and departing
2. (....) By employers in coming in by themselves in departing
3. (....) By employers, both coming in and departing
4. (....) By intermediary, both coming in and departing
5. (....) By intermediaries in coming in and by themselves in departing
6. (....) Other (Please specify).....

20. How do you find these workers?

1. (....) I bring here the same workers every year
2. (....) I apply to the Labor Office
3. (....) Workers come to me
4. (....) Workers recommend others
5. (....) I bring my close relatives
6. (....) Other (Please specify)

1.1.1.3.2

PART 3: WAGE RATE AND PAYMENT

21. Before they start working did you get any advance payment from the employer to give to workers?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 23

22. How is this advance payment determined?

1. (....) Area where cotton is to be picked
2. (....) Amount of crop to be picked
3. (....) What employer can afford at that time
4. (....) What I ask for
5. (....) What workers demand
6. (....) Other (Please specify).....

23. Do you or employer apply any discount to what is paid to workers?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No

24. What kinds of problems arise between you and the employer?

1. (....) No problem CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 26
2. (....) Wage rate
3. (....) Time of payment
4. (....) Social rights and benefits
5. (....) Working environment
6. (....) Camping and sheltering environment

7. (....) Diseases and illnesses
8. (....) Other (Please specify).....

25. How do you solve these problems?

1. (....) Employer does
2. (....) Courts do
3. (....) Union of the Chambers of Agriculture does
4. (....) Governmental institutions do
5. (....) Village headmen
6. (....) Gendarme
7. (....) Physical force
8. (....) Other (Please specify)

26. What kinds of problem arise with workers?

1. (....) No problem
2. (....) Wage rate
3. (....) Time of payment
4. (....) Social rights and benefits
5. (....) Working environment
6. (....) Camping and sheltering environment
7. (....) Diseases and illnesses
8. (....) Other (Please specify).....

CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 28

27. How do you solve these problems?

2. (....) Courts do
3. (....) Union of the Chambers of Agriculture does
4. (....) Governmental institutions do
5. (....) Village headmen
6. (....) Gendarme
7. (....) Physical force
8. (....) Other (Please specify)

1.1.1.3.3

PART 4: CAMPING AND SHELTERING CONDITIONS

28. Where do you get permission to use a place for camping and sheltering?

- 28.1. (....) Landowner
- 28.2. (....) Sharecropper/tenant
- 28.3. (....) District Governorate
- 28.4. (....) Village headman
- 28.5. (....) Municipality
- 28.6. (....) Chamber of Agriculture
- 28.7. (....) State Hydraulic Work
- 28.8. (....) Irrigation Union
- 28.9. (....) Gendarme
- 28.10. (....) Nowhere
- 28.11. (....) Other (Please specify).....

29. Are basic needs in camping/sheltering places met sufficiently for the year 2002?

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| 29.1 | Toilet | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 29.2 | Drinking water | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 29.3 | Use water | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 29.4 | Bath | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 29.5 | Dish washing | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 29.6 | Laundry washing | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 29.7 | Heating | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 29.8 | Lighting | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |

1.1.1.3.4

PART 5: NUTRITION AND HEALTH CONDITIONS

30. What is the way followed when a worker suddenly falls ill or suffers a work accident?

1. (....) It depends on the nature of illness/accident
2. (....) Employer does whatever needs to be done
3. (....) We try to solve the problem under given field conditions
4. (....) We resort to the nearest health unit
5. (....) Nothing is done
6. (....) Worker takes a rest for few days
7. (....) Other (Please specify).....

31. What kinds of health problems workers mostly face because of working conditions?

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 31.1. Sunstroke | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 31.2. Fainting | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 31.3. Pains in waist | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 31.4. Fatigue | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 31.5. Tiredness | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 31.6. Nutritional intoxication | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 31.7. Malnutrition | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 31.8. Work accident | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 31.9. Allergy | 1. (....) Yes | 2. (....) No |
| 31.10. Other (Please specify) | | |

1.1.1.3.5

PART 6: OPINIONS ON CHILD EMPLOYMENT

32. At the beginning of school year;

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|-------|
| 1 | Number of children sent to school | |
| 2 | Number of children not sent to school | |

33. How do child workers come here?

1. (....) With their families
2. (....) With their relatives
3. (....) With their neighbors
4. (....) With their fellow villagers
5. (....) Alone
6. (....) With their siblings
7. (....) Other (Please specify).....

34. Why do you think children under age 17 work in cotton picking?

1. (....) Because their parents want them to
2. (....) They are from very poor families so they have to work
3. (....) They work since their families come here to work
4. (....) They have to work for not being good at school
5. (....) They have to work since they have no other occupation
6. (....) Other (Please specify)

35. Do you think that living conditions here have any negative effect on the development of children?

1. (....) Yes
2. (....) No

36. In your opinion, what kinds of risks and hazards do your children face in cotton-picking and their present environment of living? (to questioner: 3 risks/hazards considered most important will be specified)

36.1. Most important	36.2. Second	36.3. Third
1 (....) Adverse impact of agricultural chemicals	1 (....)Adverse impact of agricultural chemicals	1 (....)Adverse impact of agricultural chemicals
2. (....) Adverse impact of their sheltering conditions	2. (....)Adverse impact of their sheltering conditions	2. (....)Adverse impact of their sheltering conditions
3. (....) Missing opportunities for education	3. (....)Missing opportunities for education	3. (....)Missing opportunities for education
4. (....)Working and living environments not safe and hygienic enough	4. (....)Working and living environments not safe and hygienic enough	4. (....)Working and living environments not safe and hygienic enough
5. (....) Dangers posed by irrigation canals	5. (....)Dangers posed by irrigation canals	5. (....)Dangers posed by irrigation canals
6. (....) Risks of malnutrition	6. (....)Risks of malnutrition	6. (....)Risks of malnutrition
7. (....) Other (Please specify).....	7. (....) Other (Please specify).....	7. (....) Other (Please specify).....

37. What can be done to minimize risks/hazards that children face while picking cotton?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

38. What can be done to minimize risks/hazards deriving from the living/working conditions of children?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

39. What should be done in order to eliminate child labor totally?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

40. In your opinion, after what age children can start working?

After age.....

**INTERVIEW ENDS HERE. PLEASE THANK RESPONDENT FOR TAKING
PART IN THIS INTERVIEW**

To be filled by the questioner after interview

A1. Was the respondent alone throughout the interview?

1.(....) Yes 2.(....) No

A2. Please fill in the table below.

	<i>Highly satisfactory</i>	<i>Satisfactory</i>	<i>No idea</i>	<i>Not satisfactory</i>	<i>Fully unsatisfactory</i>
<i>Frankness of respondent</i>					
<i>Proportion of responded questions</i>					
<i>Setting in which the interview was carried out</i>					

To be filled by the survey team

	<i>Name/Last Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Time</i>
1.1.1.3.5.1 Questioner			
<i>Field supervisor</i>			
<i>Data entry personnel</i>			

**FIELD SURVEY
FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOR IN
AGRICULTURE
(CASE OF COTTON WORK IN KARATAŞ DISTRICT, ADANA)**

1.1.1.4 EMPLOYER/LANDHOLDER QUESTIONNAIRE

EXPLANATION

The “Framework for a Time-Bound Policy and Program for the Elimination of Child Labor” being developed under the Working Children Unit of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security has the objective of *eliminating the worst forms of child labor*.

“Industry, agriculture, street-working and domestic work” have been identified as basic fields of employment in the context of the worst forms of child labor.

The present survey aims to come up with an overall analysis of the status of those working seasonally (as migrant workers) in cotton culture where the worst forms of child labor can also be observed. Information to be collected through this questionnaire is to be used only for purposes of statistical analysis and thus strictly confidential. Such information cannot be used as the basis or justification of any new obligation on individuals or as evidence in any kind of judicial investigation.

QUESTIONNAIRE NO.

NAME/LAST NAME:

TELEPHONE:

PART 1: OVERALL INFORMATION

1. Ownership status of land grown cotton?
 1. (....) Owner CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 3
 2. (....) Tenant/Sharecropper
2. Do you have any land under your ownership?
 1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION
3. If yes, fill in the table below

3.1. Total size of land owned (in decares)	
3.2. Total size of land presently under culture	
3.3. Total size of land under cotton culture (in decares)	
3.4. Size of land left to fallow (in decares)	
3.5. Do you lease land?	1 (....) Yes 2 (....) If no, CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 4
3.6. If he uses the land of others in lease what is the size of this land at present? (in decares)	
3.7. If he leases land to others what is the size of land he leased at present? (in decares)	
3.8. Size of land left to sharecropper, if any (in decares)	

4. Information about employer

4.1. Age	4.2. Sex	4.3. Marital status	4.4. Education	4.5. Occupation	4.6. Second occupation
	1. Male 2. Female	1 Married 2 Single 3 Divorced 4 Widowed	1. Illiterate 2. Literate without any schooling 3. Primary school dropout 4. Primary school graduate 5. Secondary school dropout 6. Secondary school graduate 7. High school dropout 8. High school graduate 9. University student 10. University graduate 11. Other (please specify)	1 no occupation 2 farmer 3 shopkeeper 4 agricultural worker 5 intermediary 6.tenant/sharecropper 7 other (please specify)	1 no occupation 2 farmer 3 shopkeeper 4 agricultural worker 5 intermediary 6.tenant/sharecropper 7 other (please specify)

5. Place of your permanent residence
 1. Province
 2. District
 3. Village

14. What is your unit (TL/Kg) rate for cotton-picking this year?

14.1. First hand cotton TL/Kg	14.2. Second hand cotton TL/Kg

1.1.1.4.3

1.1.1.4.4

PART 4: CAMPING, ACCOMMODATION AND SANITATION

15. Do you show a place to your workers for their sheltering?
 1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 17
16. What kind of place?
 1. (....) Indoors
 2. (....) Outdoors
17. What do you do when your workers get sick or have accident?
 1. (....) Care is given immediately in the field if it is possible
 2. (....) Person is taken to hospital if necessary
 3. (....) Person is taken to health center
 4. (....) They manage it themselves without my interference
 5. (....) Intermediary takes care of such events
 6. (....) Other (please specify)

1.1.1.4.5

PART 5: PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS

18. Is there any point you dispute with your workers?
 1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 20
19. What is the most important topic of dispute with your workers?
 1. (....) Wage rate
 2. (....) Camping place
 3. (....) Availability of clean water
 4. (....) Electricity
 5. (....) Latrines
 6. (....) Total wage payment
 7. (....) Time of wage payment
 8. (....) Other (please specify)
20. Do you have any complaints concerning intermediaries?
 1. (....) No complaint at all
 2. (....) He cannot manage workers
 3. (....) He receives payment in advance but does not bring in sufficient number of workers
 4. (....) He receives advance but does not bring in qualified workers
 5. (....) He takes workers with him if he finds better conditions in other enterprises.
 6. (....) Other (please specify)
21. Do you think about using machines instead of manual workers?
 1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No

22. Why do you think children under age 17 are working in cotton farms?
1. (....) They are from very poor families and so they have to work
 2. (....) They work since they come here together with their elders
 3. (....) They have to work for not attending school
 4. (....) They have to work for having no other skills and occupation
 5. (....) No idea
 6. (....) Other (please specify)
23. Do you think that this working of children in school season affect them negatively?
1. (....) Yes
 2. (....) No
 3. (....) No idea
24. In your opinion, what kinds of risks and hazards do children face in cotton-picking and their present environment of living? (to questioner: 3 risks/hazards considered most important will be specified)

24.1. Most important	24.2. Second	24.3. Third
1 (....) Adverse impact of agricultural chemicals	1 (....)Adverse impact of agricultural chemicals	1 (....)Adverse impact of agricultural chemicals
2. (....) Adverse impact of their sheltering conditions	2. (....)Adverse impact of their sheltering conditions	2. (....)Adverse impact of their sheltering conditions
3. (....) Missing opportunities for education	3. (....)Missing opportunities for education	3. (....)Missing opportunities for education
4. (....)Working and living environments not safe and hygienic enough	4. (....)Working and living environments not safe and hygienic enough	4. (....)Working and living environments not safe and hygienic enough
5. (....) Dangers posed by irrigation canals	5. (....)Dangers posed by irrigation canals	5. (....)Dangers posed by irrigation canals
6. (....) Risks of malnutrition	6. (....)Risks of malnutrition	6. (....)Risks of malnutrition
7. (....) Other (Please specify).....	7. (....) Other (Please specify).....	7. (....) Other (Please specify).....

25. What can be done to minimize risks/hazards that children face in their living and working environments?
- a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
26. What can be done to minimize risks/hazards deriving from the living/working conditions of children?
- a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
27. In your opinion, after what age children can start working?

After age.....

**INTERVIEW ENDS HERE. PLEASE THANK RESPONDENT FOR TAKING
PART IN THIS INTERVIEW**

To be filled by the questioner after interview

A1. Was the respondent alone throughout the interview?

1.(....) *Yes* 2.(....) *No*

A2. Please fill in the table below.

	<i>Highly satisfactory</i>	<i>Satisfactory</i>	<i>No idea</i>	<i>Not satisfactory</i>	<i>Fully unsatisfactory</i>
<i>Frankness of respondent</i>					
<i>Proportion of responded questions</i>					
<i>Setting in which the interview was carried out</i>					

To be filled by the survey team

	<i>Name/Last Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Time</i>
1.1.1.4.6.1 Questioner			
<i>Field supervisor</i>			
<i>Data entry personnel</i>			

**FIELD SURVEY
FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF WORST FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR IN
AGRICULTURE
(CASE OF COTTON WORK IN KARATAŞ DISTRICT, ADANA)**

**LIST OF QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED
IN INTERVIEWS WITH INSTITUTIONS**

Questions to the Provincial Directorate of Labor Institution

- Are there persons applying to your Directorate for migrant/temporary agricultural work? Can you quantify your answer?
- Are there landholders (employers) applying to your Directorate to employer workers in their lands? Can you quantify their demand for such laborers?
- What are the common practices of wage rate determination and wage payment in cotton picking in your area? What role does your institution play in determining wages?
- What is the number of persons who apply, within the last 5 years, to act as intermediaries? Can you make an estimate about the percentage of these in total intermediaries?
- How many of those getting a license from your institution as intermediaries submit their legally required “work report”? What is the percentage of reporters in total number of licensed intermediaries?
- What is the number of seasonal workers reported by intermediaries who submit their reports? Can you make an estimate about their share in total employment? Is there any reporting on child employment? “
- What can be done to make existing system of registration for seasonally employed people more operational and sustained?
- What kind of functions can your institution undertake in relation to migrant workers? What place should your institution hold in this kind of employment?
- What can be done to put an end to the seasonal/migrant employment of children in the age group 5-17 in particular or at least to reduce the risks they face? What kind of functions can your institution undertake in this respect?
- What kind of vocational training can be given to migrant cotton workers, including children as well, both in their working places and in their original villages?
- Can you give us copies of “agricultural intermediary application form” and “work report” that intermediaries are required to fill in after work?

Questions to Health Center Manager

- What are the most common diseases observed in the area? What are the leading ones observed among migrant cotton workers? What kinds of services do cotton workers receive from your institution when they have health problems? What difficulties you face when providing such services?
- Among seasonal cotton workers who apply for health services, what particular problems/complaints are expressed by those under age 17?
- What kinds of special services do you provide to migrant cotton workers? Do you have any special services for child workers under age 17?
- As a health center, if you cannot/don't provide special services to this section, what can be done to bring in such services?
- What are the major health risks that cotton-picking children may face? .
- What can be done to provide a healthier future for children employed in cotton farming?

KARATAŞ DISTRICT DIRECTORATE OF AGRICULTURE

Cotton farming and Cotton Work

1. In your administrative district, what is the size of land under cotton culture? Does area under cotton culture change by years?
2. What amount of labor is needed in this land for hoeing and harvesting? Approximately what percentage of this total labor comes seasonally from other places?
3. What are regions/provinces that migrant cotton workers in your area come from? What do you think the main characteristics of these regions/provinces are?
4. In your estimate, what percentage of those employed seasonally/temporarily in cotton farming are under age 17?
5. How many times a year agricultural medication is practiced in your area (in cotton)? How these chemicals are applied? What kinds of impacts may these chemicals have on workers?

Problems

6. What are the problems of seasonal/migrant workers in terms of their working environments? Which of these problems involve more risk/hazard?
7. What are the risks that children under 17 face in their environments while picking cotton? 17

Solutions

8. What interventions are being made by your Directorate in relation to the working and living environments of these workers?
9. What can be done to improve the situation of migrant workers in general and those under age 17 in particular, who come to this area for cotton-picking?
10. What specific interventions can be launched? ?
11. What is the future of cotton culture in your area? Will area under cotton culture expand or alternative crops take its place gradually? Why?
12. What change do you expect in demand for labor in cotton culture?

13. Do you think that machines will replace manual labor in cotton culture in particular?

KARATAŞ DISTRICT DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION

1. Are there children from the villages of your district who work in cotton-picking while at school ages?
2. Some of the school-age children of those families coming to this area seasonally for cotton work cannot attend their schools for various reasons. Do you have any special arrangement for such children?
3. What can be done for school-age children who are employed in hoeing and picking?
4. What must be done to stop their working and ensure their school attendance?

Questions to the trade union Tarım-İş

- How many migrant workers come to Çukurova for cotton harvesting? How many of them are under age 17?
- As a trade union, what kind of special arrangements do you have for these workers?
- What are the risks faced by children who work harvesting cotton?
- What must be done to eliminate such risks?
- What must be done to put an end to all child labor, including child labour in the cotton sector?

Çukurova Association of Agricultural Intermediaries

1. As agricultural intermediaries, what do you think the risks faced by children working in cotton are?
2. What kind of effects do work and the working environment have on the physical development of children?
3. How do you think the problems of children whose education are put at risk by working can be solved?
4. As a civil society organization, what do you think should be done to remove the working children here from their current living and working environments or at least improve their conditions?

Annex 9: C182 Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999

Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (Note: Date of coming into force: 19:11:2000)
Convention:C182

Place:Geneva

Session	of	the	Conference:87
Date	of	adoption:17:06:1999	
Subject	classification:	Elimination of Child Labour	
Subject	classification:	Children and Young Persons	

The General Conference of the International Labour Organization,

Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its 87th Session on 1 June 1999, and

Considering the need to adopt new instruments for the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, as the main priority for national and international action, including international cooperation and assistance, to complement the Convention and the Recommendation concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment, 1973, which remain fundamental instruments on child labour, and

Considering that the effective elimination of the worst forms of child labour requires immediate and comprehensive action, taking into account the importance of free basic education and the need to remove the children concerned from all such work and to provide for their rehabilitation and social integration while addressing the needs of their families, and

Recalling the resolution concerning the elimination of child labour adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 83rd Session in 1996, and

Recognizing that child labour is to a great extent caused by poverty and that the long-term solution lies in sustained economic growth leading to social progress, in particular poverty alleviation and universal education, and

Recalling the Convention on the Rights of the Child adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 20 November 1989, and

Recalling the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and its Follow-up, adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 86th Session in 1998, and

Recalling that some of the worst forms of child labour are covered by other international instruments, in particular the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, and the United Nations Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, 1956, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to child labour, which is the fourth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of an international Convention;

adopts this seventeenth day of June of the year one thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine the following Convention, which may be cited as the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999.

Article 1

Each Member which ratifies this Convention shall take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency.

Article 2

For the purposes of this Convention, the term *child* shall apply to all persons under the age of 18.

Article 3

For the purposes of this Convention, the term *the worst forms of child labour* comprises:

- (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

Article 4

1. The types of work referred to under Article 3(d) shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards, in particular Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation, 1999.
2. The competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, shall identify where the types of work so determined exist.
3. The list of the types of work determined under paragraph 1 of this Article shall be periodically examined and revised as necessary, in consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned.

Article 5

Each Member shall, after consultation with employers' and workers' organizations, establish or designate appropriate mechanisms to monitor the implementation of the provisions giving effect to this Convention.

Article 6

1. Each Member shall design and implement programmes of action to eliminate as a priority the worst forms of child labour.

2. Such programmes of action shall be designed and implemented in consultation with relevant government institutions and employers' and workers' organizations, taking into consideration the views of other concerned groups as appropriate.

Article 7

1. Each Member shall take all necessary measures to ensure the effective implementation and enforcement of the provisions giving effect to this Convention including the provision and application of penal sanctions or, as appropriate, other sanctions.

2. Each Member shall, taking into account the importance of education in eliminating child labour, take effective and time-bound measures to:

(a) prevent the engagement of children in the worst forms of child labour;

(b) provide the necessary and appropriate direct assistance for the removal of children from the worst forms of child labour and for their rehabilitation and social integration;

(c) ensure access to free basic education, and, wherever possible and appropriate, vocational training, for all children removed from the worst forms of child labour;

(d) identify and reach out to children at special risk; and

(e) take account of the special situation of girls.

3. Each Member shall designate the competent authority responsible for the implementation of the provisions giving effect to this Convention.

Article 8

Members shall take appropriate steps to assist one another in giving effect to the provisions of this Convention through enhanced international cooperation and/or assistance including support for social and economic development, poverty eradication programmes and universal education.

Article 9

The formal ratifications of this Convention shall be communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration.

Article 10

1. This Convention shall be binding only upon those Members of the International Labour Organization whose ratifications have been registered with the Director-General of the International Labour Office.

2. It shall come into force 12 months after the date on which the ratifications of two Members have been registered with the Director-General.

3. Thereafter, this Convention shall come into force for any Member 12 months after the date on which its ratification has been registered.

Article 11

1. A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered.

2. Each Member which has ratified this Convention and which does not, within the year following the expiration of the period of ten years mentioned in the preceding paragraph, exercise the right of denunciation provided for in this Article, will be bound for another period of ten years and, thereafter, may denounce this Convention at the expiration of each period of ten years under the terms provided for in this Article.

Article 12

1. The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall notify all Members of the International Labour Organization of the registration of all ratifications and acts of denunciation communicated by the Members of the Organization.

2. When notifying the Members of the Organization of the registration of the second ratification, the Director-General shall draw the attention of the Members of the Organization to the date upon which the Convention shall come into force.

Article 13

The Director-General of the International Labour Office shall communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for registration in accordance with article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations, full particulars of all ratifications and acts of

denunciation registered by the Director-General in accordance with the provisions of the preceding Articles.

Article 14

At such times as it may consider necessary, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention and shall examine the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of its revision in whole or in part.

Article 15

1. Should the Conference adopt a new Convention revising this Convention in whole or in part, then, unless the new Convention otherwise provides --

(a) the ratification by a Member of the new revising Convention shall ipso jure involve the immediate denunciation of this Convention, notwithstanding the provisions of

Article 11 above, if and when the new revising Convention shall have come into force;

(b) as from the date when the new revising Convention comes into force, this Convention shall cease to be open to ratification by the Members.

2. This Convention shall in any case remain in force in its actual form and content for those Members which have ratified it but have not ratified the revising Convention.

Article 16

The English and French versions of the text of this Convention are equally authoritative.