



International Labour Organization
International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 7

Turkey
Working Street Children in Three Metropolitan Cities:
A Rapid Assessment

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November 2001, Geneva

Preface

Unacceptable forms of exploitation of children at work exist and persist, but they are particularly difficult to research due to their hidden, sometimes illegal or even criminal nature. Slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, the use of children in the drug trade and in armed conflict, as well as hazardous work are all defined as Worst Forms of Child Labour. Promoting the Convention (No. 182) concerning the Prohibition and immediate action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999, is a high priority for the International Labour Organization (ILO). Recommendation (No. 190, Paragraph 5) accompanying the Convention states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency.” Although there is a body of knowledge, data, and documentation on child labour, there are also still considerable gaps in understanding the variety of forms and conditions in which children work. This is especially true of the worst forms of child labour, which by their very nature are often hidden from public view and scrutiny.

Against this background the ILO, through IPEC/SIMPOC (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour/Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour) has carried out 38 rapid assessments of the worst forms of child labour in 19 countries and one border area. The investigations have been made using a new rapid assessment methodology on child labour, elaborated jointly by the ILO and UNICEF¹. The programme was funded by the United States Department of Labor.

The investigations on the worst forms of child labour have explored very sensitive areas including illegal, criminal or immoral activities. The forms of child labour and research locations were carefully chosen by IPEC staff in consultation with IPEC partners. The rapid assessment investigations focused on the following categories of worst forms of child labour: children in bondage; child domestic workers; child soldiers; child trafficking; drug trafficking; hazardous work in commercial agriculture, fishing, garbage dumps, mining and the urban environment; sexual exploitation; and working street children.

To the partners and IPEC colleagues who contributed, through their individual and collective efforts, to the realisation of this report I should like to express our gratitude. The responsibility for opinions expressed in this publication rests solely with the authors and does not imply endorsement by the ILO.

I am sure that the wealth of information contained in this series of reports on the situation of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour around the world will contribute to a deeper understanding and allow us to more clearly focus on the challenges that lie ahead. Most importantly, we hope that the studies will guide policy makers, community leaders, and practitioners to tackle the problem on the ground.



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¹ Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment - A Field Manual, January 2000, a draft to be finalized further to field tests, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/simpoc/guides/index.htm>

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The team that produced this report received the help of ILO representatives, IPEC partners, fellow academicians and staff of many different institutions. They have all contributed to the completion of this report in various ways. We gratefully acknowledge the contributions of Şule Çağlar who has provided all the help needed from the outset to the completion of the report.

During the fieldwork, the members of the research team met and interviewed the representatives of various partner organizations who generously devoted their time despite their busy schedules. Children and family members were eager to answer our questions and participate in the focus group sessions. The public authorities and local administrators were very welcoming and helpful, more so than we could have ever anticipated. Last but not least of all, this rapid assessment research could not have been completed without the intensive work carried out by our research assistants İlyas Ekdial, Özcan Elçi, Hakan Ulutaşlı and Burç Umul.

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Executive Summary

Introduction

The International Labour Office's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC) in Turkey has been working towards the goal of the total elimination of child labour since 1992. The adoption of ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour and the recent ILO-IPEC-supported national march for the ratification of ILO Convention 182 in Turkey have brought the issue of child labour onto the national and international agenda. The present rapid assessment research is a step towards reaching the goal of elimination of one of the worst forms of child labour: children working in the streets.

Struggles against poverty, and in some cases social unrest, have pushed many rural families in Turkey to the cities. Internal migration has increasingly become one of the main survival strategies of poor families, especially those from the eastern part of the country. These families come to the city and are challenged by lack of skills and unemployment. An outcome of this social situation is children working in the streets.

The aim of this research was to identify the kinds of work done by children, their living and working conditions, the socio-demographic characteristics of the families of these children, the attitudes of the children and their families towards street work and education, and the attitudes of experts from various related institutions as well as of customers towards children working in the streets.

The research employed the ILO-UNICEF rapid assessment methodology. Four different types of data collection were carried out to provide a picture of the families, work conditions, school attendance and attitudes of children working in the streets: (1) semi-structured interviews with 188 working children and 65 parents, and household members in the three cities of Diyarbakır, Adana and Istanbul; (2) in-depth and focus-group interviews with experts from various related institutions and customers; (3) observations of the children's work sites and their homes; and (4) literature review of study reports on children engaged in street work and other related material. Due to the largely qualitative nature of the rapid assessment methodology, the understanding gained from the research findings is framed not only as an external observers' objective and explanatory depiction, but also through the stories and reports of the internal-subjective voices of the children and their families.

The study was carried out in three metropolitan cities: Diyarbakir, Adana, and Istanbul. On the basis of census data and surveys, it was observed that these three cities constitute three different degrees of urban hierarchy and development in Turkey. Furthermore, they represent three different stops in the stepwise and chain migration patterns. Stepwise migration involves people moving from villages to nearby towns, or city centres, and from there to regional city centres such as Diyarbakır, then onto greater metropolitan centres adjacent to the region such as Adana, and finally to the national metropolitan centre, Istanbul. Chain migration shows households migrating directly from their villages to regional or national metropolitan centres. A great majority of the working street children's parents were involved in one or the other of the above mentioned migration patterns, and thus came from recently immigrated families.

It is beyond the scope of the present study to go into causes of rural-urban migration or inter-urban migration. From the responses we gathered from children and their parents, it is concluded, however, that their migration, especially for the families from eastern Turkey, is a general consequence of the expansion of modernising forces into the region over the last 15-20 years, and the social and political unrest and violence that occurred between 1984-2000.

Children working on the streets can be classified into two groups. The first group of children works on the streets during the day, sometimes during the evening and night, but finally goes home to stay with their family. They are supposed to be under the protection and supervision of their families. The second group of children are working and living in the streets. They have left their homes and/or their families have disintegrated. They are children of the streets. The classification of working street children has been greatly debated internationally and nationally, and the classification offered above is generally accepted by the researchers in Turkey (Atauz, 1997; Karatay, 2000). The great majority of children working in the streets in Turkey belong to the first group, and are involved in selling napkins, chewing gums, water, sunflower seeds, lottery tickets and other small items appropriate to the season. Sometimes they are involved in more dangerous activities. The children in the second group who are working and living in the streets, are involved in garbage collection and separation in the streets as well as at the garbage dumps. Since they are outside of family and community protection and supervision, they are more likely to be involved in drug abuse, street gangs and violence.

Summary of Findings

Characteristics:

The children interviewed were between seven and 17 years old, with a median age of 12. The majority were males. They were from very poor, large nuclear families with an average household size of eight (7.8). The majority of the mothers were illiterate and were housewives and a number of the mothers spoke only Kurdish. Fathers had attained a relatively higher educational level as compared to mothers. There was a high rate of unemployment among fathers of these children. The majority of employed fathers were working in the informal sector.

Education:

The majority of children in our research had attended or continued to attend school. Only 13% of our sample had never attended school; however, school dropout rates were high: 25% of all children interviewed. The children interviewed were having difficulties in school in terms of the attitudes and behaviours of their teachers and peers towards them. They felt that their educational needs were not being met in school due to the crowded classes and lack of personal attention. They were also exposed to the aggressive behaviour of their peers.

Working conditions and consequences:

Shoe polishing, selling different goods and scavenging are the most common types of work activities. Children work in congested city streets and intersections and are exposed to noxious pollutants from motor vehicles, the risk of being run over or hit by cars, and abuse from older gangs of drug abusing street hawkers and customers. The work the children carry out impairs their health and socialisation, and puts their safety at risk. Children suffer from working long hours and consequently do not experience the benefits of education. Fatigue is also a problem because it can impair the intellectual development of children. Children face physical hazards, for example, child garbage pickers face extreme risks of developing long-term diseases. In addition to possible traffic accidents, air pollution and health risks, children working at night are exposed to inappropriate adult models and sexual abuse. They may become voluntarily or involuntarily involved with petty crime and drugs and face abuse from gangs of older children or from adults. Children work for many hours per day (ranging from two hours to 14 hours/day), all throughout the week and have unbalanced meals. They are exposed to cold, heat, dust, and carbon monoxide from the fuel of vehicles. Scavenging is the

worst form of work that these children engage in. This exposes the children to infectious diseases including hepatitis A and B, AIDS/HIV, tetanus and coliform.

Children working in the streets are not deviant initially (Le Roux and Smith, 1998). However, as they are subjected to abuse at home, at school, in the streets, at police stations and child detention centres and in society in general, they might become deviant drug abusers and aggressors.

Wages:

Children engaged in street work earned between US\$1-10 per day, with the average contribution of a child to the family budget at US\$3 per day. The majority of children gave their earnings to their families, mainly to their mothers. Most children did not like their work. They said that they would not like their younger brothers to work in the future and that they believed that children their own age should not work. However, they were under pressure from their families to go out to work and to bring back money.

Attitudes and perceptions towards working street children:

The majority of parents seemed to be ignorant about the risks their children were exposed to while working in the streets. Customers, however, generally had a sympathetic attitude towards these children and believed that giving them money was a form of social help.

Children and their parents believed that for regular school attendance they needed to have a higher income. Economic hardship was the main reason given for dropping out of school. In other words, working in the streets was either the result or the cause of children dropping out of primary education. In a modern society this, in itself, is a major obstacle for further development. What is equally serious is that families and communities were not very aware of the dangers to which children who dropped out of school to work in the streets were exposed.

Furthermore, child labour is legitimised by its cultural acceptability. Working on the streets was considered to be an “apprenticeship” for adult life in that it taught children self-discipline and how to overcome hardships in life while contributing to family income. It was also considered to be a playful activity and even a form of social solidarity. It was preferred to begging, however, it was also recognised to be a form of begging. It was also seen as a form of family solidarity in families whose adult male members were unemployed as a result of

recent forced or voluntary migration. Even when the public attitude towards child labour was unfavourable, child labour was not considered a totally unacceptable public activity.

Not every poor family has the same attitude towards child labour. Families who do not send their children to work in the streets in general have fewer children, they value education for their children and they attribute psychological value to their children rather than only economic value (Kagitcibasi, 1982). These families have longer histories in the city, they are more settled in the urban milieu, the fathers and especially the mothers are more educated, and the women consider employment as a solution to low income. These families are more likely to adopt modern values and to be more integrated into the modern ways of life.

Recommendations

The problem of working street children can only be addressed by simultaneously reinforcing actions across all economic and social sectors, including education and health. In dealing with the problem of working street children it is important to approach the problem comprehensively instead of searching for single solutions. The full range of causes that generate child labour should be analysed and a variety of intervention strategies applied. These strategies should seek to implant broad preventative and rehabilitative approaches. Effective prevention requires family empowerment, basic education, capacity building, awareness raising and social mobilisation. Rehabilitation measures should seek to offer different solutions and provide a comprehensive socio-economic package of services encompassing education, health and nutrition, social protection and shelter. A summary of recommendations based on the findings of this rapid assessment follows (see Chapter 6 for more detailed recommendations).

- Family empowerment through income generation is crucial for reducing children's involvement in street work. The socio-economic situation of poor families should be improved by **income generating activities** offered to the mothers who will be empowered by working in their home settings and contributing to the family income.
- **Training of parents** is essential for guaranteeing a high quality of care for children. Parental training and support should be provided by offering traditional education sessions in groups and by identifying individuals who need to receive social welfare services. Families should be informed about, and directed to, institutions providing

social welfare, anti-poverty programmes, vocational training programmes, labour placement services, child development training, and awareness sessions on the hazards of children working in worst forms of child labour.

- Further efforts should be made to **enhance the capacity of community social work services** carried out by the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection or to develop new ones. Social workers must focus on identification of families at risk of sending their children in the street or of neglecting them. As a preventative measure, Social Services should also help families in crisis. Establishing a close working relationship with local organisations that provide services to the families such as health and legal aid is important.
- Given the sensitive nature of the subject, careful thought needs to be given to the substantial **social and cultural factors** that reinforce child labour. Families and communities in certain areas define child labour as normal, legitimate or functional behaviour. Efforts to change the value system that is at the heart of the problem of child labour should be made, however, careful attention should be given to the subject so that all constituents view induced change as positive change.
- The **cost of education** is a major problem for many families and must be addressed. Although theoretically there is no charge for primary school education in Turkey, in practice families are asked to contribute to school expenses when registering their children. School principals should be made aware of the special cases of working children. It is further recommended that school uniforms and books should be provided by the school or the Ministry of Education.
- Every measure should be taken to immediately enhance the capacity of school administrators to eliminate the problem of aggressive behaviour between peers at school, and to create a **safe learning environment** in the classroom.
- Existing **pre-school classes** should be made more widely available and institutionalized in schools where children of recent migrants are enrolled.

- Existing **non-formal training** through apprenticeship training and skills training centres should focus on reaching out to children and letting them know of the programmes' existence. **Vocational counselling** should be provided to children working on the streets to promote the positive opportunities that do exist.
- Ongoing initiatives and project-based activities to develop more **nationwide, institutional approaches** to the problem must be created and maintained. More NGOs need to be founded and managed, and more academics should become involved in research and formulation of policies related to children living and working in the streets. Additionally, more schools of social work need to be created to increase the number of social workers who can cope with the growing problem of working street children.
- **Comprehensive advocacy programmes** aimed at building a critical mass of support for the elimination of child labour would provide a pressure group to promote sustained and strategic campaigns and interventions to educate the public and seek changes in policy and action.
- The General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection should undertake specific **community programmes** to address various forms of child labour as an important outreach strategy to engage a larger audience.
- Because **law enforcement personnel** are the first line of contact with working street children, they need to be educated about the seriousness of the problem. Changing the attitudes of those in society responsible for the maintenance of law and order is a critical start to effecting changes in values of society at large.
- **ILO and UNICEF** should work closely with the 15 Child and Youth Centres operated by the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection.

In Conclusion

The response to the phenomenon of children working in the streets is very important. This response could determine whether these children will turn into deviant gang members or productive citizens. As shown in this report, the wishes of these children are very innocent: "I wish to be a decent person," "I wish to continue my education," "I wish to be rescued from the streets." Whether these wishes will be turned into realities depends on a coordinated and dedicated effort on behalf of researchers, policy makers, advocates, government ministries, and NGOs; we owe such an effort to these children.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study

Turkey must address the problem of working street children in the context of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL). Struggles against poverty, and in some cases social unrest, have pushed many rural families in Turkey to take up labour in the cities. Internal migration has increasingly become one of the main survival strategies of poor families, especially those from the eastern part of the country. An outcome of the adoption of these strategies has become an increase in the numbers of children working in the streets.

Children working in the streets of major metropolitan cities are the most visible and most widespread participants in WFCL in Turkey. These children working in the streets of metropolitan centres of Turkey can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of children who work in the streets during the day, and sometimes during the evening and night, but who finally return home to stay with their family. The second group of children consists of those working and living in the streets, who have left their homes and/or whose families have disintegrated. The great majority of children working in the streets in Turkey belong to the first group. The children in the first group are involved in selling napkins, chewing gum, water, sunflower seeds, lottery tickets and any other small items appropriate to the season. They are also, at times, involved in dangerous activities such as cleaning the windshields of cars stopped at red lights. The children in the second group, those who are working and living in the streets, are involved in garbage collection and separation in the streets as well as at the garbage dumps. Field observations and interview results about both groups of children will be discussed in the fourth chapter of this report.

The present rapid assessment on children working in the streets in Turkey has been designed in the historical context of the socio-economic transformations accompanying rural-urban migration flows, and psycho-social processes which will be briefly discussed in section 2.1. The city of Diyarbakir, as a South-Eastern Anatolian first level regional metropolitan center, was chosen as a research site to focus on the relationships between recent migration flows from agricultural villages and the phenomenon of children working in the streets. The city of

Adana, as a second level regional metropolitan centre in South Anatolian-Mediterranean region, was selected in order to study the phenomenon of street children in a city where industrial development took place to a considerable degree and where migrants are not only from villages and towns but also from cities like Diyarbakır. The city of Istanbul was chosen as a national and international metropolitan centre where all sectors of the economy have proliferated and where the children working in the street are visible to all kinds of observers and authorities, especially through media coverage. Social and economic characteristics of these cities and how they compare are given in sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4.

The aim of the present study is to assess the conditions of children working in the streets in these three cities by learning about their life histories, the types of work they perform, their household characteristics, relationships with migration, and attitudes of various parties towards children working in the streets. Through this research it is hoped that a greater understanding of the present child labour circumstances in Turkey will be generated, and that new action plans and policies will be developed. Another aim of the present study is to test the draft version of the field manual on rapid assessment research on worst forms of child labour prepared by ILO/UNICEF: Investigating Child Labour - Guidelines for Rapid Assessment - A Field Manual.

1.2. Introduction to the Research Team

The study's research was prepared by a local team of experts equipped with the expertise required to embark on a rapid assessment on one of the worst forms of child labour, children working in the streets. The members of the team include:

Bahattin Akşit, a sociologist, who has had considerable experience as a consultant for project design and implementation in Turkey. In addition to a strong rural focus in his academic as well as project activities, Prof. Akşit has worked extensively in urban and “gecekondu” (squatter houses) settings using surveys as well as participatory-focus group interviews. He worked as a member of the central training group of the Inter-sectoral Volunteer Training project. This project was implemented within the framework of the action programmes set into motion by the Inter-sectoral Child Council which was set up by Turkish Government and UNICEF. The Inter-sectoral Volunteer Training project focuses upon the training of

provincial state officials and other key actors in an effort to improve the health and welfare of children and women. Prof. Akşit was a team member of the study for the five year (1992-1997) review/evaluation of ILO-IPEC programme implementation. He was also a member of the ILO team to develop a project to eliminate child labour in an earthquake region, after the 1999 Marmara Earthquake. Prof. Akşit is involved in research on secular and religious education in secondary schools, and on internal migration and social aspects of disaster management related to earthquakes.

A. Nuray Karancı is a clinical psychologist who has a wide variety of experiences as a project coordinator involving issues related to community awareness and prevention of hazards and psychological aftermaths of trauma and stress. Prof. Karancı has worked extensively in urban settings in Turkey, using focus group and in-depth interviews, observations and quantitative research methodology in order to examine the attitudes of the survivors of earthquakes in Turkey since 1993. She has worked in the development of projects to increase the awareness of the survivors of earthquakes and community members in the urban centers with first degree seismic risks. Prof. Karancı worked in the development and implementation of community participation projects for disaster preparedness. She also worked with the ILO after the Marmara 1999 earthquake to develop a project aimed at eliminating child labour in the earthquake region. Prof. Karancı has extensive experience in the psychological effects of traumas and negative life-events, and has been involved in the delivery of psychological help to people undergoing major life-events and suffering from anxiety and depression as well as post-traumatic stress.

Ayşe Gündüz-Hoşgör, a sociologist and statistician, has worked in the areas of development and social change, social stratification, gender and ethnic issues, and qualitative and quantitative social research techniques. Dr. Hoşgör has participated in much research on migration patterns, rural development, evaluation and social impact assessment of the development projects, gender and development issues, and child labour. In many of these research projects, she designed the research and coordinated the analysis. She was a team member of the study for the five year (1992-1997) review/evaluation of ILO-IPEC programme implementation.

1.3. Methodology of the Research

Both quantitative and qualitative information is needed in order to gain a full understanding of child labour. These two kinds of information combine to present a broad and rich image of the whole picture. This type of research, however, takes considerable time and is costly. As an alternative, *Rapid Assessment (RA technique)* methodology has been used in recent years. It is faster and more cost-efficient than other techniques, and has been increasingly used in the social sciences when rapid action and/or policy development are required. Rapid Assessment technique works well within small, clearly defined geographic areas, for example in core urban settings, where there are known to be substantial concentrations of working children. The output of Rapid Assessment Technique is both qualitative and quantitative, and further empirical data may be obtained as background information or through interviews. It should be noted that this data cannot be generalized to larger populations. If the research is carried out in a well designed way, the results will be reasonably accurate and representative but they will have low validity of scientific inquiry as probabilistic sampling selection procedures are not used. Rapid Assessment technique uses semi-structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus-group interviews, conversations, observation and background information derived from many different sources such as from knowledgeable persons or key agents. For the purpose of comparison, the Rapid Assessment technique can be repeated at different locations. Even though the technique has some limitations, it is one of the most useful methods for gathering information quickly and inexpensively in order to describe specific situations regarding child labour.

This research aims to offer a comparative picture of working street children in three cities with different urbanization levels (Diyarbakır, Adana and Istanbul) in order to pave the way for future actions for the elimination of child labour in Turkey. The newly collected information will be provided to policy-makers to assist in taking more effective measures against child labour.

The Rapid Assessment research aims to:

- Identify the kinds of work that children are doing in the streets;

- Describe the working conditions of children (work processes; their physical impacts; hours of work; rates of pay; living conditions; relations to the employers);
- Identify the sociological, demographic and economic characteristics of the children working in the streets; their family structures; their community structures; migration histories; and work histories;
- Identify parents' attitudes towards child labour, and children's perceptions/attitudes toward work;
- Learn more about the relationships between the child, school and work, and between school and work; collect information regarding parental attitudes towards schooling and the education of children; conditions of schools in the community;
- Assess the extent of the dangerous, hazardous, unhealthy, and morally unsound conditions for children; estimate how many children are working in such conditions; identify the pathways that lead children to these work situations (reasons and causes behind the issue);
- Identify whether there are hidden populations of children working in unknown areas;
- Identify the fears, wishes and dreams of children working in the streets;
- Identify the pathways and/or causes that lead to the phenomenon of children working in the streets;
- Make suggestions and recommendations to remove and rehabilitate children from these work areas; and determine suitable bases for initiating programmes to be carried out and supported by NGOs, governments, and other related agents.

The research was carried out in two phases; in order to collect all the above information different sources of information were used. First, regarding the three cities, Diyarbakır, Adana and Istanbul, the existing information from published and unpublished research reports was obtained. The objective at this stage was to identify the general social, economic and demographic profile of these cities in the past and in the present. Migration histories, ethnic compositions and sociological, demographic and economic structures of the regions were identified. A multisectoral meeting was held with the related institutions in order to ensure their participation, obtain their views and not to duplicate the work. During this stage close cooperation with the following institutions took place:

- The General Directorate of Social Protection and Social Services (SHÇEK)
- The Ministry of National Education, General Directorate of Primary Education
- Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Southeastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration
- The State Institute of Statistics (SIS)
- The General Directorate of Security, Department of Child protection
- Ankara Municipality
- UNICEF
- NGOs and Universities.

Additionally, information on the legal framework and existing institutional set-up was gathered. All available data from the published and unpublished sources were reviewed (see Chapters 2 and 3).

In the second stage of the research, the research team visited the cities. Many different discussions and consultations were carried out with knowledgeable individuals and experts. In the field the focus group meetings and interviews were carried out with the following agents:

- a group of social workers from the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection in Diyarbakır, Adana and Istanbul;
- Social workers from the Child and Youth Centres in Diyarbakır and Istanbul (there is no Child and Youth Center in Adana);
- Provincial Governor's representatives in all three cities;

- Municipal Police Forces in Adana, Diyarbakır and Istanbul;
- Police officers from the General Directorate of Police, Department of Security, Child Protection Division in Adana, Diyarbakır and Istanbul;
- Teachers and school chair persons at the primary schools where the working children are enrolled in all cities;
- Professors from Dicle, Çukurova and Istanbul Universities, who are working on child labour issues;
- Doctors from the Public Health Units of these Universities;
- Representatives from Worker's Unions, specifically from TÜRK-İŞ;
- Volunteers from NGOs (for example, people from Adana Street Children Association);
- Trades persons and customers.

In the final stage of the research, semi-structured interviews were carried out with 188 children; 32 in Adana, 55 in Diyarbakır and 101 in Istanbul. Out of those 188 children, 19 of them were girls and 169 of them were boys. The age distribution of the children is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Distribution of children working in the streets by age

AGE	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
7	4	2,1	2,1
8	6	3,2	5,3
9	9	4,8	10,1
10	15	8,0	18,1
11	30	16,0	34,0
12	34	18,1	52,1
13	27	14,4	66,5
14	35	18,6	85,1
15	17	9,0	94,1
16	8	4,3	98,4
17	3	1,6	100,0
Total	188	100,0	
Median age = 12			

Additionally, the research team carried out focus group discussions and face-to-face interviews with a total of 65 families: two in Adana, 22 in Diyarbakır, and 41 in Istanbul. This multi-sectoral research was carried out by four Middle East Technical University graduates who spent two weeks in each city. The findings of stages 2 and 3 are presented in Chapters 3 and 4.

At the initial stages of the research, before entering into the field, Şule Çağlar, ILO-IPEC coordinator, provided the team with background information and introduced the assistants to the Child and Youth centres in Ankara. The research team trained the assistants on the strategic entry points, data collecting techniques, and other ethnographic issues.

As it is impossible to reach all the children working in the streets due to their mobility and large numbers, systematic (probabilistic) sampling techniques could not be applied. The sample of people to be interviewed was drawn through *haphazard* sampling (i.e. selecting any child who fits the profile of the study subject and is available), and *snowball* sampling (i.e. selecting families connected in some way to the interviewed child). The interviews with the children were carried out in front of the main shopping centres, city centres and bus terminals, where most working street children can be found day and night. The families of some of these children were contacted and then their interviews were conducted, and other families from the same neighbourhoods (who also have children working in the streets) were reached and included in the sample.

1.4. A Brief Review of Literature on Child Labour and Children Working on the Streets in Turkey

Since the inception of the ILO-International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) in 1992, Turkey has carried out more than 80 projects in this area. These projects have included awareness raising, capacity building, direct action with children and families and research. As a result of these projects some institutionalisation of child labour issues has taken place, such as the establishment and periodic meetings of a National Steering Committee, the formation of a Child Unit within the Ministry of Labour and Social Security; and the establishment of Child and Youth Centres by the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection. In spite of these intensive efforts, however, there has been no visible

decrease in the number of children working on the streets. Still, the situation might have been worse if ILO-IPEC projects had not been implemented.

There have been numerous efforts in Turkey to gather information on the problem of working children since the initiation of the ILO-IPEC Programme in 1992. Research carried out before this date includes Balamir (1982), Atauz (1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992), Yener and Kocaman (1989), Konac (1991) and Ozbay (1991). Research after 1992 includes Atauz, (1995, 1996 and 1997), Erturk (1994), Koksall and Lordoglu (1993), Konac (1996) and Ozbay, (1998). Most of these studies, except the studies on street children addressed below, are on working children in general. For example, Erturk's (1994) work develops a model for the comprehension of widespread forms of rural child labour in various regions of Turkey. Koksall and Lordoglu's (1993) work is on the transformation of child labour from its traditional form of apprenticeship in industrial and service sectors to its more contemporary forms. It is beyond the scope of this rapid assessment research report on children working in the streets, to summarise all of the findings of research on child labour in Turkey. However, in order to have a better picture of children working in the streets, it is appropriate to have an idea about the general picture of child labour in Turkey.

The most systematic source for child labour in general in Turkey was the Child Labour Survey carried out by the State Institute of Statistics within the framework of IPEC in 1994 (SIS, 1967; Dayioglu, 1997 and Ozcan, Aksit, Dayioglu and Gunduz-Hosgor, 1997, pp.20-30). Let us briefly present the findings of this survey on child labour before focusing on research on children working in the streets. According to the SIS survey results, out of an estimated 11,900,000 children between the ages of six and 14, 852,000 children in rural Turkey and 221,000 children in urban Turkey were working. The labour force participation rate for rural children is 15%, and 3.6% for urban children. These rates for rural female children (13.3%) are very close to rural male children (16.5%); while for the urban female children the rate (1.7%) is much lower than the rate (5.3%) for urban male children. The finding that urban girls are less likely to work in the regular labour force is also true for urban children working in the streets as reported in our own observations and other research.

One of the most crucial findings of the 1994 Child Labour Survey is that while only 4% of children attending school are also working, 39% of the children not attending school are working. These percentages take school attendance and non-attendance as the denominators.

School attendance among working children is only 41%; in other words, of working children ages six to 14, 59% are not attending school. However, it should be clearly pointed out that the SIS 1994 Child Labour Survey is on children working in the formal and informal sectors. Among urban children the most predominant sectors of the economy they work in are industry, services and trade; among rural children it is mostly agriculture. What is more interesting is these children's status at work. More than half (51%) of the urban female children are working as regular employees, the rest are equally divided between casual employees and unpaid family workers. Of male urban children 41% are regular employees, 50% of them are almost equally divided between casual and family workers, and 9% are self-employed. Close to 90% of rural children are working with their families as unpaid family workers*.

The 1994 Child Labour Survey is household based and it seems to under-represent urban child labour, especially in informal sector workplaces. Furthermore, this survey does not include specific information on children working in the streets.

Children working and/or living in the streets of Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, Mersin, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa have become the focus of recent research by individual or institutionally supported researchers. This research can be listed as follows: Atauz, (1992, 1995, 1996, and 1997), Oto, Ertem and Geter (n.d.), Kuntay, Erginsoy and Yılmaz (1998), Kuntay and Erginsoy (2000), Karatay et. al., (2000a and 2000b), SHÇEK, SIS and UNICEF (1999). This rapid assessment extends and complements the research outlined above.

The research findings on street children by Atauz (1992, 1995, 1996, and 1997) were very relevant to the present study. Her research was conducted in the main cities of Turkey, such as Ankara, Izmir, Gaziantep and Diyarbakir, where the phenomenon of street children is visible and widespread. As Diyarbakir is a focus of her research as well as of ours, this review will focus on the findings surrounding street children in Diyarbakir (Atauz, 1997). Atauz interviewed 200 children working on the streets of Diyarbakir. Her findings about the ages (7-17), gender (94% male), birth place (75% rural), length of residence in Diyarbakir (recent migration), and types of work on the street (shoe shining and selling small items) are very

* Regular employees are workers in formally registered work places. Their wages, social security, vacations and other rights are formally and legally regulated. Casual workers are employed temporarily and/or occasionally by

similar to our findings as presented in Chapter 4. Her findings about the educational level (low) and employment status (fathers mostly unemployed and mothers not working) of the parents of these children are also very similar to our findings as presented in chapter 5. Negative traditional attitudes towards mothers working and high unemployment of fathers is very much connected with migration histories of these families as has been noted in various chapters of the present research report. It should also be noted that Atauz's research is carried out with the financial support of a local branch of an international non-governmental organization, Lions Clubs International. Atauz collaborated with SHCEK, Social Services and Child Protection Institution, in the establishment of the Child and Youth Centre in Diyarbakir. The establishment of this centre and its activities are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The findings of research on children working on the streets of Istanbul by Kuntay, Erginsoy and Yilmaz (1998) were also very relevant to the present research. The title of the research report, Going to the Streets to Sell Napkins, reveals its cultural and social emphasis. The researchers followed children caught by police while working on the streets of Istanbul to their homes and interviewed the parents and other members of the household. On the basis of 15 households visited, it has been observed that all of these families are recent migrants from provinces in Eastern Anatolia, such as Mardin and Siirt. The majority of the mothers are illiterate and do not speak Turkish. One third of the fathers are unemployed, although the majority are literate. Most of the children whom they followed from street to home were male (80%). Most of the children are also attending school and working on the streets during non-school times. The present rapid assessment research used a much larger sample, and revealed similar findings as presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Parallel research, funded by UNICEF, was conducted by Kuntay and Erginsoy (2000) on teenage female sex workers in the Istanbul metropolitan area. One of the most urgent demands of these girls was the establishment of a centre to serve as temporary and even perhaps as permanent shelter for them. The absence of such a centre frustrated the researchers emotionally and ethically, because their contact for research could not turn into a positive intervention. Child and Youth Centres established by SHÇEK lessened present researchers' emotional and ethical frustration, because they observed that these centres are run by professional social workers.

small and mostly unregistered and unregulated work places. Unpaid family workers are working in family firms without formal wages and the rights that go together with wage employment.

The ongoing research by the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection (SHÇEK), the State Institute of Statistics (SIS) and UNICEF combines quantitative, qualitative and action research in its research design and is similar in approach to the present rapid assessment research. The SHÇEK-SIS-UNICEF research is being carried out with 500 children living and/or working in six cities (Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, Icel, Diyarbakir, and Urfa) and has been ongoing for the past three years. By contrast, this rapid assessment covers three of these cities (Istanbul, Adana, Diyarbakir), where children living and working in the streets are more numerous and visible. An action-intervention component is more prominent in the SHÇEK-SIS-UNICEF research than in the rapid assessment. It was noted during field research in Istanbul and Diyarbakir that the local researchers are also active social workers in recently established SHÇEK Child and Youth Centres in both cities. Qualitative and quantitative data gathering and actively dealing with children working on the streets and their families go together. The researchers/social workers in both places shared their observations and findings with us while we were in the field. In contacting the children and their families for in-depth interviews and the administration of questionnaires they were our guides. In Adana, SHÇEK Child and Youth Centre was not in operation yet, and hence we were not able to use their resources as we did in the two other cities. However, we must acknowledge that an NGO operated street children centre was very helpful in serving as a meeting and contact place.

In Istanbul, the researchers/social workers in SHÇEK Child and Youth Centre shared findings of their current research conducted with 216 street children (Karatay et. al., 2000a). The size of our sample is almost half of theirs. Girls represent 38% of their sample, whereas in our sample girls represent 12% (see Chapter 4). Although it is impossible to have a complete survey of all the children working on the streets because of daily, and even hourly, fluctuations in numbers in various locations of the city, it is surmised that in their sample girls are over represented. This could be explained by the fact that since the SHÇEK researchers/social workers are more involved in intervention, they come into contact with more girls and their families. Supporting the conjecture that girls are over represented by SHÇEK is the similarity that exists between the other findings when compared to the representation of girls. It can be noted that in their sample 12% of the children working on the streets have never attended school, whereas in ours it is 14%. These percentages are very close. Similarly, in their sample 54% did not like working on the streets, while in our sample 50% did not like working on the streets. The second and more recent research by Karatay, et.

al. (2000b), comprises a larger and more comprehensive sample of children (905) working in the streets. In this sample the percentage of girls working on the streets is 9%, which is very close to the percentage in our sample from three metropolitan centres.

One of the most interesting findings of this research is that more than 50% of the children working on the streets have more than five siblings; which means they come from very crowded households. This and many other characteristics of these children are very similar to our findings from children themselves and from their families as reported in Chapters 4 and 5. We can say that for Istanbul, Diyarbakir and Adana, this rapid assessment utilised the existing data and experience of the local researchers/social workers and brought some improvements in the quantitative and qualitative data gathering and analysis/interpretation of the data. Without local knowledge, expertise and intervention experiences, this would have been impossible.

CHAPTER 2

DEMOGRAPHIC, EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE RESEARCH CITIES

2.1. Modernisation and Migration Patterns and the Three Research Cities

A brief review of existing studies on street children in Turkey revealed that recent poor and unemployed migrants and their households are the main source of children working in the streets. These recent migrants are mostly from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian regions of Turkey. The population pattern for Turkey during the last 50 years has been one of steady urbanisation: the urban population first exceeded the rural population in the 1980s. Figures from the 1985 Census and the 1990 Census show that urbanisation was occurring at a rate of 62.6 and 43.1 per 1,000, respectively, while rural areas showed negative net population growth of 10.6 and 5.6 per 1,000, respectively.

Rural-urban migration flows accompanied the expansion of market forces and other urbanising and “modernising” socio-economic transformations in Turkey and other developing countries. Western Turkey, especially coastal regions, went through these transformations during the first three decades of the second half of the twentieth century. Eastern and Southeastern Turkey, however, did not experience these transformations until the last two decades of the last century. The pattern of migration has been from villages to nearby towns or city centres, and from there to regional city centres such as Diyarbakır and Gaziantep; then to greater metropolitan centres adjacent to the region such as Adana, and finally to the national metropolitan centre, Istanbul. This type of pattern is known as stepwise migration. There has also been another evident pattern of migration known as chain migration. In this pattern some households migrate directly from their villages to regional or national metropolitan centres, where they have relatives, villagers and/or tribal kin, who can help them to find jobs and to build a squatter house. Some of the migrants involved in both of these patterns of migration enter into patron-client relationships in terms of work, welfare and political organization. The household heads of these families are employed in flexible types of production and service activities. They have temporary employment without social security

arrangements. When they lose their jobs it is not unlikely for them to opt to have their children work in the streets.

Some households migrate to metropolitan centres without any connections and/or patrons. Most of these households are thrown into the migration stream due to political unrest in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. The heads of families involved in this last type of migration are chronically unemployed, and hence it is likely that their children will also be found working in the streets.

Diyarbakır, Adana and Istanbul were chosen as the cities in which to conduct the present rapid assessment research on child street workers. The streams of voluntary and forced migrations during recent decades moved first to Diyarbakır or Gaziantep, the first degree regional metropolitan centres of eastern and south-eastern Anatolia; second, to Adana or Mersin, the second-degree regional metropolitan centres; and finally, to Istanbul, as the national and international metropolitan centre of the country. (Due to time and other resource limitations, Gaziantep and Mersin were not included in the present study.)

2.2. Demographic Profile of the Research Cities

Demographic characteristics of Diyarbakır are presented in Table 2. The total provincial* population increased by 17% in seven years from 1990 to 1997 when it reached 1,282,678 (Table 2, column 1, rows 1, 2 and 3). The central city population increase, on the other hand, was 34% from 381,144 to 511,640 (Table 2, column 1, rows 6, 7 and 8). In the meantime urbanisation rates of the province increased from 55% in 1990 to 65% in 1997. Migration data exists for the 1990 Census but not from the 1997 Population Enumeration. From the 1990 Census data in can be estimated that the in-migration rate to the province was 4.3, and out-migration from the province was 7.2; net migration being 2.9% (Table 2, column 1, rows 10, 12 and 14)** . This is an expected migration pattern for a first-degree metropolitan city like

* For clarification it is necessary to note that Turkey is administratively organised as 81 provinces, which include urban as well as rural populations. Total population in Table 2 refers to total urban and rural population in the three provinces. Urban population in rows 4 and 5 refer to the population living in all cities in the province; whereas, central city and/or metropolitan population refers to the urban population living in the capital and adjacent urban centres of a province.

** The 1990 Census did include questions about place of residence in the previous census (1985), hence it was possible to estimate in-migration, out-migration and net-migration. Whereas, 1997 Population Enumeration did not include such questions and hence we are forced to 1990 Census data for such rates until 2000 Census data are released in a few years.

Diyarbakır. It attracts populations from neighbouring provinces and smaller cities, yet loses a portion of the population to larger metropolitan cities. From research conducted in 1993 (Akşit, et. al., 1994 and Akşit, et. al., 1996) it was found that the percentage of migrant household heads involved in more than one step in their migration history was only 7.4% for Diyarbakır, while it was 14.3% for Adana and 24.3 in Istanbul (see Table 2, row 15).

Another very interesting fact is that the percentage of children ages five to nine is 17% in Diyarbakır, much higher than Adana and Istanbul and the country as a whole. This is compatible with the total fertility rate (average number of children per woman), which is 4.7, two children more than the overall country rate (Table 2, columns 1 and 4, row 16). The present research team observed the consequences of these statistics in the very high visibility of working children in the main streets.

At the opposite extreme from Diyarbakır is Istanbul. It has reached its limits of urbanisation, indicated by the fact that 92%* of the population is already living in the metropolitan urban areas of Istanbul province while only 8% of the province population is living in the rural-agricultural villages around Istanbul as outlined in both the 1990 and 1997 Censuses (Table 2, rows 4 and 5). The city centre's population increase is 26%, which is lower than both Diyarbakır's (34%) and Adana's (29%). In absolute numbers the migration stream to Istanbul is huge. During the period from 1985-1990, 995,717 people migrated to Istanbul (Table 2, row 9); during the 1990-1997 period, the number of people migrating to Istanbul increased to 1,752,097 (Table 2, rows 6 and 7). In terms of rates, in-migration to the province is 15%, while out-migration from the province is 5%, net migration being 10% which is much higher than the rates of the two other cities.

Adana is in the middle of the spectrum. The only peculiarity that does not fit the pattern of being intermediary between Diyarbakır and Istanbul is the decrease of provincial population from 1990 to 1997. This can be explained by the political-administrative decision taken to form a new province, Osmaniye, out of one of the districts of Adana. Another interesting comparative observation about Adana is that in many of its statistics it falls in between Diyarbakır and Istanbul and is more representative of the country averages.

* According to the 1990 Census, the percentage of population living in urban places of Istanbul province is 92%; with the remaining 8% living in rural places. According to the 1997 Population Enumeration, there is no change

Table 2. Demographic Profile of the Research Cities*

	Diyarbakır	Adana	Istanbul	Turkey
Total Population 1990	1 094 996	1 934 907	7 309 190	56 473 035
Total Population 1997	1 282 678	1 682 483**	9 198 809	62 810 111
Provincial population increase 1990-1997	17%	-13%	26%	11%
Urban Population 1990 %	55%	70%	92%	59%
Urban Population 1997 %	65%	76%	92%	65%
Central/metropolitan city population 1990	381 144	916 150	6 753 929	-
Central/metropolitan city population 1997	511 640	1 185 049	8 506 026	-
Central city Population increase 1990-1997	34%	29%	26%	-
In migration 1985-90	46 883	124 479	995 717	4 065 173
% in 1990 Population	4.3%	6.4%	15%	7.2%
Out migration 1985-1990	79 095	97 545	339040	4 065 173
% in 1990 Population	7.2%	5%	5%	7.2%
Net Migration 1985-90	32 212	26 934	656 677	-
Net Migration Rate	2.9%	1.4%	10%	-
% migrants hhhs with two or more steps of migration	7.4%	14.3%	24.3%	-
Total Fertility Rate	4.7	3	2.1	2.7
% of age group 5-9	17.1%	13.5%	10.2%	12.2%
% of age group 10-14	14.8%	13.5%	10.6%	12.2%
% of age group 14-19	11.7%	11.7%	11.2%	11.0%

*Almost all of the data in this table is taken from the 1990 Census and 1997 Population Enumeration conducted by the State Institute of Statistics (SIS) of Turkey. The data are presented at the following Internet address: <http://www.die.gov.tr/>; only row 15 is taken from Akşit et al (1994).

**The drastic drop in population of Adana is due to the fact that Osmaniye, formerly a district of Adana, was made a new province between the 1990 Census and the 1997 Population Enumeration.

in these percentages. Urban population in proportion to rural population did not change, it has been almost stabilised.

2.3. Educational Profile of the Research Cities

The educational profile of the three cities parallels the demographic structure figures represented in Table 2. Female and male illiteracy for Diyarbakır exists in alarming proportions. For women, illiteracy is 61% according to the 1990 Census; this is more than two times higher than the country rate, and four times higher than the Istanbul rate (see Table 3). For men the comparative picture is not better; it is three times higher than the country rate and six times higher than the Istanbul rate. Illiteracy percentages among mostly male migrant household heads were found to be higher than male illiteracy in all three cities (Akşit, et. al., 1994). In 2000, during the present rapid assessment, information about the households of children working in the streets was gathered. According to this data, the percentage of illiterate women in these households is 60% in Diyarbakır, and 33% in Istanbul. In Diyarbakır, ten years after the 1990 Census, the percentage of illiterate women in street children's households remained the same, while in Istanbul it is 33%, two times higher than the 1990 rate.

The percentage of women in Diyarbakır with eight years of basic education is 21%, less than half of the country percentage and close to one third of the Istanbul rate. School attendance for children in basic education should be close to 100% because of the Law for Uninterrupted Compulsory Basic Education enacted in 1997. However, the available statistics belonging to the same year that the law was enacted show Diyarbakır at 56% and Adana at 58%; both far from the 100% basic education goal. In Istanbul it is 90%. The schooling ratio at the eight year basic education level for the country as a whole (66%) is also very low and it indicates that in addition to passing a law, social mobilisation involving communities and households is required. These low percentages cannot be salvaged even with the fact that the population denominator of the ratio is for the age category 5-14 and hence one year lower than the school commencement age. It is hoped that when statistics become available for the year 1999-2000, these percentages will be much higher.

Table 3. Educational Profile of the Research Cities*

	Diyarbakır	Adana	Istanbul	Turkey
% of illiterate women, 1990	61%	29%	15%	28%
% of illiterate men, 1990	30%	12%	5%	11%
% of illiterate migrant hhhs, 1993**	32%	28%	12%	-
% of illiterate women in the hhhs of children working in the streets, 2000***	60%	19%	33%	-
% of illiterate men in the hhhs of children working in the streets, 2000***	27%	3%	19%	-
% of women with 8 years of Education, 1990	21%	41%	56%	49%
% of men with 8 years of Education, 1990	44%	50%	63%	59%
% of women with high school education and above, 1990	5%	8%	15%	8%
% of men with high school education and above, 1990	10%	13%	19%	14%

*Almost all the data in this table is taken from the 1990 Census conducted by SIS and educational statistics provided by the Ministry of Education to SIS. All the data are presented in the following Internet address: <http://www.die.gov.tr/>;

**Akşit et.al. (1994);

***Present RA research by Aksit, Karanci and Gunduz-Hosgor, 2000.

2.4. Economic and Social Profile of the Research Cities

Information on the economic and social profiles of Diyarbakır, Adana and Istanbul comes from three basic sources. The first source is the 1990 Population Census and the 1997 Population Enumeration by the State Institute of Statistics. The second source is data gathered by the State Planning Office on Provinces in the country. The third source is research conducted by Akşit et. al. in 1993, supported and funded by the Southeastern Anatolian Project Development Administration in neighbourhoods of these and other cities where recent rural-urban migrants have settled (see Table 4).

The economic and social indicators* chosen show that Diyarbakır is below the national average, while Adana is a little above the national average and Istanbul is well above all of them. Diyarbakır is still an agricultural province (69% of labour force) with little economic and technological resources (only 3% in manufacture) to support recent forced and voluntary in-migration into the city. A substantial percentage of the population is in the public and private services sector, and a portion of the population is employed in commerce and building sectors. There is still a very high percentage of unemployment. Unemployment in Diyarbakır was reported as 12% (1990 Census results for all provincial population), and research among migrants in 1993 in Diyarbakır city centre, revealed that the percentage of unemployed migrant household heads was around 27% (Aksit, et. al. 1994). The same research showed unemployment at 18% in Adana and 5.8% in Istanbul (Aksit, et. al. 1994). Unemployment among men in households of children working in the streets was 40% in Diyarbakır, 24% in Adana and 30% in Istanbul (Present RA research, 2001). In households with unemployed parents, children working in the streets become the sole breadwinners, looking after their parents and siblings.

In the rapid assessment questionnaire on population movements, the topic of gainful employment of women was included, but there was no question on child labour or children working in the streets. Forty-five percent of respondents in Diyarbakır reported that they agreed with the concept of women undertaking gainful employment, while the majority rejected this idea. Even in Istanbul the positive response was only slightly over half of the

* Some of these economic and social indicators are given in Table 4: per capita income in rows 1 and 2, number of cars in row 3, employment in manufacture and agriculture in rows 4 and 5, percentage of male and female

sample. In response to a question we asked to male children working in the streets regarding whether they would have their wives or their children work if the need arose, most of the children preferred that their children work over their wives in this scenario. This is an indication of cultural continuity about “inappropriateness” of wives’ employment outside the home.

According to 1993 research, 59% of the migrants in Diyarbakır wanted to go back to their villages. The desire to return, especially among households whose children are working in the streets, persisted strongly during the time of this research. Many respondents indicated that “a village is like a factory,” employing both men and women and providing school for children. It seems that for many unemployed migrant households whose children are working in the streets, returning to their villages which they left voluntarily or involuntarily, is seen as a solution to many of their problems including the phenomenon of street children. This seems to be true not only for migrants in Diyarbakır, but also for migrants in Adana and Istanbul. However, it should be remembered that 56% of migrants in Diyarbakır reported that city life is better than village life. This percentage is 60% in Adana and 72% in Istanbul. Families believe that staying in the city can provide them with a better education, decent employment and increased skills such as the acquisition of another language. The reality of staying in the city, however, can mean children working, begging, and living in the streets.

professionals in rows 6 and 7, unemployment rate in rows 8, 9 and 10. There are also some cultural-attitudinal indicators in Table 4, rows 11, 12, 13 and 14.

Table 4. Economic and Social Profile of the Research Cities*

	Diyarbakır	Adana	Istanbul	Turkey
Per capita income 1987 (1987 prices, TL.)	940 229	1 442 882	2 451 696	1 421 616
Per capita income 1997 (1987 prices, TL.)	980 002	2 067 008	2 792 142	1 807 740
Number of cars per 10 000	118	697	985	580
% Employment in manufacture, 1990	3%	14%	33%	12%
% Employment in agriculture, 1990	69%	49%	5%	54%
% Male professionals, 1990	4%	5.2%	8.1%	5.9%
% Female professionals, 1990	1.5%	2.4%	4.6%	2.6%
% Unemployment declared in 1990	11.5%	10.7%	6.2%	5.4%
% Migrant hhhs reporting unemployment, 1993**	27.4%	18.4	5.8%	-
% Unemployment in the hhs of children working in the streets, 2000***	40%	24%	30%	-
% Migrant hhhs reporting life in city as better, 1993**	56%	60%	72%	-
% Migrant hhhs thinking Women should work, 1993**	45%	43%	54%	-
% Migrant hhhs wanting to return to village, 1993**	59%	57%	46%	-
% Migrant hhhs knowing two local languages, 1993**	100%	88%	95.7%	-

*The data in the first 8 rows of this table are taken from 1990 Census conducted by the State Institute of Statistics (SIS) and data gathered by the State Planning Organization. The data are presented in the following Internet addresses: <http://www.die.gov.tr/> and <http://www.dpt.gov.tr/>;

** Akşit et al (1994));

***Present RA research by Aksit, Karanci and Gunduz-Hosgor, 2000.

CHAPTER 3

LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND INSTITUTIONAL SET-UP ON CHILD LABOUR IN TURKEY

3.1. Legal Framework

The laws and regulations related to child labour in Turkey are mainly found under the Labour Law. The following laws also include sections related to child labour: Public Hygiene Act, Primary Education Act, Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act, and Unions Act. However, none of these laws cover children working in the streets. Children working in the streets are protected by Article 50 of the Turkish Constitution, which reads as follows: “No one shall be required to perform work unsuited to his age, gender or capacity. Minors, women and persons with physical or mental disabilities shall enjoy special protection with regard to working conditions.” With this article, the Turkish Government guarantees to protect children from work unsuited to their age or capacity. Furthermore, Article 90 of the Turkish Constitution states: “International agreements duly put into effect carry the force of law. No appeal to the Constitutional Court can be made with regard to these agreements on the ground that they are unconstitutional.” This means that all ILO-138 and UNICEF Conventions that are ratified by Turkey carry the force of law. In 1995, Turkey ratified the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. This convention in conjunction with Article 90 of the Turkish Constitution guarantees that all children are under the protection of the Turkish government. Children in state institutions, children living or working in the streets, children attending basic/primary education schools (between ages six to 4) or who have dropped out, children attending high schools or who have dropped out, and children working and attending Apprentice Training Centres or who have dropped out are all under the protection of the law. Therefore, it is important to summarise the contents of the relevant laws before looking at the institutional framework established to deal with the problems of children working in the streets.

3.1.1. The Labour Law:

According to Article 5 of the Labour Law, children working in the following activities are not covered by the Labour Law, but are subject to the Code of Obligations: Maritime and air-transport, agriculture, work in family undertakings, domestic services, activities carried out by establishments with three or fewer workers, apprentices, construction work in relation to agriculture undertaken by the family, activities of doorkeepers (maintenance men for dwellings), activities carried out by sportsmen, activities carried out by the members of an NGO (Association of Philanthropists).

According to Article 67 of the Labour Law, the minimum age for child labour is 15 with the exception of work that does not harm the health and education of children (light work) for which the minimum age is 13. This article is in harmony with the ILO Convention No. 138, which was ratified by Turkey in 1998.

According to Article 68 of the Labour Law, the minimum age for underground work is 18. This article is in harmony with the ILO Convention No. 123. According to Article 69 of the Labour Law, the minimum age for night work in industry is 18. This article is in harmony with the ILO Conventions Nos. 6 and 90. According to Article 78 of the Labour Law, the minimum age for heavy and hazardous work is 16. According to Article 67 of the Labour Law, children who go to school can work for no more than 7.5 hours a day. The time that the children are in school is included in this time. According to Article 80 of the Labour Law, children between the ages of 13-18 (18 is included) must have a health report to begin work, and these reports must be repeated every six months. The by-law regarding heavy and hazardous work requires health reports for those between the ages of 16-18. According to the ILO Convention No. 77, for children working in the industry periodic health reports are required up to the age of 21.

3.1.2. Public Hygiene Act:

As mentioned above, according to Article 5 of the Labour Law there is a difference between the jobs that are governed by the Labour Law and those governed by the Code of Obligations. The jobs that are listed in Article 5 are not subject to the Labour Law but are subject to the Code of Obligations.

According to Article 174 of the Code of Obligations, children between the ages of 12-16 cannot work at night. According to Article 173/1 of the Code of Obligations children under 12 cannot work in mines. But this article does not apply any longer since all the underground work is subject to the Labour Law. According to Article 173/2 of the Code of Obligations, children between the ages of 12-16 can work no more than eight hours per day.

3.1.3. Primary Education Act:

According to Article 59 of the Primary Education Law, children of primary school age who are not sent to school are not allowed to work. The children that certify that they are currently attending primary school can work after school hours. A development has taken place regarding the Primary Education Act, which has important implications for working children. With an amendment (accepted on 16 August, 1997) made to the Primary Education Act, compulsory education which spanned five years of primary schooling was increased to eight years. This amendment naturally raised the minimum working age of children to 15 and hence children between the ages of six (the age to start school) and 14 are supposed to be in school. The change in the Primary Education Legislation also affected the Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act. As summarised below, to gain acceptance to an Apprenticeship Training Centre, a child must be at least a primary school graduate. Since compulsory education is extended to eight years to cover junior-high school, primary school education is redefined in the Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act to include junior-high school so as to reflect eight years of primary education. This redefinition necessitated the age minimum for acceptance to Apprenticeship Training Centres to be raised to 15 (in technical terms, “older than 14”).

3.1.4. Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act:

According to Article 11 of the Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act, the apprentice is a pupil. According to Article 10/a of the same act, an apprentice must be older than 14 (according to the amendment that can be found in the Official Gazette No: 23084, 18.8.1997; prior to this amendment the age was “older than 13”) and younger than 19. But according to article 10/b, the apprentice must be a primary school graduate (according to the amendment marked above, primary school education lasts eight years). A candidate apprentice must also be a primary school graduate. However, with the change in the Primary Education Act, Article 10/b (regarding the regulation about candidate apprentices), although still in tact, has lost its applicability.

3.1.5. Major drawbacks of legislation

Laws governing child labour were covered in different and sometimes incompatible pieces of legislation, and they did not cover housework, agricultural work or streetwork. In recognition of the need for a coherent and comprehensive child labour law, the Child Labour Unit (CLU) has been working on a draft bill on child labour in line with ILO Conventions 138 and 182. The bill includes both prohibitive and protective measures aimed at ensuring that children are kept from working in specified sectors below certain ages. The bill also covers activities in the informal sector, house-based work, unpaid work and street work, which were not previously covered under Turkish legislation. The draft bill was finalised and distributed to the Advisory Group on Child Labour, a multi-sectoral platform on child-labour related issues established within the Unit. A one-day workshop was held to receive feedback and comments on the draft bill. The CLU is currently holding consultative meetings with individual institutions as a follow up to the workshop in order to finalise the draft bill to be submitted to Parliament.

3.2. Institutional Set-up

A major bottleneck to the legal and institutional system concerning child labour is the fact that the control of child labour is very disorganised. The Ministries of Education, Labour and

Social Security, and the Social Services Child Protection Institution have the authority (to varying degrees) to oversee the working and protection of children. As a result of this, the institutional authority regarding the enforcement of the Labour Law and other related laws is divided.

3.2.1. Ministry of Labour and Social Security

In 1992, the CLU within the Ministry of Labour and Social Security was set up with ILO-IPEC support. The unit was given the responsibility of carrying out policy planning and development related to child labour.

This proposed programme intends to build on the existing strengths of the CLU. To facilitate this, and ensure a systematic and appropriate response to all aspects of the child labour problem, it is necessary for the CLU to improve *planning, management and coordination capacity*. This will involve the preparation of a broad organizational framework and assist the unit in identifying the key steps necessary to formulate a systematic response for the eradication of child labour within its area of operation. In order to ensure that the framework developed through this process can be realised with the minimum of alteration this activity should be carried out in close collaboration with the National Steering Committee (NSC) and Advisory Group.

Effective action against child labour requires a concerted national action with appropriate co-ordination and co-operation among all the different actors at all the various levels. The CLU is both the best-placed and most effective existing partner to undertake this function. Therefore, the CLU's role as the focal point and coordinator of child labour related activities needs to be strengthened; specifically through the training of their staff in more effective methods of coordination. The CLU will have to reinforce, expand and develop its present model of cooperation and coordination to include other institutions as yet not directly participating in the Elimination of Child Labour activities. Improved focus is also needed to ensure that the national development strategies and activities of all key ministries integrate child labour perspective into this programme as part of an integral comprehensive national development strategy. A close working relationship thus needs to be established in particular, with the State Planning Organization and the Ministries of Health and Education. There are currently avenues for coordination between CLU and IPEC partners which are not being utilised. Specifically, the labour inspectors working on a daily basis enter workplaces where

there may be opportunities to observe child labourers between the ages of six and 14, who are supposed to be attending school as per the eight years compulsory education system. Without coordination, these observations are not communicated to the Ministry of Education, which has a vital interest in such information. Therefore, the formulation of a protocol between the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MOLSS) and the Ministry of National Education will be a concrete indicator of such cooperation. This would formalise procedures and processes that need to be implemented in order to provide eight years of basic education to all children. CLU's goal should be to determine how the various government agencies could share information, and join efforts to more effectively eliminate child labour practices when they are found. This comprehensive approach still needs to be achieved by the CLU.

3.2.2. Ministry of Education

The Ministry of Education is the institution responsible for the education and/or schooling of all children ages six to 18. From ages six to 14, all children should be in primary schools or compulsory, uninterrupted basic education schools according to the Primary Education Act, modified in 1997. Even after the age of 14, the responsibility of the Ministry of Education remains; the child is either attending high school or has started working. According to the Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act, Apprentice Training Centres should be training and supervising the work of these children. Unfortunately, however, many of the children working in the streets are primary school dropouts. It is one of our observations during our visits to primary schools in the three research cities, that classrooms are very crowded and teachers are not able to pay enough attention to children at risk of dropping out of school and going to the streets. A more specific observation is that many of the children of migrants do not speak Turkish fluently, Turkish being their second language. Hence, these children are very likely to struggle to keep pace in reading and writing exercises and eventually to drag behind the class, falling out of favours with the teacher and finally dropping out of school. The children corroborated this observation when we talked about their school experiences and reasons for dropping out of school. One solution to this problem is opening pre-school classes, especially in the neighbourhoods where there are migrant households whose native tongue is not Turkish.

There have been ILO-IPEC projects that have involved principles and teachers of Apprentice Training Centres (ATC). In these projects, the importance of attracting children working in

the informal or formal sectors was emphasised. If they are not under the supervision of these centres and their teachers they are more vulnerable to entering into the worst forms of child labour. In one Apprentice Training Centre in Diyarbakır we had focus group discussions with master trades persons, one with men and the other with women. They were of the opinion that the street children would have been in less dangerous positions if they were working in work places in cooperation with ATCs.

A recent ILO-IPEC project, The Ministry of Education - Increasing the Attendance, Retention and Performance Rates of Working Children in the Primary Education System, was launched late in the biennium to increase the capacity of the General Directorate of Primary Education in addressing the problem of child labour and education. This is a combined programme of both institutional capacity building and direct support to working children. Capacity building will include developing a sound knowledge and understanding of the problem of child labour and education. As a concrete step towards building a knowledge base, in-depth research will be carried out focusing on analysing the present situation, identifying gaps in the existing provision and, ultimately, developing policy. Based on the results of this research, the objectives, strategies and policies pertaining to effective classroom practices and psychosocial support systems will be identified in order to provide primary education that attracts and retains working children in schools.

With this programme, the Ministry of National Education's (MONE) capacity to respond to the issues of child labour will be further reinforced and augmented. One of the principal aims of this pilot programme is to create a core group of 30 informed and competent trainers who will act as a catalyst for change within the education system. This group will form a solid foundation for the growth of a body of expertise within the Ministry and train 180 teachers within two years. The target group for this programme is composed of those children who are already in the primary school system but who combine their attendance with work. Balancing the demands of employment and education places a physical and psychosocial strain on these children, which often leads to poor academic performance and high dropout rates. Therefore, in order to optimise their school achievement and prevent them from dropping out, a total of 900 children who are low achievers and potential dropouts will be targeted for educational and psychosocial support.

The expected outcome of this programme is an educational and psychosocial model for working children created and implemented nation-wide. Evidence of MONE's existing commitment to addressing the issues of child labour can be found in the Basic Education Project (BEP). This project clearly states that child labour is a key issue on the agenda of education within Turkey. The Ministry's budget projections include a significant allocation for future projects targeting child labour.

3.2.3. General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection (SHÇEK)

When children are without parents or have dropped out of school and are living or working in the streets the core institution responsible for their protection is the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection. Those children who are legally determined as "children in need of protection" are protected in 76 child centres and 97 dormitories. In our research cities, Adana and Diyarbakır have one child centre each and Istanbul has eight child centres. Based on the present research there are around 15 Child and Youth Centres, 10 of them open and well functioning and the others in the process of construction and preparation. In our research cities, there is a well functioning Child and Youth Centre^{*} in Diyarbakır and the central Beyoğlu district of Istanbul. Preparations for opening a Child and Youth Centre were being planned in Adana. There are three centres in Istanbul already functioning and one large one is under construction. The building of the old centre in Adana was destroyed in the 1997 earthquake and a new building was built. It was in the process of being furnished during our field visit.

Our research team worked in very close collaboration with Child and Youth Centres in Diyarbakır and Beyoğlu, Istanbul. The staff of both centres are social workers graduated from the only social work school in Turkey, Hacettepe University's School of Social Services. They are highly motivated and hold qualities of professional dedication and discipline. Both centres are intensively used by children working in the streets and also by their parents,

^{*} These centres have been opened in cities where children working in the streets became widespread and visible. These centres have been opened in addition to existing child centres where children without parents are institutionally cared for. Child and Youth Centres help children working on streets by providing their lunches, and assisting with home-work, play activities, relationships with parents and school teachers and so on; they do not take street children under permanent institutional care. If an extreme form of child abuse is being detected and court decision is taken, then these few children are transferred to child centres or dormitories, depending on their age, for permanent institutional care.

namely mothers, especially in Beyoğlu. One of our urgent suggestions is that the centre in Adana open as soon as possible.

3.2.4. General Directorate of Police, Department of Security, Child Protection Division

Police officers are the main agents that directly face children in the streets. In 1997, following some changes in the structure of police organization, the Child Protection Division became an independent unit within the Department of Security. Prior to this change, child protection was under the responsibility of the Department of Security. In accordance with the changes, 19 child protection divisions were set up in large cities and 61 offices were set up in smaller cities and towns. The police officers interviewed in the field expressed helplessness in the case of children working in the streets. What will they do with them? They take them to their homes and sometimes they talk with parents, however, they report that within a few days the same children reappear in the streets. In the cases of child prostitution and illegal drug abuse and selling these circumstances are more serious and the police put them in child detention centres or child prisons if child courts convict them. In the case of children working in the streets there are no clear guidelines for action.

In recent years the General Directorate of Police, through its Department of Security's Division of Child Protection (DCP), and in cooperation with relevant institutions, has been endeavouring to improve the quality of its service delivery for the protection of children at risk. To date 19 branch offices of the Department have been established in the country, and the intention is to expand the number of these offices.

The Department of Child Protection plays a crucial role in addressing the problem of children at risk, those who are either living and/or working in the streets, homeless or run away children, and young offenders, because they are the ones who are in first contact with these children. A clearer understanding of how these units can contribute to the improvement of conditions of children in these circumstances is needed.

In 1996, a Mini Action Programme was designed in cooperation with UNICEF and the State Planning Organization to enhance the capacity of the Department of Security to deliver better services to children through providing training and knowledge to central level managers,

selected members of the Police Academy and the existing Provincial Branch Chiefs in order to improve service delivery.

A one-day needs assessment session was carried out and, based on the outcomes, the education programme was designed. A one-week training was carried out on child-related topics such as governmental policies on children in Turkey, the role and the function of the police in child protection, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), legislation on child protection, management issues of the Child Protection Department, children in need of special protection, the image of the Child Protection Department, child psychology, learned helplessness, the police-child-family relationship, the problem of children working on the streets, and development of team work for the police aimed at increasing their capacity to deliver better services to children.

3.2.5. Provincial Government

The involvement of the provincial governor or designated assistant governor is crucial for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. In the committee meeting of the Diyarbakır Child and Youth Centre, local branches of all concerned ministries were present. Istanbul's governor designated a building belonging to a pre-republican Ottoman Madresa (Higher education institution) to a foundation working with children living and working in the streets, and fighting against child prostitution. It should be added that Child and Youth Centres established by SHÇEK to fight children working in the streets are virtually impossible to set up without the approval of the provincial governor's office.

3.2.6. Municipalities

Metropolitan and district municipalities are crucial in fighting the worst forms of child labour. Since the inception of the ILO-IPEC programme in Turkey in 1992, the Municipality of Metropolitan Ankara has been involved in the fight against child labour. A centre for children working in the streets of Ankara was opened to motivate children to attend regular schools, if they are school-age; to direct children to the Apprentice Training Centre, if they are in the appropriate age category; to meet the immediate basic needs of the children working on the streets; to improve the working conditions of children if they are not completely directed to schools; and ultimately to eradicate the phenomenon of children working in the streets instead

of going to schools. Initially, the project was supported by ILO-IPEC, but it became a sustainable project because it continued its function with the municipality's own resources (Ozcan, Aksit, Dayioglu and Gunduz-Hosgor, 1997, pp. 138-142). In Diyarbakır, the metropolitan municipality was involved in the steering committee of the Child and Youth Centre established by SHÇEK with the collaboration of all the concerned agencies. In Istanbul, the district municipality of Beyoğlu gave support to the Child and Youth Centre established by SHÇEK. All these examples suggest that municipalities can be involved in the fight against worst forms of child labour.

3.2.7. The Universities

In all three cities professors from the different universities were involved in research on children living and working in the streets; in Diyarbakır a professor of social services from Dicle University, in Istanbul a professor of sociology from Istanbul University and her colleagues and in Adana two professors of public health from Çukurova University. More faculty members and research assistants should be invited to join the fight against the worst forms of child labour.

3.2.8. Trades-Crafts Persons and Their Associations

Almost all interviewed children reported that there were tradespeople either in their neighbourhood or in the city centre who sold items such as napkins, materials for shoe shining, and chewing gum. Nobody expressed rivalry or competition. The associations of trades and crafts persons are actually among the closest allies in the fight against child labour. Their organization, Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Handicrafts (TESK), has carried out many training programmes in collaboration with ILO-IPEC, especially for the workplace inspection and consultation groups established in many branches of the confederation. The trades and crafts persons we interviewed expressed concern for children working in the streets. This is most noticeable in Diyarbakır where social and communal solidarities are much stronger than in Adana and Istanbul.

3.2.9. Employers and Their Associations

Employers and their associations are not directly involved with children working in the streets. However, associations and foundations dedicated to working with children can be supported financially by employers and their associations. In fighting against child labour, the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TISK) was very active, especially in awareness raising and dissemination of knowledge through research and other publications.

3.2.10. Trade Unions

There are three very widely organised workers' unions in Turkey. All three of them are actively involved in the fight against child labour and the elimination of worst forms of child labour. They are very enthusiastic players for the establishment of alliances in each city and throughout the country. The projects and activities carried out by Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (TURK-İŞ) can be given as an example for trade unions' enthusiasm to fight child labour. Three projects supported by ILO-IPEC were carried out by TURK-İŞ to create awareness among the members of trade unions of the confederation on child labour; to raise interest of trade union administrations and members about the problems of working children, especially those in hazardous and risky sectors; to integrate working children themselves in training programmes of the unions; to raise awareness of small-scale enterprises and union members on the hazardous aspects of child labour and so on. In order to achieve these aims a Child Labour Bureau was established in 1994 and the Bulletin of Child Labour Bureau of TURK-İŞ was issued bi-monthly. Seminars were organised in addition to research and critical discussions on research findings. It is very difficult to assess the impact of these activities (Ozcan, Aksit, Dayioglu and Gunduz-Hosgor, 1997, pp. 119-122). However, the fact remains that they have an active child labour bureau, and a bi-monthly bulletin full of information on issues of child labour. These facts suggest that TURK-İŞ can be active in the fight against worst forms of child labour together with other labour unions that are also very active in this fight.

3.2.11. Non-Governmental Organizations

There are associations and foundations that are actively involved in combatting child labour in the three cities, such as the *Association of Street Children* in Adana. In Istanbul there is one foundation, The Children of Istanbul Foundation, formally headed by the governor and supported by many professors from various universities. There is another foundation/association, The Children of Hope Association/The Street Children Association, headed by a former street child. Various centres established by this foundation/association seem to be focal points of hope for children formerly living in the streets, as well as a means of publicising the street children phenomenon in national mass media.

The first non-governmental organization that should be focused upon is The Children of Istanbul Foundation, which was established in 1999. Although this foundation is headed by the Governor of Istanbul Province, it is not an official-governmental organization. One of its most impressive activities is the organization of a Child Conference in June 2000. More than 69 papers were presented at this conference, and provided to the participants as a published conference booklet. Additionally and simultaneously, a compilation of research papers on various dimensions of children's lives, such as health, education, children's rights and risky conditions was also published in book format and presented to the participants. Some of the presented papers and research papers were on child labour and worst forms of child labour, such as street children and teenage prostitution. Three of these papers (Karatay, et. al., 2000a and 2000b; and Kuntay and Erginsoy, 2000) have already been reviewed in section 1.4 of this report.

Our interview with the founder and present head of The Children of Hope Association/The Street Children Association (and former street child), took place at one of the work places, the bath and clothes washing centre, established by the foundation. From 1987 to 2000, in 13 years, with the help of national and international NGOs, the founder embarked on a very impressive itinerary. His present plans include the establishment of a child house, a youth house, a youth guest house, a shelter house for teenage sex-workers, a centre for disabled street children, and a primary school. Two or three of these houses/centres have already materialised. The founder is hopeful that a collaboration with the government is also possible. It seems that these houses/centres might complement the centres established by SHÇEK.

CHAPTER 4

PROFILE OF THE CHILDREN WORKING IN THE STREETS

4.1. Introduction

As described in the previous chapters, the present rapid assessment on children working in the streets in Turkey was designed to cover three cities - Diyarbakır, Adana, and Istanbul - all at different levels of development. Five main sources of data were used in this study: (1) qualitative data through in-depth and focus group interviews with working street children and their household members; (2) observation of children while working in the streets, to view their working conditions and their relationships with other children working in the streets, with customers and with adult tradespeople working in the same areas; (3) observation of children in child centres and in their homes; (4) interviews with experts from various related institutions; and (5) unstructured interviews with 188 children (30 in Adana, 55 in Diyarbakır and 101 in Istanbul; median age-12 [see Chapter 1, Table 1]; 19 girls, 169 boys [see Table 5]). This chapter presents and interprets both the qualitative and quantitative data obtained, placing special emphasis on the variations between the three cities.

Table 5: Distribution of children in the present RA sample by gender and city

Gender City	Diyarbakır	Adana	Istanbul	Total
Girl	5	2	12	19
% within city	9,1 %	6,3%	11,9%	10,1%
Boy	50	30	89	169
% within city	90,9%	93,8%	88,1%	89,9%
Total	55	32	101	188
% within city	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

4.2. Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Children Working in the Streets

As indicated in Table 5 and by direct observation of the researchers, there are more boys working in the streets than girls. Both parents and children believe that it is culturally unacceptable (as they would express it, “shameful”) for girls to work on the streets instead of staying at home, particularly after age 12. This is the critical age when girls feel the pressure of socially assigned sex roles. They are restricted by the social norms regarding the “purity” of women and the “honour” of the family. It is believed that the men of a household, or even the entire family, can lose their “honour” if women from their household engage in “inappropriate” behaviour with “outsiders.” Because of this social norm, families usually do not want to send their daughters outside the home environment unaccompanied by a male member of their household. This social norm seems to provide protection for girls, keeping them away from the hazards of working in the streets. At the same time, however, it may be a reason for parents’ unwillingness to send their daughters to school after age 12.

Another reason for keeping girls at home is related to the strict gender division of labour at home. Domestic work is performed primarily by women, therefore girls may be needed for their labour. At home they help their mother with domestic chores and look after younger siblings (Hancıoğlu, et al, 2000).

Unlike the girls, boys are expected to join in the public sphere at an early age. Traditionally, family members, relatives and neighbours reinforce the division of labour by gender. Working in the streets is seen as legitimate behaviour. Moreover, in the words of the study’s interview and questionnaire data, boys are expected to be “active,” “aggressive,” “tough,” “daring” and “dominant” and to overcome the many difficulties in the streets, i.e. in the public domain. Boys are socialised at a very early age to believe they should be invulnerable, fearless, decisive, and unemotional in certain situations. Stemming also from the agrarian economic structure, recent migrant families tend to attach more economic than psychological value to their children. Traditionally sons are in charge of the family property, bear the family surname and provide for older members of the family whereas girls will leave and join another family (Kağıtcıbaşı, 1996). It is difficult for boys to live up to these expectations. Moreover, the responsibility of taking care of their families by earning money on the streets places an added burden on their shoulders.

In Diyarbakır girls seemed to internalise the prescribed gender roles. In conversations we had with five girls working in the streets, they all agreed that up to a certain age (12 or 13) girls could be out in the streets, but that it would be wrong for girls to be seen out in the streets when they were older. This view seemed to be the norm in Adana as well, where there were also very few girls working on the streets. In Istanbul, however, this attitude seemed to be less prevalent. There we observed girls selling roses in front of bars and restaurants very late at night and customers calling these girls to their tables and talking with them. In all three cities, however, the research team did not observe evidence of sexual exploitation of girls and young women working as sex workers, as an example of a breaking of the social norms.

The ages of children working in the streets varied from seven to 17 (see Table 1 in Chapter 1). In Diyarbakır the children were much younger ($\mu=12$) than the ones in Adana, whereas in Istanbul, children of all ages were working in the streets. In Diyarbakır, the children were more visible in certain neighbourhoods than others. The younger working street children in Diyarbakır were seen in groups with older children, usually their own brothers. They looked well-protected by these older children and were enjoying themselves on the streets. Two girls were observed standing at the intersection of one of the busiest streets in order to wash car windshields, but when the traffic lights turned green, they would play ball. Thus, they faced danger from the moving traffic and from weaving between the waiting cars while working and possibly from running into the street to chase after their balls while they were playing.

In terms of education, the majority of children in all three cities had attended or were continuing to attend school. Only 13% did not attend school at all (see Table 6). The educational background of children was most varied in Istanbul, where the majority of children who had never attended school were found, but which at the same time had the highest rates of school attendance. Adana, on the other hand, had the highest dropout rates. All these children primarily work to earn cash in hand. The work that they do on the streets and the training that they receive from the school are independent of each other; these activities are like two separate compartments in their lives.

Table 6: Distribution of children in the present RA sample by education level and city

City	Diyarbakır	Adana	Istanbul	Total
Level of Education				
Never attended school	9	2	14	25
% within education level	16,4%	6,3%	13,9%	13,3%
Left primary school	9	14	24	47
% within education level	16,4%	43,8%	23,8%	25,0%
Finished Primary school	2	6	24	32
% within education level	3,6%	18,7%	25,9%	17,1%
Still attending school	35	10	39	84
% within education level	63,6%	31,3%	38,6%	44,7%
Total	55	32	101	188
% within education level	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

We noted a striking possible relationship between the number of school dropouts among these children and their mothers' levels of education. The mothers' educational level was very low in all three cities, particularly in Diyarbakır and Adana, where almost 75 percent of the mothers of these children were illiterate. This figure dropped to 50% in Istanbul, but was still well above the national average in Turkey, where the female illiteracy rate is around 28% (Hacettepe University, 1999). As the sample could not be chosen randomly in the three cities, it is not possible to apply any parametric tests to examine whether there is a statistically significant relationship between mothers' education level and the number of dropouts among the working street children. It is also not possible to analyse the strength of the relationship between these two variables. Even though the parametric test techniques cannot be applied, we still can comment on the percentages in the cross-tabulation of these two variables – mother and child's educational levels. Table 6.1 indicates the re-coded values of these two variables. According to this table, the lower the education levels of the mother, the higher the rate of their child dropping out of school. In terms of employment, only 12 out of 188 mothers were working outside the home; the rest were housewives.

Table 6.1: Distribution of children in the present RA sample by education level and their mother's educational level

Mother's education	Never attended school and left school	Primary or higher school graduates	TOTAL
Child's education level			
Never attended school and left school	51	21	72
Primary or higher school graduates	80	36	116
TOTAL	131	57	188

The fathers had a much higher level of education than the mothers. The majority of fathers were employed in the informal sector. Out of 188 fathers, 46 were recently “unemployed”; the percentage of unemployed fathers was highest in Diyarbakır (38%), followed by Istanbul (33%) and Adana (31%).

The children working in the streets came from very large nuclear families (see Table 7). On average, households were comprised of seven family members, five of whom were children. Boys were working and carrying out similar tasks, whereas the majority of girls were not working. We noted more separated and divorced families in Istanbul than in Adana and Diyarbakır.

Main findings in this section:

The majority of the children working in the streets are male (89,9 %);

The children come from very large nuclear families (86,2%);

Adana has the highest rate of school dropouts (43.8%) whereas Istanbul has the highest rate of school attendance (46,4%);

The majority of the mothers of these children are illiterate; strongly supporting the traditional division of labour by gender (i.e. they stay at home and look after the younger children);

Boys between 7 -17 are working in the streets mainly to earn cash in hand.

Table 7: Distribution of Children in the Present RA sample by Family Structure and City

City	Diyarbakır	Adana	Istanbul	Total
Family Structure				
Extended family	2	2	9	13
% within education level	3,6%	6,3%	8,9%	6,9%
Nuclear Family	51	30	81	162
% within education level	92,7%	93,8%	80,2%	86,2%
Dissolved family	-	-	9	9
% within education level			8,9%	4,8%
Not living with parents	1	-	2	3
% within education level	1,8%		2,0%	1,6%
Not replied	1	-	-	1
% within education level	1,8%			0,5%
Total	55	32	101	188
% within education level	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

4. 3. Characteristics of Work

4.3.1. Performed tasks on the Streets

The rapid assessment research in Diyarbakır, Adana and Istanbul indicated that children working in the streets were performing the following tasks:

shoe-polishing

selling paper tissues/chewing gum/water

selling simit (a ring-shaped, savoury roll covered with sesame seeds)

selling sunflower seeds/eskimo (frozen fruit-juice)

selling lottery tickets

selling stationery/writing materials

cleaning windshields

working in graveyards (carrying water/cleaning graves)

scavenging (garbage picking/separation; they are called “çöp çocukları,” literally, “garbage children”)

selling religious books/materials

selling flowers

Among these types of work, shoe polishing was the most widespread activity in all three cities. Other widespread activities were selling tissues, simits, eskimos and water. The products being sold varied from season to season. Children seemed to understand how to adapt their work according to the season and their ages.

A.D. is an 11-year-old shoe-shine boy in Istanbul. He was born in Ağrı, and his family migrated to Istanbul. He lost his father two years ago. His mother used to be a cleaning lady, but had to stop working due to pains in her legs. A.D. dropped out of school after his father's death. He and his 13-year-old brother are the breadwinners. A.D. used to sell paper tissues when he was younger. As he grew up he started to shine shoes. He works in Sultan Ahmet, an area visited by tourists. He says he likes his job and likes meeting tourists.

Children obtain the materials they sell from different sources such as wholesalers, variety stores and street peddlers. In Diyarbakır, the materials are specifically obtained from wholesalers whereas in Adana and Istanbul they are obtained from various sources. This finding indicates that in Diyarbakır, children “invest” much more money in the products they sell beforehand as compared to Adana and Istanbul.

The majority of these children (58%) have always done the same type of work; still, this varies from city to city. In Diyarbakır more children change their work than in Adana and Istanbul.

Most of their work activities required working in the hazardous and overcrowded city centres, mainly during the day but sometimes at night (for example, selling flowers in bars). Night work brings the additional danger of children being exposed to inappropriate adult models, like drunks in bars and older street children involved with petty crimes and drugs. Young children also face the risk of sexual abuse from gangs of older children or from adults.

In Diyarbakır, the children interviewed shared a general fear of some of these older children who sniffed glue, slept in the streets and were involved in theft. They said they were afraid these older children might force them to become involved in drug use and theft. This seemed to be a real danger for children, and most tried to return to their homes before ten o'clock in the evening when the older child gangs appeared on the streets.

One of the most difficult and dangerous but profitable types of work observed was scavenging (garbage picking), which was particularly prevalent in Adana. In this city, children who started working in the streets polishing shoes or selling goods would later begin scavenging because they could earn more money from this activity. However, this activity easily leads children to become addicted to drugs (called “flying” by the children), since the working conditions are very hard and the working environment smells terrible. Children working in scavenging use these drugs to gain confidence against inherent dangers like dangerous dogs and also to decrease their sensitivity to the smell. Public health experts believe that garbage dumps expose children to many high-risk illnesses, including jaundice and contagious diseases. According to one of the doctors interviewed, “It is a miracle to see that these children and their families are still alive.”

During an in-depth interview, one of these scavengers or “garbage children” described his experiences in the following words:

“After we came to Adana from our village (in Mardin), I started working in the streets with the support of my father. First he wanted me to sell things in the streets, then he took me out of school. I was in the streets all day, but could not always bring back enough money for him to buy his drinks. On those nights, I faced his abuse, first towards me, then towards my mother and my siblings. Over time, I met other children (older ones) earning much more money than me... Garbage work requires skill; you must stay outside at nights, in the dark, face the barks of the dogs and the threat of violence from older children. Step by step, I started using “sniffing materials” to resist all those difficulties. At the end, I was finishing one bottle of thinner per night. When I was smelling it, everything slowed down, I felt as if I were in a motionless place, and forgot my father, forgot the dogs, bad smells and all those pains created by the older children/young men, and then could fall asleep in the garbage.”

Y.Z.’s story well represents how children move from “working in the streets” to “living in the streets.” This usually occurs when there are sharp turning points in their family life like loss of one or both parents, divorce, re-marriage, alcohol or other drug addictions, and so forth, which often occur due to stress, poverty and deprivation. In Y.Z.’s case, he began “living in the streets/garbage” when his father murdered his mother because she refused to give him money to buy alcohol. Y.Z. was later rescued by the *Adana Street Children Association*. Because children are usually the group most vulnerable to crises in the family, it is crucial that social workers carry out family outreach programmes to identify problems at an early stage.

In Adana, scavenging is becoming a major activity in the informal economic sector. This activity is organised based on geographical relationships. A “hemşehri,” i.e. someone from the children’s hometown, leads groups of children who work for an adult “owner/patron.” These patrons sell “garbage collection carts” to the children, who must pay for them with their future earnings from scavenging. Sometimes, unfortunate events (theft of their carts or confiscation by police) lead these children into further debt, which means working much longer hours to pay the costs of the original cart and its replacement. It is apparent that in Adana, the practice of recycling can have a negative impact on children, reinforcing the

existing problems of child labour as they are asked to sort through the items and separate them appropriately.*

Another activity in which children are engaged in Adana is the selling of religious materials in the streets, such as miniature Koran. Some customers are ready to donate money to these children since they are selling religious materials, and this reinforces child labour. This observation should be further investigated in the future.

Few organised attempts exist in Adana to prevent this ongoing and growing problem. For example, the municipality does not carry out any special program against child labour and provides little support for the existing ones carried out by the *Adana Street Children Association* and the Adana Governorate. We strongly recommend that Adana's local capacity be increased immediately to tackle the problem of working street children.

In Diyarbakır, the Centre for Working Street Children formed by the Governor of Diyarbakır/SHÇEK and the Southeast Development Programme (GAP) within the framework of ILO/IPEC reflects the concern and support for working street children. This centre has three social workers who all seemed to be genuinely concerned with the welfare of these children. They seemed to be working with a lot of flexibility, and were trying different means to reach children working in the streets. The social workers of the centre have a night shift programme. They go out at night to reach children and try to contact families to form awareness about hazards their children are exposed to. This centre offers children various educational programmes during the days like painting and using computers. The social workers also serve lunch to these children, giving them a warm place to be and a properly balanced meal. These children usually stop over in the centre before they start their street work or afterwards. Some local people expressed the view that by serving meals and allowing children to go back to work after resting and playing a while in the centre, the centre in fact is reinforcing street work. Although this criticism seems to carry with it some truth, it is important to consider the local conditions when evaluating such centres. In Diyarbakır the centre seems to function as a crucial step to increase the consciousness of these children about possible hazards awaiting them in the streets and due to the warm and trusting relationships

* This is not a natural process, and very few children ended up in this situation. This probably was experienced more in Adana as recycling recently became an important industrial sector. During the research, we heard that a new Child Centre would be established in this city. This centre can deal more with this serious problem.

between the social workers in the centre and the children it seems possible to influence these children and to direct them to less hazardous street work. The number of social workers should be increased to meet the demand of the city in terms of the number of working street children. The centre serves about 700 children and has been in contact with approximately 2000 children in the streets (source: Interview with the Director of the Centre). The centre aims at informing the children working in the streets about the activities at the centre and to motivate them to attend the centre on a voluntary basis. The social workers also contact families to inform them about hazards of working in the streets and to encourage the families to send their children to school. Due to the relatively recent formation of the centre there is no objective evaluation of its success at this time. It seemed to us that the centre is still in the process of building up the number of children served and establishing relationships with the parents and community members. A monitoring and evaluation of the centre is likely to provide guidelines for future plans.

In Istanbul, the rapid assessment team spent considerable time in the Beyoğlu Youth Centre formed by the Provincial Government and the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection. We had the opportunity to observe children as they dropped in for various educational and social activities. We had discussions with the staff and volunteers working in the centre and had focus group interviews with mothers of these children. The centre seemed to be popular, especially during the weekend when it was quite packed with children. Only some of these children are working in the streets. The centre tries to form ties with their families and they attempt to direct funds from NGOs or other volunteers to these families. We also walked about Beyoğlu, one of the very crowded entertainment centres of Istanbul, late at night with the staff from the centre. They were trying to see if any of the children attending their centre were out there working at night. We met one child selling flowers and observed that the staff was very warm towards the child and reminded him that it is too late and that he should return home.

Both in Diyarbakır and in Istanbul it was seen that the staff of these centres was very successful in forming relationships with the children and that they were genuinely concerned about their welfare. Certainly, compared to the size of the working street children problem, these centres are understaffed. Additionally, psychologists should be employed in these

centres in addition to social workers, in order to monitor the emotional and cognitive development of the children and to devise programs to address these points.

4.3.2. Working Hours

In all three cities, the children we interviewed began working after 1992. The average working hours varied from two to 14 hours per day, more than the children in Diyarbakır and Adana. A majority of the children in all three cities worked seven days a week, although some children in Adana do not work on Sundays. It is possible that this is because there are more school dropouts in Adana, and they therefore perceive work as a regular weekday activity.

4.3.3. Earnings

Earnings varied greatly among cities. Children working in the streets generally earned between US 80 cents and 3.00 dollars per day (TL 500,000-2 million) in Diyarbakır, between US 80 cents and 6.00 dollars (TL 500,000TL-4 million) in Adana and between US 3.00 dollars and 10.00 dollars (TL 2 million-6 million) in Istanbul. Children in Diyarbakır worked the least number of hours and earned the least whereas children in Istanbul worked the most hours and earned the most, which is closely related to the level of urbanisation of the cities. Chart 1 indicates the overall distribution of children's earnings regardless of city differences.

The majority of working children in the streets gave what they earned to their families (61%). In Adana, 72% of children gave their earnings to their families, as compared to 51% in Diyarbakır and 63% in Istanbul. This may be explained by the sociological characteristics of the cities. As mentioned before, Diyarbakır is the least urbanised centre and residents have much more traditional perceptions regarding having children. Rather than perceiving children as a source of earning “soft money” (i.e. cash in hand), work was perceived as an activity children engage in to “learn about life” in their own neighbourhoods. Cooperative work between friends and siblings of close ages may transform work from an “economic activity” into “play.” In Diyarbakır, working street children were seen as the social norm. Most adults we talked to believed that these children were from poor migrant families and had unemployed fathers, therefore giving money to these children was a means of helping these poor and unfortunate families. By contrast, in Adana and in Istanbul child labour was perceived much more as an economic activity and a means of earning soft money. Families in

these cities treated children as “labourers.” Similar to Chart 1, Chart 2 also indicates the overall distribution of what children do with their earnings regardless of city differences.

In all cities, the money earned was given primarily to the mother, who acted as a “mediator” between the children and their fathers. Traditionally, boys are expected to take care of their mothers in the absence of their fathers. Therefore, when a boy brings his earnings to his mother, he gains status, while his mother gains a certain amount of autonomy within the family. The answers to the question, "What is your mother’s attitude toward your work?" well represented the mothers’ perceptions regarding child labour as perceived by the child. Eighty-nine percent of the children replied to this question by stating, “She forces me to work,” whereas only 52 percent of the children replied to the similar question, “What is your father’s attitude toward your work?” as “He forces me to work.” These findings indicate that the existing traditional power-gender relationship in rural areas continues to be reproduced in migrant family environments through the mothers’ support of male child labour at very early ages. When interpreting these results we should also take into consideration the traditional and conservative attitudes against female labour. These attitudes aside, it is very difficult for uneducated and unskilled women to find jobs in public places and leave their young children behind without access to day-care facilities.

Chart 1: Children’s Earnings

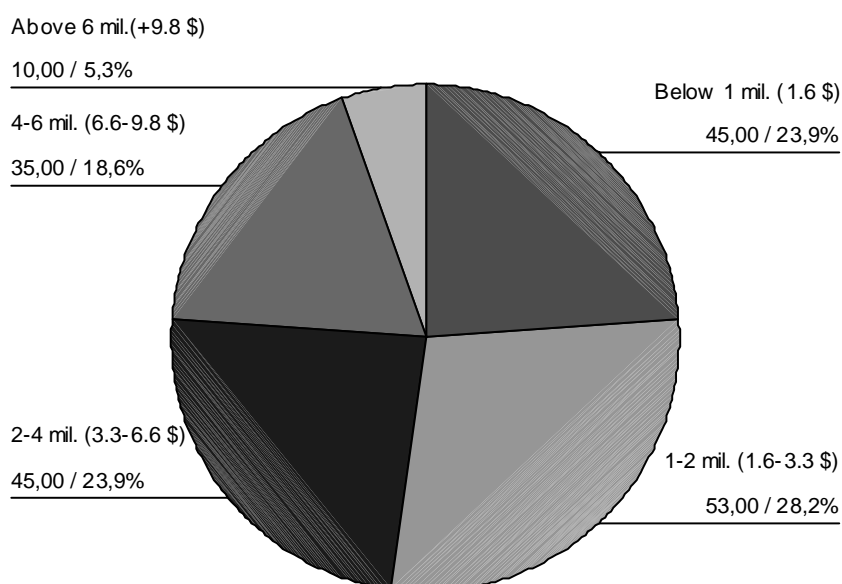
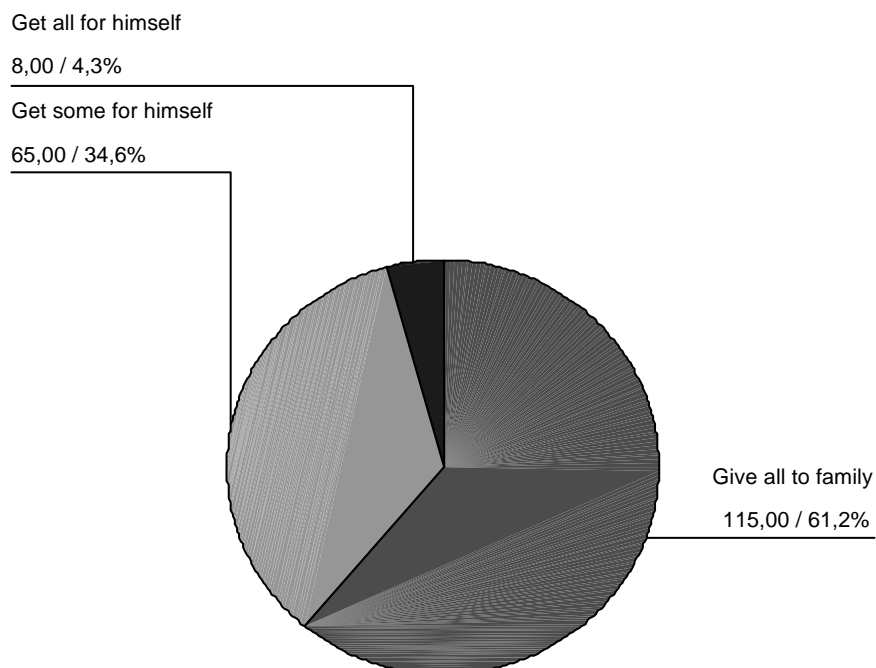


Chart 2: What Children Do With Their Earnings?



4.3.4. Entrance into the Work Life

“Who found the job for you?”; the reply to this interview question varied from city to city. In Diyarbakır, neighbours play a major role in finding work for children, whereas in Istanbul, fellow countrymen are the major source of agents to arrange jobs for the children. In Adana, on the other hand, the parents arrange the jobs for their children. Frequently, the pattern in Adana is for parents to withdraw their children from school in order to send them to work for long hours. However, there were also children who dropped out of school to be in the “free” environment of the streets. We will come back to this issue later while discussing the children’s attitudes towards formal education.

4.4.Children’s Attitudes toward Work

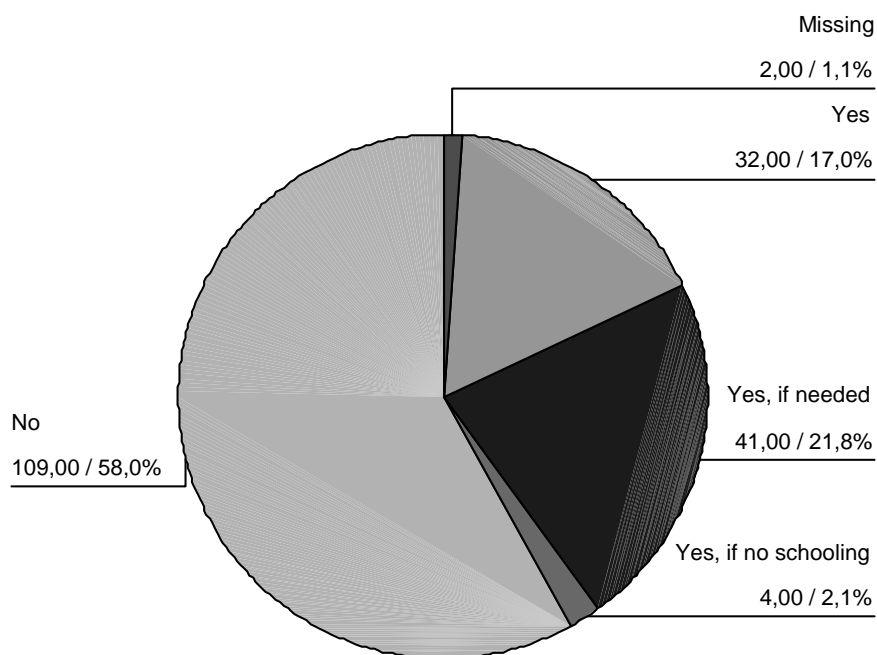
In Adana, the majority of children (78%) indicated that they did not like working; in Istanbul, 50% said they did not like working and in Diyarbakır, 22% reported this. Recalling previous findings, in Diyarbakır the majority of working children attend school and work everyday after school, passing a portion of the earned money to their parents but keeping much of the earnings to themselves. In their words, they “enjoy” working on the streets. They have a number of friends from the same neighbourhood in the streets with them and they can be seen playing and joking with each other. In fact the children in Diyarbakır were very friendly. They enjoyed talking to us, asked questions to us related to who we were, where we lived, etc., and wanted to offer us chewing gum, or insisted that we have a coke or a fruit juice. There was a group of children working at the bus terminal. They seemed to be very coherent and well-organised amongst themselves and wanted us to visit them again. It seemed as if they were the owners of the terminal surroundings. We also saw groups of working street children playing football in the parks of Diyarbakır. Thus, it seems that for the majority of children in Diyarbakır, working and satisfying their needs for play and peer company can be done simultaneously.

In Adana and Istanbul, however, there are different patterns. Most of the working children in Adana are school dropouts, working everyday except Sundays, passing the earned money to the families and not “enjoying” the work on the streets. In Istanbul, children are earning much more money compared to their counterparts in Diyarbakır and Adana, but also attending school. Half of them report enjoying, and half report not enjoying, their work on the streets.

In spite of the variations in their attitudes towards working on the streets themselves, the majority of the interviewed children (87%) indicated that “they would not want their younger siblings to work on the streets.” In Istanbul and in Adana, more children supported this view (88 percent in Istanbul and 85 percent in Adana) than in Diyarbakır (60 percent). For Diyarbakır, this finding is contradictory with the previous results, since on the one hand they state that they are enjoying working on the streets; and on the other hand, they would not want their siblings to do so. In Diyarbakır there is also an inclination toward supporting the work of males as compared to female siblings.

“Do you think that children your age should work?”; 59% percent of the children replied “no” to this question. In Istanbul and in Adana the negative answers were much more widespread (66%) than in Diyarbakır (40%). Chart 3 indicates the overall distribution of the children’s attitudes regardless of city differences.

Chart 3: Do You Think That Children Your Age Should Work?



All these results indicated that in Diyarbakır children working on the streets were less “worn-out” than the children in Adana and Istanbul. As has been stressed before, child labour and the level of urbanisation are closely related issues. These findings support this association.

4.5. Children’s Perceptions of Their Families Attitudes Towards Child Labour

Children perceive that mothers are more eager to send their children to work than fathers. It could therefore be argued that fathers do not openly discuss this issue with their children, even though they support child labour, especially for their male children. This has little effect on the existing patriarchal relationship within the family environment in terms of the father and mother, however, the traditional relationship between father and son is shaken to some

extent; sons may gain status over their parents because they are earning money (See Chart 4 and 5).

Chart 4: Mothers' Attitudes Towards Their Children Working

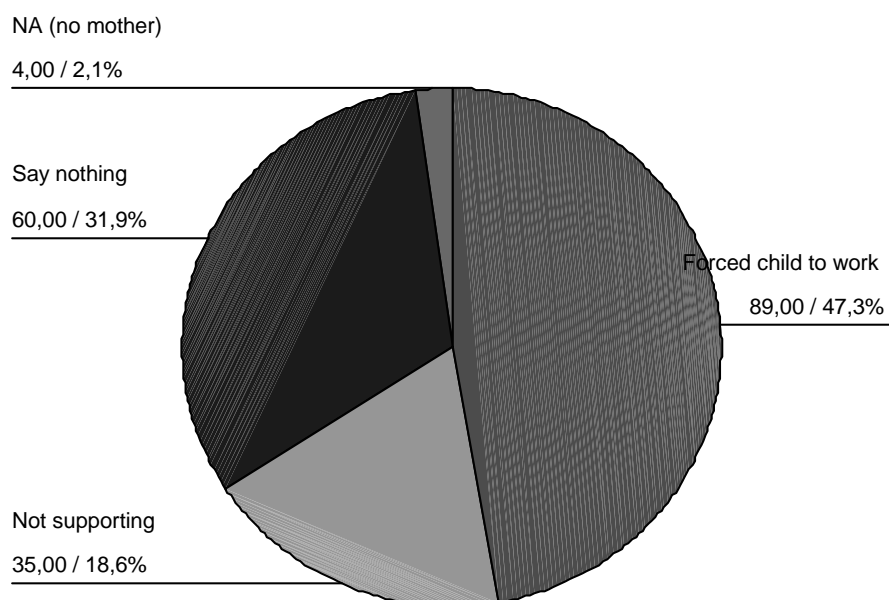
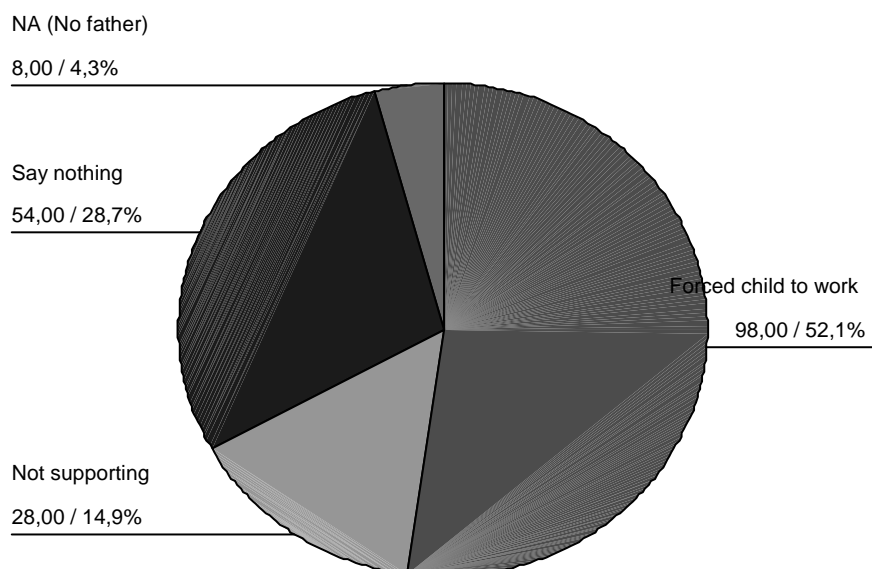


Chart 5: Father's Attitude Towards Their Children Working



“What happens if you (children) do not bring enough money home?”; the answers to this question revealed that the majority of the children (60%) did not face any physical or psychological abuse if they failed to earn money. The percent was highest in Diyarbakır (72%), whereas in Istanbul it was 57% and in Adana 44%.

The majority of the interviewed children indicated that they had no alcoholic or drug-addicted family members at home. Only 14% indicated that they were faced with these circumstances; these children constitute a “high-risk” group, who may be drawn to live in the streets in the future.

4.6. Living Conditions of the Children Working in the Streets

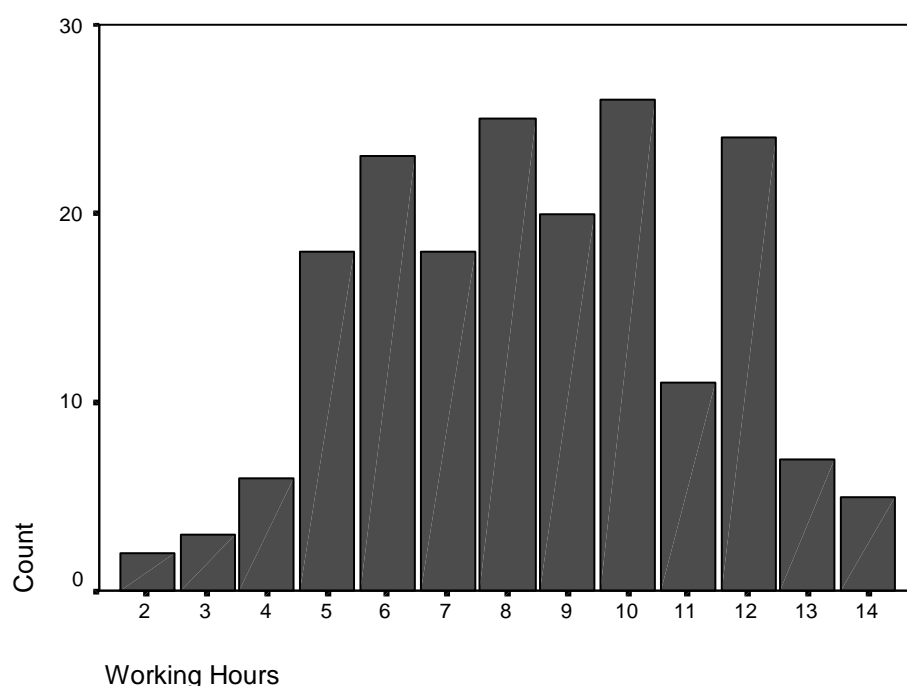
The children we interviewed did not have a balanced diet. Most of the children skipped lunch and ate only two meals a day or just ate a “simit” or bread at lunchtime. Sometimes restaurant owners gave them leftover crusts of bread to eat. Scavengers (“garbage children”) were observed to be in the worst situation, eating mainly what they could find in the garbage. In Istanbul and Diyarbakır children ate only irregular meals. While the majority of children in Adana ate regular meals, the nutritional quality of the food was very low due to the poverty of the children and their families.

Children usually slept from six to 12 hours, with an average of eight hours. In Adana, it was recorded that children scavenging in garbage worked at night and slept after work, some even sleeping at the dump site rather than at home. Most of the mothers had very naive perceptions of the dangers of their children staying out at night. Family educational programs stressing the physical and psychological hazards of working on the streets need to be started immediately. Training could also be carried out through the mass media to inform the public regarding the importance of separating garbage for recycling before putting it out on the street. As mentioned before, recycling is growing into a crucial economic activity in developing countries, but most of the time it is carried out by means of child labour. Municipalities should definitely be involved in these activities all over Turkey.

Seventy-two percent of the children interviewed complained of fatigue while working in the streets. Standing long hours, carrying heavy equipment, walking long hours, and remaining

outside in extreme weather, were the main sources of complaints. In addition, children also experienced psychological fatigue, specifically due to fears such as fear of the police or of older children. Fatigue was experienced most among the children working in the streets in Istanbul, possibly due to long commuting distances and long working hours.

Chart 6: Working Hours



4.7. Peer-group/ Friendship Relationships of the Children Working on the Streets

It was observed that there were great numbers of children involved in child labour in the areas studied. This is another important social factor that legitimates child labour and is inherent in the poor, deprived shantytown urban environments in metropolitan centres. The peer groups of most of the children interviewed were occupied with similar economic activities. There is a strong solidarity between working children on the streets. They are protective of each other against abuse by gangs, adults and other family members. If one child fails to earn enough money on a particular day, others may give him or her money in order to protect him or her from abuse at home. In Adana, for example, one of the children explained this solidarity with the following words:

“...you cannot be alone on the streets while working; we always work together. It is good to know that my friend is working at a close place. When I need help I can call him, and sometimes we share our earnings or borrow money from each other.”

Working together also has another advantage in that it provides children with an opportunity to play. Sometimes, the younger/older siblings join these small groups, and the oldest brother plays the role of the group leader. In other cases, they choose their leader according to physical characteristics like the strength and size of the child. The group size changes from two to a maximum of six children. For these children “lack of trust in others and suspicion” is one of the first lessons learned at very early ages through working under harsh street conditions. This has positive and negative impacts on the peer-group relations.

4.8. Attitudes of Customers, Tradespeople and the Municipal Police Force toward Children Working in the Streets

Children had varying perceptions regarding the attitudes of their customers. In Adana, in particular, children argued that most of the time (80%) customers treat them badly, whereas in Diyarbakır they said their customers were friendly. This could be related to the conceptualisation of child labour in Diyarbakır. Adults seemed to believe that patronising children gave them an opportunity to deliver social support to needy families and felt they should protect these children. One of the social workers from the child centre in Diyarbakır told us that adults would intervene if they saw someone mistreating these children. In Istanbul, customers’ behaviours varied according to factors such as the time of day, the age of the child and weather conditions. In early hours, for example, customers do not want to spend time with a working child whereas after working hours, their attitudes are much softer. The weather conditions were another important factor that shaped the attitudes of the customers to the children working in the streets. For example, customers felt “pity” for very young street children on cold days and tried to help them by buying things from them. Generally, the customers we spoke with felt obliged to help these children. Buying products from them and even paying without really buying the product was seen as a form of help. Children knew this and sometimes pretended that they had only a few products left and would be able to go back home if they sold them. Families were also well aware of this pity factor and could use it to manipulate customers. An anecdote from Diyarbakır shows this in its extreme form:

"I passed by a little boy who was crying in front of a tray of spilled pastry during Ramadan (fasting observance). I asked him what was wrong, and he said that his tray full of this sweet pastry tipped over and he wouldn't be able to go back home and face his angry parents. So, I asked him how much it would all cost and paid him the money, telling him not to worry. I went away feeling good that I had saved the little boy. However, two hours later I had to pass the same point and to my amazement the little boy was there, still crying and telling his story to another sympathetic bypasser..."

Overall, there is not enough consciousness among the public regarding the dangers of child labour. Most people/customers considered buying things from these children as “helping” them, and as mentioned earlier, some of them just gave money without buying anything. Although these actions can be perceived as good intentions, this attitude reinforces working in the streets because more and more children will start working in the streets as a means of earning soft money instead of learning skills or attending school.

Families of these children find the opportunity to earn money more attractive than thinking of their children's long-term interests. This is due to their low level of education and poor economic conditions. Recently, families have preferred sending their children to work in the streets instead of finding them work in small-size enterprises where they could obtain vocational skills.¹ Moreover, some families have taken their children out of school in order to send them to work for long hours.

The attitudes of tradespeople are similar to the attitudes of customers. Some of them know these children well from daily interactions and from time to time provide them with various types of assistance. Some, however, particularly owners of expensive shops, do not want them near their shops because they feel it will damage their business. On the other hand, fast-food and other restaurant owners generally have protective attitudes towards the children working in the streets. For example, they give them leftovers and allow them to come inside their stores to warm up in cold weather.

¹ After the modification of the basic Education Law (to extend compulsory education to eight years) in 1997, it is not legally possible to have children work regularly in workshops and attend Apprentice Training School before age 15. Ironically, working in unregulated workshops and on the streets becomes more prevalent after a positive improvement of raising compulsory basic education to eight years.

The attitude of the storeowners and other tradespeople depends on their own past experiences. Some restaurant staff who themselves started working at very young ages show empathy and even pity towards working street children. Some, on the other hand, do not even notice they exist.

During the interviews conducted with the Municipal Police Forces, we observed different attitudes towards children working on the streets. Most police seemed to have pity for these children, but at the same time they were frustrated due to legal constraints that prevent action from being taken with these children. The local police can detain children during the day but must release them at night because they have no facilities for them, and there are no other legal institutions/agents to whom these children can be released. One of the members of the Adana Municipal Police Force stated this situation as follows:

“It is ridiculous to arrest these kids in the mornings and let them go at nights. They also know that we would do nothing to them... Sometimes, specifically on cold winter days, they even prefer to be arrested in order to spend the day at a warmer place and have something to eat...”

4.9. Attitudes of the Working Children toward Education and School

Approximately one-third of the children interviewed believed that their families must have higher incomes for them to be able to attend school. They also expressed the belief that schools must create an environment free from fear and corporal punishment, and that school expenses should be supported by the state. These issues were mentioned more in Adana than in Diyarbakır and Istanbul. In Diyarbakır and in Istanbul “learning new things,” “being together with friends” and “being with the teachers” seemed to be the factors that rendered the school environment attractive for the children.

The answers to the next question, “Which aspects of school do you like the least?,” were very striking. Children tended to give two answers, “bullying in schools” and “corporal punishment.” One of the teachers we interviewed stated that these children were very intimidated and anxious. “When you want to stroke them, they jump from their places or cover their heads,” he said, which indicated that they expected to be hit rather than stroked by

adults. Immediate protective measures must be developed by the Ministry of Education to stop violence at schools in order to prevent children from developing violent behaviour in the future or from becoming introverted adults with low levels of self-esteem.

4.10. Fears, Wishes and the Future Dreams of the Children Working in the Streets

Although municipal police officers stated that they treated children in a friendly manner, over one-third of the children feared these officers more than anything else. Being apprehended by the municipal police forces might mean a warmer place for the cold winter days, but it also means losing their “capital.” In Adana, for example, scavengers pay US 32.00 dollars (TL 20 million) for their carts and must work for at least two weeks to pay back this money to the cart owner, who acts as the middle-man between the child workers and the larger scale recycling entrepreneurs. Having their carts confiscated by the municipal police means working extra hours to pay for both the confiscated cart and its replacement. In Istanbul, shoe-polishers fear they will be caught and that the police will break their shoe-polishing kits, which are very valuable to them. Fear of the municipal police forces is higher in Adana and in Istanbul than in Diyarbakır, where only one child considered the police as a major fear.

The second-greatest fear of the children was the street gangs, composed of older children working and living on the streets. These “gangs” usually consist of drug addicts who work as beggars or become involved in theft. This fear is experienced more among the children in Adana and in Diyarbakır than in Istanbul, where older siblings and fellow countrymen can better protect the younger children.

The next fear stated was becoming addicted to glue/solvents. This fear was higher in Adana than in Diyarbakır and Istanbul. In fact, fear of gangs was closely connected to the fear of “becoming addicted to sniffing materials.” Most gang members are addicted to sniffing materials. The effect of these drugs combined with group solidarity instil these gang members with temporary “confidence” which leads them to abuse the younger children. This is, in fact, a form of revenge; after experiencing abuse from different sources in the past, these gang members redirect this abuse towards the younger children, which may further perpetuate this vicious cycle.

Fear of “dogs” and of “the dark” followed the other fears and implied that children offering these responses either work at night or spend some nights in isolated places. In Adana, children were especially afraid of “orange orchards” outside the city centre, which are known as places where sexual abuse occurs. During the rapid assessment, it was learned that some of the boys working and living in the streets were taken to these orchards and sexually abused.

On the other hand, few children were afraid of “customers” or “tradespeople.” This finding indicated that children did not have negative experiences with these groups. One interesting answer was “I am not afraid of anything,” which could be interpreted as a defensive strategy used by some of these children. This response was particularly widespread among the children working in the streets in Istanbul. Although this defensive strategy may be comforting in the short term it may lead these children into trouble if they do not take adequate precautions to protect themselves.

In the three cities covered in the rapid assessment, “earning money” was the primary reason children were happy while working in the streets. The second reason given was “being together with friends.” These answers indicate that working in the streets provides children with both social status and a means of socialising.

For future wishes, children in all three cities indicated “material wishes” followed by “psychological wishes.” Some of the wishes are presented below:

Material Wishes of Children in Diyarbakır:

I wish to own a bicycle.
I wish to own a walkman.
I wish to buy a computer.
I wish we would live in a palace.
I wish we owned a shop.
I wish we owned a shopping centre.
I wish to have lots of books.
I wish I had a new pair of shoes.
I wish I had new trousers.
I wish we got good aid.
I wish we could buy an automatic washing machine.
I wish to buy a house for our family.

Non-Material Wishes of Children in Diyarbakır:

I wish to be a football player.
I wish to be a doctor.
I wish my mother and father were always with me.
I wish to be able to attend school.
I wish my father would have a job.
I wish my mother would be healthy.
I wish there would be no fights.
I wish there would be peace.
I wish the drug users treated me well.
I wish God spared my parents.
I wish nobody was sick at home.
I wish to have a good job.

Material Wishes of Children in Adana:

I wish we would be rich.
I wish to buy a car.
I wish to have lots of toys.
I wish to have our own house.
I wish to buy a Mercedes.
I wish to have a football uniform.

Non-Material Wishes of Children in Adana:

I wish my mother were near me.
I wish to be a police officer/teacher/doctor/lawyer.
I wish to be a doctor and cure my mother.
I wish to be an employer.
I wish to be a tailor.
I wish to be a confectioner.
I wish to continue my education.
I wish to be a singer.
I wish to be “İbrahim Tatlıses” (who is a famous singer, talk-show host and businessman in Turkey).
I wish to help poor people.
I wish to be taller.
I wish my father would be healthy again.
I wish my father would be alive.
I wish to be rescued from the streets.
I wish to run away from home.
I wish to win the lottery.
I wish to be a decent person.
I wish to eliminate fights on the streets.
I wish my teachers would not spank me.

Material Wishes of Children in Istanbul:

I wish we would be rich.
I wish to eat grapes, oranges and strawberries.
I wish to own a pair of new shoes.
I wish to own TV.
I wish to buy our house.
I wish to have a better job.

Non-Material Wishes of Children in Istanbul:

I wish a factory would be built in my hometown
and we would go back.
I wish to be rescued from the streets.
I wish I would get along well with my family.
I wish poverty were eliminated all over the world.
I wish the drug users were arrested.
I wish for peace.
I wish not to be hit by my father.
I wish the state took care of us.
I wish I could feed my birds freely.
I wish peace at home.

Regarding future plans, children planned to be “doctors, lawyers, and teachers” or “have a stable job.” They wanted to be as powerful as adults through legitimate means, such as through education or gaining skills, and generally were not looking for miracles such as gaining status by “being a football player” or “singer,” which are some ways in Turkey through which people might acquire wealth and status.

CHAPTER 5

PROFILE OF THE FAMILIES OF THE CHILDREN WORKING IN THE STREETS

5.1. Introduction

In order to understand the family profiles of the children working in the street, the rapid assessment research team carried out focus group and face-to-face interviews with a total of 65 families: two in Adana, 22 in Diyarbakır, and 41 in Istanbul. Because of the restrictions in the field, the team could only reach and interview two families in Adana, and in this chapter the interpretations are mainly based on the information obtained in Diyarbakır and in Istanbul. Some of the information regarding the family profiles in Adana has already been discussed in the previous chapter, therefore, in this chapter some of those results are going to be reiterated and the general comparative patterns will be elaborated upon for the three cities.

In this chapter, the main structural factors behind the child labour issue will be discussed including the socio-demographic profiles, the migration histories, socio-economic profile of these families and their attitudes towards child labour.

5.2. Socio-Demographic Profile of the Families of the Children Working in the Streets

As discussed in the previous chapter, the families of the children working in the streets mainly have nuclear family characteristics (i.e. they are composed of a father, a mother and the children), but the average household size (which is $\mu_{\text{survey}} = 7.8$) is larger than the overall average household size in Turkey, (which is $\mu_{\text{Turkey}} = 5.2$ in 1998) (Hacettepe University, 1999). The average age of the mothers is 35 and of the fathers is 40.

Another characteristic of these families is that the majority of the mothers are illiterate (almost 70%) and are not working whereas the fathers have relatively higher educational levels (only 32 % of them are illiterate). We observed more educated fathers in Istanbul than in Diyarbakır and Adana. These findings are in agreement with the educational profiles of these regions, as given in Table 2, Chapter 1. Among the children, usually one or two older boys are working in the streets and the girls mostly stay at home. The traditional social understanding regarding gender division of labour continues to shape the power relationships within the families. Generally speaking, mothers stay at home and look after the young

children, whereas fathers and the older male children are working to earn money, mostly in the informal urban economy which does not require many skills and training. There are also a considerable number of fathers who are unemployed, for example, out of 65 interviewed families, 26 of the fathers (40%) are currently unemployed. Even though unemployment of fathers is high in Istanbul, there are many more unemployed fathers in Diyarbakır. This indicates that, at least in these 26 families with unemployed fathers, children are looking after the whole family, including their parents. In Adana, one of the young people interviewed (who has been working since age six and is now 17 years old) explains the situation with the following striking words:

“We work for our families when we are young; but when we get older, then our children will start looking after us! This is the way that life goes on here...”

Another outcome that stands out in the research is the low level of education of the mothers. Out of 65 families, nine of them (all of which are in Istanbul) state that Turkish is the only language spoken at home. In the rest of the families (a total of 56 families), either mixed languages (Arabic, Kurdish) or only Kurdish is spoken. Twenty-five families indicated that they only speak Kurdish at home (16 of them in Diyarbakır and nine of them in Istanbul). These figures indicate that it is mainly the mothers who cannot speak Turkish at home (or most likely because they did not attend any formal educational institution, and did not have the opportunity to learn Turkish). In some families both the mothers and the fathers prefer to speak Kurdish instead of Turkish. In other words, a mix of languages is spoken in some of the family environments of these children. It is worth noting that Arabic is commonly used in Adana.

In the Beyoğlu Youth and Child Centre we conducted a focus-group interview with nine mothers. Only three of these mothers were fluent in Turkish. Some of them stated that they understood Turkish but could not answer in Turkish, and some others did not understand Turkish at all. Thus, we needed the help of the mothers who were fluent in both Turkish and Kurdish to translate.

When a different language is spoken at home this can create learning problems for children in school. Children experience difficulties learning Turkish, and they may fall behind in their studies. It was observed that some of these children were school dropouts; this may be due to economic difficulties, but the language problem may also be a contributing factor. Thus, it

seems important to have a pre-school preparatory year for these children so that they can learn Turkish and appreciate the value of education.

5.3. Migration History/Profile of the Families of the Children Working in the Streets

Although some families migrated after 1965, the majority of families of children working in the streets came to the urban centres after 1985 and can be considered newcomers. It is observed that the migrant families in Diyarbakır come mainly from the nearest villages or *mezraas*, whereas in Adana these families are from the nearest southeastern cities and villages, for example, from villages of Mardin. Istanbul, on the other hand, is much more cosmopolitan, receiving migrants from all over Turkey, however, eastern and southeastern migrant families dominate. These include families migrating from Ağrı, Bingöl, Bitlis, Elazığ, Erzurum, Kars, Mardin, Mus, Siirt, and Tunceli.

Several reasons for migration were given, but political rest in the region and economic factors (ie. finding jobs, etc.) were the main push-and-pull factors, most often appearing hand in hand. Problems with extended families and marriage are cited as the next most frequent motives for the migration decisions of families. It is obvious that education was not of major concern to these families when deciding to migrate to the cities. Only one family out of 65 migrated in order to get a better education for their children.

Although these families continue relations with their relatives in the regions from which they migrated, these links are slowly dying out in terms of economic or social support. Families in Diyarbakır have fewer connections with their hometowns than families in Istanbul. This may be related to the political unrest in the region; some of the villages have been totally evacuated leaving nobody to contact. In addition to the lack of cash support, the traditional provision of local products such as wheat, lentils and beans has also been cut. This indicates that the characteristics of this wave of migration are different from the characteristics of previous ones.

The majority of the families were occupied in agricultural work and animal husbandry before coming to the city centres, however, they owned only small plots of land or none at all. When they migrated to the cities they had no vocational skills that would help them to survive in an

urban environment. As a result, they ended up working in the informal sector on a daily basis and without social security.

Although the interviewed families declared that there was no material exchange and/or support between themselves and the people still in their hometowns, they indicated that their migration and employment had been organized by their own countrymen (*hemşehri*). There seems to be a social solidarity network among people living in the metropolitan centres who have roots in the same hometown. This type of networking was observed particularly among the migrants in Istanbul.

One of the characteristics of this networking is that after migration, families from the same region settle together in the same neighbourhoods in the metropolitan areas. Those who migrated earlier arrange housing for the new migrants. Such networking can informally fill the void created by the lack of an extensive social security system in Turkey.

In this research, similar patterns were observed among the families of the children working in the street. They also experienced social solidarity networking, however, the strength of the networking among new migrants is relatively weaker than the previous ones. They still help each other in arranging housing or finding jobs for fathers or children, but material support such as cash loans and free accommodations in difficult times are not commonly experienced. Even women do not get together to produce homemade food as they used to in the villages.

The main difference between the previous migration wave and this one is that the former one was more detailed and planned whereas the latter one was unplanned. Because of the political unrest in the region of origin, families were not easily able to establish beneficial networks with the former migrants. As this last migration wave did also not involve causal pathways, the families were not prepared, economically nor emotionally, for the changes encountered in terms of village versus city life. As a result, the women tend to become more dependant on the men and male children in their households because of their lack of ability to speak the dominant language and their few chances to learn it. To a certain extent, through the male children, women are bargaining with the patriarchal relationships at both the domestic and public spheres. This puts the burden on the male children working on the streets.

The transformation of the extended families in villages to nuclear families in cities has both advantages and disadvantages. For women, living in the nuclear family environment means freedom and emancipation from the power of the parents-in-law, but it also means a lack of help with childcare. Most of the interviewed mothers indicated the presence of young children and babies at home as excuses for not finding a job outside. For example, one of the mothers in Adana stated that because of the lack of child-care facilities, she could not work as a domestic worker outside the home even though a job had been arranged for her. Furthermore, neighbours no longer take care of each other's children. It seems important to develop income-generating activities that mothers can carry out at home while looking after their children. This will contribute to the family's income and simultaneously give these women a sense of competency and increase their self-esteem.

In Istanbul, we observed that some mothers were employed in beading or knitting at home. They expressed a pride in their activities. They also stated that their spouses would not allow them to work outside the home, but that these activities could be carried out at home and provided them with much-needed extra money. They seemed eager to have such income-generating opportunities.

Less than half of the interviewed families (25 families of 65) expressed the desire to return to their hometowns; only six of them wanted to go somewhere else; and the rest (34 families) did not have any plans to migrate again in the future. This shows that in spite of all the difficulties they have in the city, at least for half of these families the current city life is more advantageous than life in their hometowns. Those who expressed the wish to go back seemed to be from villages emptied due to political unrest. This group seemed to exhibit a longing for their days in the village, where everything was fresh and abundant. The view expressed on this issue during a focus-group interview with the mothers in Istanbul is given in the following textbox.

"We used to be much happier and healthier in our village. Feeding too many children was not a problem. Everything was abundant there. We had fresh vegetables, fruit and milk. Now, we have many health problems. We cannot even sleep properly here. They say Istanbul is beautiful. We do not know. We never go anywhere here. We do nothing here. We are nobody here."

5.4. Socio-economic Profile of the Families of the Children Working in the Streets

H.S. first migrated to Adana from a village in Siirt in 1993 due to political unrest. He was involved with agriculture in his village. Due to unemployment in Adana, the family decided to migrate to Istanbul in 1997. H.S. is working irregularly in building construction. However, he stated that he could find a job only for two months out of the year. The family lives in a house with no running water. There are six members of the family, four of whom are sons. The two older brothers, aged five and seven, are working in the streets. This is the family's only regular income.

The families of the children working in the streets are “the poorest of the poor”; the mothers are not working, and the fathers are employed in very low paying jobs in the informal sector without any social benefits and rights, if they are even employed at all. The families do not have any economic support from their hometowns. At least one or two male children from each family works on a daily basis. In some families these children are the only breadwinners and look after the entire family. Out of 65 families interviewed, only 17 had a green card, an indicator of healthcare coverage for poor people. This showed that the majority of working children had no health insurance.

The “Social Fund for the Poor” is a system that provides social benefits for poor, disabled, sick and old people in Turkey. In order to obtain these funds, proof of one's condition is required in the form of a letter from the *muhtar*, the elected head of the neighborhood. During our research, when the *muhtars'* records were examined, it was observed that only two of the 65 families had access to these funds. Some poor families who are eligible to benefit from these funds may not know the procedures of applying for them due to their sense of helplessness and low levels of education. It is crucially important for these families to be trained and made aware of the availability of social services.

Twenty-eight of the 65 families interviewed included members who were seriously ill and had no health insurance or social security. The existence of health problems along with poverty created a sense of hopelessness among these families, which resulted in economically, socially and psychologically insecure environments for the children. However, in some families, we observed very warm and friendly environments, specifically between the children and their mothers; this is a crucial factor in keeping alive children's hopes and

expectations for the future and allowing them to feel happy and secure. Further research should be carried out to investigate the psychosocial effect of poverty on children.

The majority of families interviewed lived in squatter houses without legal titles located in poor areas of urban settlements. Only 27 of the families interviewed owned their own homes. Most of the houses had running water and indoor plumbing, however, some of the houses in Diyarbakır lacked these facilities.

In terms of furnishings, almost all houses included refrigerators and televisions (94%). Only 37% of houses (mostly in Istanbul) included stoves, and automatic washing machines were rare. Two families from Istanbul owned cars and none had dishwashers. It could be argued that the majority of families send their children to work in the streets to get “easy money” to purchase consumer goods.

The monthly average household expenditure of the families interviewed was around USD 240 (TL 150 million) and the average income was around USD 250 (TL 156 million). On the average, the household head earned USD 152 (TL 95 million) per month, while a working child/children earned USD 96 (TL 60 million) per month, or USD 3 per day. Families believed that their monthly incomes would need to be around USD 400 (TL 250 million) per month in order to keep their children from working and to attend school. This figure is much lower for Diyarbakır and higher for Istanbul. Minimum wage in Turkey is USD 120 per month (June 2001).

5.5. Attitudes of the Parents of the Working Street Children

5.5.1. Attitudes towards Working in the Streets

In general, families in all three provinces included in this rapid assessment felt a sense of helplessness in regards to sending their children to work in the streets. This helplessness was related either to the lack of employment of the father or due to very low income levels. However, families had reservations about sending their daughters to work in the streets. They said it was definitely not culturally acceptable to let girls, particularly those older than 12 or 13, work in the streets. In spite of this, they considered it necessary due to severe economic hardships. In Diyarbakır, child labour was culturally acceptable both for parents and customers

of working street children, who seemed to believe supporting these children was a legitimate way of helping families in need. One revealing case is explained in the following text box.

We had one interesting case where we visited the home of a family in Diyarbakır and interviewed the mother. This family had one son and four daughters. The son was a drug addict. The eldest daughter, 16, helped her mother with the housework (in fact she seemed to be doing most of the work), and another daughter, 13, had just stopped working on the street because the mother felt she was too old. However, this daughter went to the park to supervise the work of her two younger sisters. We were very surprised to see that the living room of the house was furnished with two sofas and a carpet, a colour TV and a telephone. The family also owned an automatic washing machine and an oven. Although the father was working as a driver, the mother said that he didn't earn enough money. The mother said that she had diabetes and that it was hard to make ends meet. However, she was smoking cigarettes and allowed her daughters to serve tea for us and for herself. She then said that there was no harm in her daughters working since they needed this extra money. The children were all attending school, however, they said that their mother sent them to work even on cold and rainy days. The girls looked very healthy and neatly dressed. The youngest said she had no toys, but that wasn't important because she did not have time to play.

The above example may really be an exceptional one, however, it is an indication of the attitudes of modern consumer society. While in this case, toys were considered unnecessary, the family was not able to do without a colour television and automatic washing machine. The mother seemed to be genuinely unconcerned and ignorant about the safety of her daughters. She stated that she had taken precautions against their harm by instructing them to wait by a public phone at specific times so that she could phone them to check on their safety. This sounded like a very naïve approach to the hazards her children were facing.

In most of the houses we visited, the living conditions reflected extreme poverty. The main living rooms were mostly bare, with some mattresses used for sleeping, and there was not much other furniture or kitchen equipment, such as refrigerators, ovens or washing machines. However, the results of the structured interviews showed that having a refrigerator (91 % in Diyarbakır and 98 % in Istanbul) is very common. The second most common item is a colour television (86.4 % in Diyarbakır and 90 % in Istanbul). Thus, it seems that there are two

extremes, one reflecting extreme poverty and the other some degree of affluence. However, the majority of families seem to fall in between and are struggling to earn a decent living.

When asked why their children worked, 41% of families interviewed in Diyarbakır and 56% in Istanbul stated economic hardship as the primary reason. Peer influence was given as a reason by 23% of parents from Diyarbakır, but only by 5% of parents from Istanbul. When asked about the benefits of their child working in the streets, the majority of parents stated "money" as the most important immediate benefit (59% in Diyarbakır and 58.5 % in Istanbul). A second benefit of child labour was said to be the child earning his/her pocket money. An interesting finding was that about 27% of parents in Diyarbakır and 24% in Istanbul stated that the child him/herself wanted to work. It would be worthwhile to examine the reasons for this. It may be related to peer influence or the children's perceptions of the hardships of their parents, or it may reflect a desire to gain power within the family and/or to escape from school.

Parents perceive that the greatest disadvantage of street work is its effect on the education of their children. Thirty-two percent of parents from Diyarbakır and 27% of parents from Istanbul stated this as a negative consequence of working. It may be valuable to increase the consciousness of parents on how working long hours in the streets will hinder school performance. The exposure of their children to inappropriate role models potentially resulting in the development of behaviour problems in their children was a hazard mentioned only by 5% of parents from Diyarbakır and 10% from Istanbul. Even fewer parents cited physical hazards of being in the streets such as health risks and fatigue. Furthermore, 41% of parents in Diyarbakır and 15% in Istanbul stated that there were no disadvantages. These comments corroborated our observations in Diyarbakır, where children seemed to enjoy working in the streets and this was perceived as a safe environment by both parents and their children. This indicated that there seems to be a need for consciousness-raising in Diyarbakır, both among the public and among the families of these children. The social acceptability of children working in the streets may lead to an increase in the numbers. As for Istanbul, parents seem to be aware of some dangers to their children inherent in the streets, however, they seem to be helpless in the face of their economic hardships.

Parents held the common attitude of not wanting their young daughters to continue to work in the streets when they got older. Only 13.6% in Diyarbakır and 19.5% in Istanbul stated that

they would let their daughters work at an older age (approximately 12 and older). However, their attitudes regarding their young sons were quite the opposite. Forty-one percent of parents in Diyarbakır and 71% in İstanbul said that they would let their sons work when they got older, indicating there is an expectation that when male children grow up they will be a source of additional income to their families by working in the streets. Considering the large number of children these families have, the children, especially the boys, mean additional income that the families count on in order to survive.

In agreement with data from our observations and interviews with the children, parents also stated that the children gave their earnings mainly to their mothers.

In summary, from our interviews with the parents in Diyarbakır and İstanbul, the most pronounced attitude of the parents that emerged was an ambivalence towards the fact that their children work in the streets. There was a pervasive sense of helplessness due to economical hardships and yet a low level of perception of the hazards of working in the streets. There was also, however, a desire to be able to send their children to school. Although the parents and the children agreed upon the unsuitability of girls working in the streets they seemed to be in disagreement in regards to boys' work. The majority of parents whom we interviewed in İstanbul (71 %) believed that boys should work to contribute to family income, whereas the majority of children expressed the view that their young siblings should not work when they grow up to be their age and they also believed that children of their age should not be working. Children and parents both perceived "earned money" as the most important benefit of working in the streets. The situation in Diyarbakır was modified by the fact that 27 % of parents believed that the child him/herself wanted to work due to peer influence. Children in Diyarbakır also seemed to share this view considering that they seemed to be enjoying themselves and were playing as well as working while on the streets.

Another striking result from our interviews and questionnaire results from the children and their parents was the fact that parents seemed to be oblivious to the dangers and health risks of being on the streets. Although the children expressed fears, fatigue and other safety concerns, parents did not seem to be aware of these. It seems that the children are not communicating their difficulties and concerns to their parents and it seems important to provide opportunities that will facilitate an open communication between children and their parents. These opportunities can be created in child youth centres by systematically planning

to have parent-child groups and also by training parents in communication skills. The only apparent concern of the parents seemed to be related to the work of their child in interfering with school attendance and performance. However, here once again they were ambivalent due to the costs of schooling and their need for the money earned by their child.

One of the possible reasons why the children do not communicate their fears and hardships with their parents may be due to the fact that children may also be perceiving the hardships of their parents and feel helpless and not want to create more burden on their parents by expressing their difficulties. The children we interviewed seemed to be very proud of their contribution to the family income and thus may feel that they should conceal their worries and fears and act like heroes at home. This economic contribution seems to bring a certain degree of power to the child, affording him/her considerable freedom from ordinary restraints imposed on children of their age, such as curfew hours, set bedtime hours etc. Therefore, the power dynamics within the family needs to be considered in devising policies for the elimination of child labour. From a family systems perspective, the child by contributing significantly to the family income and earning his/her pocket money may force the boundaries of the parental system and thus cause an imbalance in the family sub-systems. The parents need to be empowered, both economically and psychologically, so that they can institute a healthy parental sub-system. Therefore, it can be argued that although economic hardships seem to be an initiating factor for children starting to work in the streets, the fact that they remain in the work may be related to an alteration in the power dynamics within the family, whereby the child gains power and freedom. Although, the child experiences difficulties and dangers in the street, at home he/she may be getting ample reinforcement in the form of parental respect and attention based on monetary contribution. This reinforcement may be strong enough to motivate the child to continue to work.

"What do parents want for their children's future?" was a question posed during our interviews. The most frequent responses were "getting a proper education and being a decent adult," "having a stable job" and "having a profession." These wishes seemed to be in accordance with what the children wanted for themselves. Although parents seem to have communicated these values to their children, neither parents nor children seem to understand that working in the streets will hinder the children's chances of fulfilling these aspirations. Here, we should consider the possibility that these may be wishful statements rather than

realistic ones. We asked some parents how realistic these wishes were, and they replied “not very, considering the current hardships.”

5.5.2. Attitudes towards Education

The majority of parents (64% in Diyarbakır and 66% in Istanbul) believed that education would provide their children with the chance to become "decent, educated adults." Despite their low levels of education, parents still seemed to place value on education, believing it would enable their children to find an acceptable position in society. Parents (23% in Diyarbakır and 34% in Istanbul) also stated that education would enable their children to find jobs. Very few parents stated that education would give nothing to their children. Thus, considering the school drop-out rates among these children, it seemed that dropping out from school was not due to parents devaluing education. They seemed to be forced to withdraw their children from school or not to send them to school in the first place.

A father we interviewed in Istanbul appeared very angry towards the school. He said that they wanted money from him and he argued with the principal of the school. He said that schooling is free in Turkey and he would not give this money. But the principal kept on asking for this money, and sent notes home with his son. So he became very angry and took his son out of school.

Parents (32% in Diyarbakır and 17% in Istanbul) stated that their greatest difficulties with the schools was the cost of education. Although none of the parents paid fees to the schools in Diyarbakır, 17% of parents in Istanbul mentioned this as a problem. Other problems mentioned were corporal punishment (4.5% in Diyarbakır and 1.5% in Istanbul), gangs in the school and fighting (5% of parents in Istanbul, none in Diyarbakır). Thirty-seven per cent of parents in Istanbul and 45.5% of parents in Diyarbakır stated that they had no problems with the school. In sum, while parents seemed to value education they did not seem to be able to afford the expenses of having their children attend school.

Finally, we tried to understand what the parents viewed as necessary to keep these children in school. In Diyarbakır, parents believed that the father should have regular employment (36.4%), there should be political stability (27%), the family should have higher earnings (9%), and that the state should provide them with help (4.5%). The necessity for state help

(26.8 %), regular employment of the father (32%) and higher income (22 %) was stressed more in Istanbul than in Diyarbakır. Only 2.4% of parents from Istanbul mentioned political stability as a factor in school attendance. These views confirm our previous conclusions that while parents value education, they fail to send their children to school or have difficulties in keeping their children at school due to economic hardships. The visibility of child labour in their daily environment also contributes to sending their children to work in the streets.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has raised a number of crucial issues in terms of understanding cultural and economic factors that lead to behaviours and activities of working street children, one of the worst forms of child labour in Turkey. In this chapter we are going to conclude the rapid assessment report by focusing on possible interventions and programmes that can start to reduce, and ultimately eliminate the worst forms of child labour in Turkey.

The research aimed to offer a comparative picture of working street children in three cities with different urbanisation levels (Diyarbakır, Adana and Istanbul) in order to pave the way for future actions for the elimination of child labour in Turkey. As a result, we identified different kinds of work that children are doing in the streets; described the working conditions of children such as work processes; their physical impacts; hours of work; rates of pay; living conditions; and relations to the store owners. We also tried to identify the sociological, demographic and economic characteristics of the context within which children work on the streets; their family structures; their community structures; migration histories; and work histories.

We inquired into children's perceptions and attitudes towards work; learned more about the relationships between the child, school and work, and between school and work. We collected information regarding parental attitudes towards child labour, schooling and the education of children; and conditions of schools in the community. We also tried to assess the extent of the dangerous, hazardous, unhealthy, and morally unsound conditions of children. We tried to identify the pathways that lead children to these hazardous work situations, and to find out whether there are hidden populations of children working in unknown areas. Finally, we presented the fears, wishes and dreams of children working in the streets.

What has become evident from this research is that responses to the problem of working street children can only be addressed by simultaneously reinforcing actions across all economic and social sectors, including education and health. In dealing with the problem of working street children it is important to approach the problem comprehensively instead of searching for single solutions. The full range of causes that generate child labour should be analysed and a variety of intervention strategies applied. These strategies should seek to implant broad

preventative and rehabilitative approaches. Effective prevention requires family empowerment, basic education, capacity building, awareness raising and advocacy, and social mobilisation. Rehabilitation measures should seek to offer different solutions and provide a comprehensive socio-economic package of services encompassing education, health and nutrition, social protection and shelter.

Family empowerment

- Increased income generation is crucial for reducing children's involvement in street work. The socio-economic situation of poor families should be improved so that there is less need for children to work. Income-generating activities need to be offered to these families, especially to the mothers, who will be empowered by working in their home settings and contributing to the family income. The social welfare of children is closely related to the position of women.
- Training of parents is essential for guaranteeing quality of care for the child. Sessions with children and their families should be organised to explain and advise them on the hazards associated with child labour. Mothers should be introduced to child development programmes that are now available in various provinces (Kagitcibasi, 1996). Parental training and support should be provided by offering traditional education in groups and by identifying individuals who need to receive social welfare services. Families should be informed about, and directed to, institutions providing social welfare, anti-poverty programmes, vocational training programmes and labour placement services.
- Further efforts should be made to enhance the capacity of community social work services carried out by the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection or to develop new ones. Social workers must focus on identification of families at risk of sending their children in the street or of neglecting them. As a preventative measure, Social Services should also help families in crisis. A strategic step for enhancing the quality of social services provided to families would be establishing close working relationships with local organizations that provide services to the families such as health and legal aid.

- Given the sensitive nature of the subject, careful thought needs to be given to the substantial social and cultural factors that reinforce child labour. Families and communities in certain areas define child labour as normal, legitimate or functional behaviour. Efforts to change the value system that is at the heart of the problem of child labour should be made, however, careful attention should be given to the subject so that all constituents can view induced change as positive change.

Education

- The cost of education is a major problem for many families and must be addressed. Although theoretically there is no charge for primary school education in Turkey, in practice families are asked to contribute to school expenses when registering their children. School principals should be made aware of the special cases of working children. It is further recommended that school uniforms and books should be provided by the school or the Ministry of Education. It is apparent that for some families sending their children to school and keeping them there requires considerable economic sacrifices, which they cannot make.
- Generally, the problem of “bullying” exists in schools in low-income areas that have too many students and an inadequate infrastructure. Children exposed to bullying may potentially develop violent behaviour or, conversely, become introverted adults with low self-esteem. Therefore, every measure should be taken to immediately enhance the capacity of school administrators to eliminate the problem of aggressive behaviour, and to create a safe learning environment.
- It is the recommendation of the present team of researchers that the existing pre-school classes be made more widely available and institutionalized in schools where children of recent migrants are enrolled. This will particularly help children whose native language is not Turkish because they will be prepared for success in their future education.
- The major alternative to formal education is non-formal training through apprenticeship training and skills training centres. Most children, however, do not take full advantage of these programmes due to a lack of awareness of their existence.

Vocational counselling should be provided to children working on the streets to promote the positive opportunities that do exist.

Capacity Building

- Ongoing initiatives and project-based activities to develop more nationwide, institutional approaches to the problem must be created and maintained. In Istanbul, and Adana there are dedicated NGOs working with children who work and live in the streets. It is recommended that similar NGOs be established in Diyarbakır. In general, more NGOs need to be founded and capacitated. More academics should be encouraged to become involved in research and formulation of policies related to children living and working in the streets.
- The building of institutional and organizational capacities of existing small networks with limited resources is important. Some Child and Youth Centres have recently begun operation or will do so in the near future. Policies that govern the development of these centres need to be formulated. Additionally, there is only one School of Social Work in Turkey. More schools need to be created to increase the number of social workers coping with the growing problem of working street children.

Awareness raising and advocacy

- Comprehensive advocacy programmes aimed at building a critical mass of support for the elimination of child labour would provide a pressure group to promote sustained and strategic campaigns and interventions to educate the public and seek changes in policy and action. Labour unions and employer associations have already formed child labour bureaus. They are publishing bimonthly bulletins and books. These efforts can be turned into a general campaign to eradicate worst forms of child labour and child labour in general.
- The General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection should undertake specific community programmes to address various forms of child labour as an important outreach strategy to engage a larger audience. This would provide an opportunity for the coordination of community resources as well as the collaboration

of key community figures such as religious leaders, teachers, parents, non-working peers and other respected individuals.

- Because law enforcement personnel are the first line of contact with working street children, they need to be educated about the seriousness of the problem. Particular attention should be paid to key individuals such as judges, lawyers and police officers; changing the attitudes of those in society responsible for the maintenance of law and order is a critical start to effecting changes in values of society at large. Law enforcement officials at all levels should assume a more active and visible role by engaging in preventative as well as protective measures for the eradication of child labour.
- Responses of international organizations such as ILO and UNICEF seem to be moving in the right direction. Their work in collaboration with the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection and the State Institute of Statistics is to be commended. They should work closely with the 15 Child and Youth Centres operated by the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection.

In Conclusion

The response to the phenomenon of children working in the streets is very important. This response could determine whether these children will turn into deviant gang members or productive citizens. As shown in this report, the wishes of these children are very innocent: "I wish to be a decent person," "I wish to continue my education," "I wish to be rescued from the streets." Whether these wishes will be turned into realities depends on a coordinated and dedicated effort on behalf of researchers, policy makers, advocates, government ministries, and NGOs; we owe such an effort to these children.

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APPENDIX
ILO-IPEC SOKAKTA ÇALIŞAN ÇOCUK ARAŞTIRMASI
(ILO/IPEC RESEARCH ON WORKING STREET CHILDREN)

ÇOCUK ANKETİ
(CHILD QUESTIONNAIRE)

ÇOCUĞUN YAŞI: (Age of the Child)

CİNSİYETİ: (Gender)

EĞİTİM DURUMU: (Educational Status)

YAPILAN AKTİVİTE İŞ (İŞLER): (Activities/work performed)

EVDE BİRLİKTE YAŞADIĞI TOPLAM KİŞİ SAYISI (Total number of people living in the household)

Konuşulan kişi Person interviewed	Cinsiyeti Gender	Yaşı Age	Çalışıyor mu? Is he/she employed?	Yaptığı iş Type of work	Çalışmı- Yorsa, daha önce çalıştı mı? If unemployed, previous work?	Eğitim Durumu Education

1) Kaç yaşında çalışmaya başladın?
(At what age did you start working ?)

2) Günde ortalama kaç saat çalışıyorsun? (Bize bir iş gününü anlatır mısın?)
(On the average how many hours a day are you working/ Can you tell us about a typical work day ?)

- 3) Haftada kaç gün çalışıyorsun?
(How many days per week are you working ?)
- 4) Sence (örn: boyacılık, simittcilik vs.) yapabilmek için neler bilmek gerekiyor?
(What do you need to know in order to do ...(e.g; shoe-polishing, selling simit, etc) this kind of work?)
- 5) Günde ne kazanıyorsun?
(How much do you earn per day ?)
- 6) Kazandığın parayı nasıl harcıyorsun (kime veriyorsun?)
(How do you spend the money you earn? Who do you give it to ?)
- 7) Bu sattığın malzemeyi nereden temin ediyorsun?
(How do you get this product that you sell or use at work?)
- 8) Günde kaç öğün yemek yersin? Neler yersin
(How many meals do you have each day ? What do you eat ?)
- 9) Günde kaç saat uyursun?
(How many hours do you sleep each night ?)
- 10) Hep aynı işimi yapıyorsun? (Cevap hayırsa ek bilgi toplanacak)
(Do you always do the same kind of work) If the answer is no, probe for more)
- 11) Bu yaptığını (işini) seviyor musun?
(Do you like this work ..or do you like your work ?)
- 12) Sana bu işi kim buldu? Bu işten başka bir işe geçmen mümkün mü?
(Who found this work for you ? Is it possible for you to change your work type?)
- 13) Daha önce iş değiştirdin mi? Değiştirdiyse nasıl bir yol izledin? Anlatırmısın.

(Have you previously changed the type of work you are doing ? If yes, can you tell me how you did it ?)

14) Annen çalışmana ne diyor (ne düşünüyor?)
(What does your mother think/say about your working ?)

15) Baban çalışmana ne diyor (ne düşünüyor?)
(What does your father think/say about your working ?)

16) Okulun neyini seversin? (SEVERDİN?)
(What do you like about your school ? If a dropout, then what did you like about your school ?)

17) Okulun neyini sevmiyorsun? (SEVMEZDİN?)
(What do you dislike about your school ? If a dropout, then what did you dislike about your school ?)

18) (DİKKAT! Okula gitmiyorsa sorulacak) Nasıl okulu bırakmaya karar verdin?
((ATTENTION ! Ask only if the child is not attending school) How did you decide to leave school ?)

19) Büyüyünce ne olmak istiyorsun?
(What would you like to be when you grow-up ?)

20) (DİKKAT!)Küçük kardeşi varsa sorulacak) Kardeşlerinin çalışmasını ister misin?
((ATTENTION! Ask only if he/she has a younger sibling). Would you like your younger siblings to work when they grow-up ?)

21) (DİKKAT! Erkek çocuklara sorulacak) İleride karının mı yoksa çocuğunun mu çalışmasını istersin?

((**ATTENTION ! Ask only to male children**) **In the future, would you like your wife or your child to work ?**)

22) (DİKKAT! Kız çocuklara sorulacak) İleride kendinin mı yoksa çocuğunun mu çalışmasını istersin?

((**ATTENTION ! Ask only to female children**) **In the future, would you like yourself or your child to work ?**)

23) Mahallede senin gibi çalışan başka çocuklar var mı?

(**Are there other children living in your neighbourhood doing the same kind of work as yourself ?**)

24) Sokakta çalışırken seni ve/veya arkadaşlarını en çok **korkutan** şey nedir?

(**What is the thing that frightens you and/or your friends the most while working in the streets ?**)

25) Sokakta çalışırken seni ve/veya arkadaşlarını en çok **yoran** şey nedir?

(**What is the thing that tires you and/or your friends the most while working in the streets ?**)

26) Sokakta çalışırken seni ve/veya arkadaşlarını en çok **mutlu** eden şey nedir?

(**What is the thing that makes you and/or your friends happy while working in the streets ?**)

27) En çok neden korkarsın?

(**What are you most afraid of ?**)

28) En çok neyi seversin?

(**What do you like the best ?**)

29) Evde içki içen var mı?
(**Is there anyone in your home who drinks alcohol ?**)

30) Eve para götürmezsen ne olur?
(**What happens if you do not take any money to home ?**)

31) Balici arkadaşların var mı?
(**Have you got any friends using "Bali" (an addictive substance) ?**)

32) Sokakta müşteriler sana nasıl davranıyor?
(**How do the customers treat you in the streets ?**)

33) Şu anda bir peri gelse ve “dile benden ne dilersin” dese üç dilek olarak neler dilersin?
(**If a fairy comes, and asks you to make three wishes, what would your three wishes be ?**)

ARAŞTIRMACININ GÖZLEMLERİ (**OBSERVATIONS OF THE RESEARCHER**)

KARDEŞ SAYISI (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak):
(**Number of siblings (ATTENTION! The researcher should fill this part)**)

KIZ KARDEŞ SAYISI (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak):
(**Number of female siblings**)

ERKEK KARDEŞ SAYISI (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak):
(**Number of male siblings**)

ÇALIŞAN KARDEŞ SAYISI (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak).
(**Number of siblings working**)

KIZ : (Girl)

ERKEK: (Boy)

KARDEŞLERİNİN YAPTIKLARI İŞLER (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak)
(**The types of work done by siblings**)

HANE TİPİ: (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak)

(Type of household)

☐ Geniş (**extended**)

☐ Çekirdek (**nuclear**) ☐ Parçalanmış (**dissolved**)

HANE YAPISI (DİKKAT! Anketör dolduracak) **(The structure of the household)**

Baba/anne sağ (**Both parents alive**)

Öz Baba sağ/öz anne ölmüş (**Father alive/Mother dead**)

Öz anne sağ/ öz baba ölmüş (**Mother alive/Father dead**)

Öz anne/üvey baba (**Real Mother/Step Father**)

Öz baba/üvey anne (**Real father/Step Mother**)

ANNENİN ÇALIŞMA DURUMU (DİKKAT! Anketör dolduracak):

(Mother's work situation)

BABANIN ÇALIŞMA DURUMU (DİKKAT! Anketör dolduracak):

(Father's work situation)

ÇOCUĞUN YAPTIĞI “İŞİN” YARATTIĞI FİZİKSEL SORUNLAR

(The type of physical hazards created by the type of work the child does)

ÇOCUĞUN SOKAKTA KARŞILABİLECEĞİ TEHLİKELER

(The types of hazards the child may be exposed to while on the street)

ILO-IPEC SOKAKTA ÇALIŞAN ÇOCUK ARAŞTIRMASI

(ILO-IPEC RESEARCH ON WORKING STREET CHILDREN

AİLE ANKETİ

(FAMILY QUESTIONNAIRE)

ID NO:

(DİKKAT! AİLE ANKETİ İLE ÇOCUK ANKETİ BAĞLANTILIYSA AYNI “ID”
NUMARASI VERİLECEK)

(ATTENTION ! If the family and child are both administered this instrument then give the same ID Number)

GÖÇ / HEMŞEHRİLİK İLİŞKİLERİ İLE İLGİLİ SORULAR

(QUESTIONS ON MIGRATION / RELATIONSHIPS)

Aslen nerelisiniz? Memleketiniz neresi? Doğrudan oradan mı buraya geldiniz? (bize göç hikayenizi anlatır mısınız)

(Where are you from? What is your home town ? Did you come here directly from there ?

Diyarbakır/Adana/İstanbul dışından geldiyseniz, Diyarbakır/Adana/İstanbul' a hangi yıl geldiniz?

(If you are not originally from Diyarbakır/Adana/İstanbul, when did you come to Diyarbakır/Adana/İstanbul ?)

Sizi buraya ne getirdi? Nasıl göç etmeye karar verdiniz?

(What brought you here ? How did you decide to migrate ?)

Aileniz, ebeveynleriniz ya da akrabalarınızla bağlantılı olarak, memleketle ilişkileriniz sürüyor mu?

(Do you still have contact with your family, parents or relatives in your home town ?)

☐ Evet (Yes)

☐ Hayır (No)

4.1.) Sorunun yanıtı Evet ise ne tür bağlantılarınız var (Birden fazla şıkkı işaretleyebilirsiniz)

(If the answer is Yes, what kinds of ties do you have ?; Can mark more than one answer)

☐ Para yardımı alıyorum (I'm receiving financial aid)

☐ Para yardımı yapıyorum (I'm making financial help)

☐ Bütçeye katkı sağlayan erzak yardımı alıyorum (I'm receiving materials from them)

☐ Onlarla maddi bağlantının dışında görüşüyorum (I've relationship with them excluding financial exchange)

Buraya gelmeden önce geçiminizi nasıl sağlıyordunuz?

(How did you make your living before you migrated here ?)

Bu ilde hane reisi ilk önce ne işte çalıştı?

(What kind of job did the head of your household perform when you first came here ?)

İlk işinizi kimler aracılığıyla buldunuz?

(Who helped you in finding your first job ?)

Buraya geldiğinizde oturduğunuz mahallede akraba ve hemşehrileriniz var mıydı?

(Did you have relatives or in your neighbourhood, when you first came here ?)

Buraya ilk geldiğinizde zor durumda kaldığınız zaman elinizden kim tuttu?

(When you came here, who helped you with your difficulties ?)

☐ Evet Ne tür ve kimlerden? Lütfen açıklayınız

(If they mention people, then ask, what kind of help and from whom ?)

☐ Hayır (No help)

Şu anda oturduğunuz mahallede akraba ve hemşehrileriniz var mı?

(**Do you have relatives or ...in your current neighbourhood ?**)

☐ Evet (**Yes**)

☐ Hayır (**No**)

Zor durumda kaldığınızda kimlerden yardım alıyorsunuz?

(**Who helps you when you have difficulties ?**)

☐ Akraba (**Relatives**)

☐ Hemşehri (**Fellowman**)

☐ Komşu (akraba ve hemşehri olmayan komşu) (**Neighbours**)

☐ Diğer (**Other**)

Aldığınız yardım türü (birden fazla işaretleyebilirsiniz)

(**Type of help you receive; Can mark more than one type**)

☐ iş bulma (finding a job)

☐ mesleki beceri kazanma (**developing occupational skills**)

☐ para yardımı alma (**getting financial aid**)

☐ borç alma, kefil olma (**borrowing money, acting as a guarantor**)

☐ evinde kalma (**Staying in their home**)

☐ bakım, onarım, vs.(**Maintenance, repair, etc**)

☐ ev işleri, temizlik (**household tasks, cleaning**)

☐ ev içi üretimde yardımlaşma (**Helping each other in production within the home**)

☐ çocuk bakımı (**child care**)

☐ evlilik, ölüm, hastalık vb. Yardımlaşma (**Reciprcpal help in marriage, death, etc**)

☐ diğer (lütfen belirtiniz) (**other, please specify**)

Yakın bir zamanda başka bir yere gitmeyi düşünüyor musunuz?

(**Are you thinking of migrating somewhere else in the near future ?**)

☐ Evet, Neresi (**If yes, where ?**)

Neden? (**Why ?**)

☐ Hayır (**No**)

ÇOCUĞUN ÇALIŞMASINA YÖNELİK TUTUM SORULARI (**ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHILD LABOUR**)

Çocuğunuz (çocuklarınız) (örneğin, selpak satmaya) nasıl başladı?

(**How did your child (children) started working (For example selling paper tissues ?**)

Sizce çocuğunuzun (örneğin, simit satması, selpak'a gitmesinin) ne gibi yararları var?

(**In your opinion, what are the benefits of your child's working ?**)

Sizin için: (**For yourself ?**)

Çocuğunuz için: (**For your child ?**)

Sizce, çocuğunuzun (örneğin: simit satmasının, selpak'a gitmesinin) ne gibi zararları var?

(In your opinion, what are the harms of your child's working ?

Sizin için: (For you ?)

Çocuğunuz için: **(For your child ?)**

(Evde küçük çocuk varsa sorulacak) Evdeki küçük çocuklarınızda ileride çalıştırmayı düşünüyor musunuz? Neden?

(Ask only if there are young children at home. Are you thinking of sending your younger children out to work in the future ? If yes, why ?)

Kız: **(For girls)**

Erkek: **(For boys)**

Çalışan çocuğunuzun eve geldiğinde kazandığı parayı kime verir?

(When your working child comes home, who does he/she give the earnings ?)

Çocuğunuzun ileride ne yapmasını (ne olmasını) istersiniz?

(What would you like your child to be/to do in the future ?)

Siz çocukken benzer şekilde çalıştınız mı?

(Did you work in similar jobs when you were a child ?)

Çocuğunuzu çalıştırmamak için, ortalama aylık geliriniz sizce ne kadar olmalı? (örneğin: “eve kaç para gelseydi..... selpak'a yollamazdınız?)

(On the average, how much income should you have so that your child stops working ?. For example, how much money should come to your home so that you don't send him to sell paper tissues ?)

EĞİTİMLE İLGİLİ SORULAR (QUESTIONS RELATED TO EDUCATION)

22)Sizce okul (okumak) çocuğunuz neler kazandırır?

(In your opinion, what would you child gain from the school (education) ?)

Bugüne kadar okulla ilgili sorunlarınız oldu mu? Neler?

(Did you have any difficulties/problems with the school? What are they ?)

Çocuklarınızın çalışmayıp okula daha düzgün gidebilmeleri için ne yapılmalıdır?

(What should be done , so that your child stops working and attends school more regularly ?)

Yeşil kartınız var mı?
(Have you got a green card ?)

Muhtardan aldığınız bir yardım kağıdınız var mı? (sakatlık ya da yoksulluk yardımı alıyor musunuz?)
(Have you got any sort of card for help receiving from the Muhtar ?)(Are you receiving any illness or handicap benefits ?)

Ailede ciddi bir hastalığı yada sakatlığı olan var mı? Kimler?
(Have you got family members who have serious illness or a physical handicap ?)

Oturulan konutun mülkiyeti: (The ownership status of the inhabitat house)

- ☐ Kira (**rented**)
☐ Kendisine ait (**Belongs to self**)
☐ Diğer (belirtiniz)..... (**other, please explain**)

Konutun tipi: (Type of house)

- ☐ Gecekondu (**squatter house**)
☐ Apartman (**Apartmant**)
☐ Diğer (belirtiniz) (**other**)

Evin içerisinde su kullanımı (Water use within the house)

- ☐ su var (**there is water**)
☐ su yok (taşıma su) (**No running water**)

31) Hanedeki tuvalet kullanımı (Presence of toilet in the house)

- ☐ içeride (**Has a toilet inside**)
☐ dışarıda (**toilet outside**)

Hanede hangi diller konuşuluyor? (Which languages are spoken at home ?)

Evdeki Ev Eşyaları (DİKKAT! Var olanlara (x) koyunuz)

(Household items, please put a (x) for those owned)

Buzdolabı	Refrigerator
Fırın	Oven
Merdaneli çam. Mak.	Manually operate washing machine
Otomatik çam. Mak.	Automatic washing mashine
Bulaşık mak.	Dish washer
Siyah-beyaz TV	Black & White TV
Renkli TV	Colour TV
Teyp	Tape Player
Şofben	Gas Water heater
Elektrikli termosifon	Electric Water heater

Otomobil	Car
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HANEDEKİ DEMOGRAFİK YAPI İLE İLGİLİ SORULAR
(QUESTIONS ON HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION)

HANE BÜYÜKLÜĞÜ (hanede kaç kişi yaşıyor):

(Size of the household, how many people live in the household ?)

Konuşula n kişi	Cinsiyeti Gender	Yaşı Age	Çalışıyor mu? Employed?	Yaptığı iş Type of work	Çalışmı- Yorsa, daha önce çalıştı mı? If unemployed, previous work?	Eğitim Durumu Educational situation

ARAŞTIRMACININ İZLENİMLERİ
(Observations and impressions of the researcher)

HANEDEKİ TOPLAM ÇOCUK SAYISI (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak):
(Total number of children in the household)

HANEDEKİ TOPLAM KIZ ÇOCUK SAYISI (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak):
(Total number of female children)

HANEDEKİ TOPLAM ERKEK ÇOCUK SAYISI (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak):
(Total number of male children)

HANEDE ÇALIŞAN ÇOCUK SAYISI (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak).
(Number of working children in the household)

KIZ: (Girl)

ERKEK: (Boy)

AİLE TİPİ: (DİKKAT! Anketör Dolduracak)

Family Type

☐ Geniş (**extended**)

☐ Çekirdek (**Nuclear**)

HANE YAPISI (DİKKAT! Anketör dolduracak) (**Structure of the household**)

Baba/anne sağ (**Both parents alive**)

Öz Baba sağ/öz anne ölmüş (**Real Father alive/Mother dead**)

Öz anne sağ/ öz baba ölmüş (**Real mother alive/father dead**)

Öz anne/üvey baba (**Real mother/ step father**)

Öz baba/üvey anne (**Real father / step mother**)

EVİN FİZİKSEL ÖZELLİKLERİ (Temizliği, eşya durumu, güneş alması, ulaşım durumu vs.):

(**The physical characteristics of the house (Cleanliness, presence and condition of furniture, light and sun, transportation, etc)**)

AİLE İÇİ ETKİLEŞİM DURUMU: (**Interactions and relationships within the family**)

ÖZEL NOTLER: (**Special notes**)