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INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN AID

Support to Life

Seasonal Agricultural Work In Turkey

Survey Report, July 2015

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Dedicated to 15 seasonal agricultural workers and a child worker
who lost their lives at a work accident in Isparta on 31 October 2014 and to
all workers who lost their lives due to unsafe work conditions...





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Abstract

The purpose of this report, following field research carried out by STL in 2014 is to examine the effects of socio-economic structures, working and living conditions, as well as poverty and deprivation on families who are employed as seasonal agriculture laborers in Turkey. Research was also conducted on prevailing economic, political, social and environmental conditions, which impact the agricultural labor sector and the labor market.

As part of the survey, field studies were carried out in cities that frequently receive seasonal workers, including Adana (greenhouse vegetable and citrus); Afyon (cherry picking); Düzce (hazelnut picking); Izmir (cherry picking); Konya-Aksaray (beet hoeing); Ordu (hazelnut picking); Samsun (vegetable harvesting); Şanlıurfa (cotton harvesting) and Yozgat-Nevşehir (beet hoeing). The field surveys began in March, 2014 in Adana at the start of the seasonal agricultural worker migration and was completed in November, 2014 with surveys on the cotton fields in Şanlıurfa and on the citrus fields in Adana. In-depth interviews were conducted with 85 individuals and included farmers and local officials. Two focus group discussions were held with 8 women and 3 children and 168 households were surveyed, which resulted in data from 1,353 individuals and included seasonal agricultural workers and those directly impacted. In terms of their profile, 701 of the respondents were below the age of 18 and 652 were above the age of 18. The average age of the household members is 22, but the age distribution of the household members showed that 7% are between the ages of 0 and 4; 17% are between 5-11 years old and 15% are between 12-15 years old. The percentage of the respondents between the ages of 16-18 was 13%. Therefore, the population identified as children (below the age of 18) comprises 52% of the overall total household population. 35% of the surveyed households are between the ages of 19-45 while the percentage of respondents over the age of 46 was only 11%. The average household size is 8 people.

With regards to their living conditions, of the households that participated in the study, 80% lived in tents and/or other temporary shelters; 56% did not have access to electricity; and 62% used tap water as drinking water and did not have access to adequate latrine and bathroom facilities. Almost all the households interviewed had mobile phones and 23% of the respondents had an automobile or a minibus.

In terms of home of origin, 80% of the households in the study lived in the city center, the remaining 20% lived in villages. Those living in the city center had been there on average for 25 years. 40% of the families in the study had previously migrated from another urban location, but the majority of the migration occurred from families moving from rural areas to the urban city center. The most common reason for migration as indicated by respondents was "economic conditions". Two thirds of those who migrated from the countryside still have relatives in the countryside, which would suggest that families are still socially connected to their former communities. The percentage of those who previously owned land, among people who migrated from the countryside to the cities, is very low - only 7% of the families owned land in the countryside and the average size of the land was less than 10,000 decares. More than

50% of the families interviewed have been working as seasonal agricultural workers for over 16 years, which indicates that seasonal agriculture labor has become the main constant source of income for the majority of the families surveyed. Moreover, the overall average that an individual has worked as a seasonal agricultural laborer is 19 years.

According to seasonal agricultural migration, families are away from home beginning sometime in March, April or May. Around 100 of the families who were interviewed left their homes during these 3 months. Most families returned home sometime between September, October or November. Again around 100 families returned home during these three months. Therefore the high prevalence of school dropout rates among seasonal agricultural workers can be attributed to the demands of the seasonal agricultural labor schedule.

Families for the most part use public transportation and pay for their own transportation expenses. 81% of the families interviewed pay for their own transportation expenses while 9% of the families' transportation expenses are paid for by the labor brokers and 5% are paid for by the employer. 74% of the families indicated that they had a labor broker as a middleman between them and their employers. It was observed that the position of labor broker is an informal position required to manage relations and money flow. In terms of a mobile labor force this sort of management can result in exploitation and dependence despite facilitating the employment process. When the respondents were asked about the average number of hours worked per day, the percentage of those who indicated that they worked less than 8 hours was only 10%. 45% of the workers indicated that they worked 9 to 11 hours and 45% indicated that they worked for more than 11 hours. Around 70% of the respondents worked for 7 days a week while 24% worked for 5-6 days a week.

Poverty and deprivation as signified by stories from families and the numerical data, indicate that all families work in inhumane conditions and are most often forced to involve their children in the seasonal agricultural labor market to supplement their household incomes. Overwhelmingly, families do not make enough to break the vicious cycle of poverty and debt even though they might be working for over 11 hours, 7 days a week. Based on available data, 65% of the families are in debt. It is a common occurrence that these families and individuals who work without any social security and have social-cultural obligations end up in a vicious cycle of debt. As observed, families working in seasonal agriculture have to borrow money to meet their basic needs or to pay for their unexpected health expenses. And the only way to alleviate debt is to make the most money from being employed as a seasonal agricultural worker. The only way to maximize income under the current conditions and in the competitive labor market is to fully utilize the labor potential of the entire family and to work for longer periods during the year. Both options mean that the children will have to work more in the field and will be separated from their schools and their homes, deepening their disadvantages in the future.

The native language of two thirds of the families in the study was Kurdish while the native language of one fifth was found to be Arabic. While there are clearly poverty related issues, discrimination and social exclusion is a fact that many workers are confronted with. Discrimination is most prevalent in unequal pay compared to local workers. Similarly, access to services and facilities is an additional challenge for seasonal agricultural workers in locations that they work and live. Moreover, acts of discrimination are present within the community of seasonal agricultural workers, as observed among Kurdish, Arabic, Roma, and Syrian refugee working families. Therefore, the issue of social discrimination should be taken as a major framework in understanding the perceptions related to seasonal agricultural workers.

Examining school attendance rates of children from the surveyed families revealed the increase of tendency to drop out with age. It was noted that there was almost no access to early childhood education for the families interviewed and only 2 of the 99 children in the 0-4 year old age bracket received pre-school education. Looking at the age group of 5-11 year olds, we found that 22% of the children had not received proper education and only a few of these children received pre-school education. While the proportion of those who continued their education in this age group is 65%, the overall dropout rate is 13%. Those children that dropped out either never went to school or dropped out during elementary, or middle school. In the 12-15 year old age group, 64% of the children continue their education but essentially one in every 3 child quit school. As the percentage of dropout increases to 71% in the 16-18 age group, the number of those continuing their education in the 16-18 age group is low, at only 10%. A comparison among genders shows that for every age group, dropout rates for girls is higher. While this difference is 8 percentages in the 12-15 year group, it can be as high as 11 percentages in the 16-18 year group.

In terms of their labor, 35% of the children in the 5-11 year age group work in the field, this percentage increases to 78% in the 12-15 year age group and to 85% in the 16-18 year age group. There's a slight decrease in the percentage of those who work in the field in the age group of 19 and above. One important outcome from this survey response shows that children start working as seasonal workers at the age of 12 and even younger. In addition, the fact that the percentage of men and women working in the field is the same based on the study results indicates that use of child labor in seasonal agriculture is not dependent on gender. The report findings also reveal that the children of seasonal agricultural worker families have a significant amount of household responsibilities and work, and that the majority of this workload is done by girls. Around 70% of the girls, had to cook, carry water, gather wood, start and maintain the fire, clean the tent and bake bread. On the other hand, boys have much less responsibilities in household chores. Boys mostly gather wood (27%) or carry water (21%). As previously mentioned, while the percentage of boys and girls working in the field is not dependent on gender, the fact that most of the household work is done by the girls results in them experiencing a "double day-double shift". Girls are the more disadvantaged group both in terms of education and the household workload.

After officially declaring that the use of child labor in seasonal agriculture is one of the 3 worst forms of child labor, Turkey made a commitment to the International Labor Organization, to end child labor by 2015. In this regard, monitoring, inspection and precautionary systems should be established immediately and effectively ensured. The unhealthy circumstances brought about by the poor living and hygiene conditions, as well as the lack of infrastructure and safety related to the agriculture sector pose a threat to the rights and especially the well-being and health of the children who endure the hardships of migratory agricultural labor. At this point, based on all knowledge and experience in this field, our recommendation is that an immediate but permanent and sustainable action plan should be implemented that will, first and foremost, serve the interests of the children of seasonal agricultural worker families.





1.Introduction:

Based on Turkish Statistics Institute (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, TÜİK) figures for 2013, almost half of the 6.5 million labor force in Turkey is comprised of seasonal and temporary¹ workers². But according to statistics from the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, the number of seasonal agricultural workers in Turkey, most of which work informally, is only around 300.000. Even though the exact number of individuals who constitute seasonal agricultural labor is unknown, most estimates show that at least one million people comprise the seasonal agricultural labor sector³. Seasonal agricultural workers have no land and cannot find any other work because of lack of qualifications, insufficient employment opportunities, economic disadvantages, and lack of many rights and necessities such as safe transportation, accommodation, infrastructure, job security and income security. Seasonal and temporary agricultural workers are not subject to Turkish Labor Law Number 4857. The Law of Obligations regulates the relationship between the employee and the employer and seasonal agricultural workers who are not regulated by any official authority make their living by working without contracts. Among all paid agricultural workers, seasonal agricultural workers work and live in the most disadvantaged conditions without any kind of social security.

Academic knowledgebase regarding agriculture in Turkey has been rapidly expanding in Turkey for the last 30 years⁴, although publications regarding agricultural labor and especially seasonal agricultural labor are rare despite the increase of the sector in recent years. Seasonal agricultural laborers work in return for wages or in-kind payments or a combination of both. Work is done on arable lands, in orchards, greenhouses, livestock farms and production facilities in often very dire conditions without any ownership of the land, work area or the production tools. Paid agricultural labor globally comprises 40% of the total employment in the agricultural sector with 450 million workers⁵. While the share of agricultural labor in industrialized countries in total employment is less than 10%, this proportion is 60% in developing countries. In most countries, unpaid family members do agricultural work. Again, based on estimates by the International Labor Organization, 30% of the 250 million working children aged 5-14 in the world are employed in the agriculture sector⁶.

¹ Temporary Agricultural Worker: Local workers who work at establishments in their area of residence for a certain period during plantation, irrigation, hoeing and harvesting seasons when agricultural production is intense and additional labor force is needed. Seasonal migratory agricultural worker: It is the labor group that relocate from one region (from where they live or the lands they work at) to other agricultural regions depending on product category and labor demand together with their families and children during times when agricultural activity peaks.

² See: (offline): <http://www.mevsimliktarimiscileri.com/sayfadetay.aspx?id=11>; Last accessed: 29.12.2014.

³ Seasonal Agricultural Worker Communication Network (MIGA), Mevsimlik Tarımda İşçi Gücü Türkiye Durum Özeti [Summary Statement of Agricultural Labor Force in Turkey], Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, May 2012, p. 3.

⁴ Metin Özügür, Küçük Köylülüğe Sermaye Kapanı: Türkiye’de Tarım Çalışmaları ve Köylülük Üzerine Gözlemler [Capitalist Trap for Small Scale Peasantry: Observations on Agricultural Works and Peasantry in Turkey], 3rd edition, Nota Bene Publications, Ankara, 2013, s. 39.

⁵ Peter Hurst, Palao Termine, Marilee Karl, Agricultural Workers and Their Contribution to Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development, FAO-ILO-IUF, Geneva: ILO, 2007, p. 2.

⁶ Çiğdem Çağlayan, “Tarım Politikalarındaki Değişimin Sağlık Üzerine Etkileri [The Effects of the Changing Agricultural Policies on Health]”, Turkish Medical Association Occupational Health and Safety Magazine, October-November-December 2010: 7-17, p. 15.

Agricultural laborers can be categorized as permanent (full-time), temporary or daily, mobile, local earning per day or by the piece⁷ or can be small farmers that work as paid workers in addition to running their own agricultural businesses⁸. Until the 1980s, despite increased agricultural production and loss of land on the part of farmers, agricultural labor was considered seasonal and temporary in nature. The nearly one million workers also used to regard this as a temporary job. Those working in seasonal jobs in the fields had the opportunity to find different employment by moving to the cities. However after 1980, both due to a decrease in the availability of jobs in the countryside and the city, seasonal agricultural work, which was previously seen as only temporary, became a permanent job option and was no longer seen as a marginal form of labor⁹.

The purpose of this survey is to research the effects of socio-economical structures, working and living conditions, poverty and deprivation of the families on the well-being of their children. The study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection. In addition a household survey was administered to all members of the household to collect detailed information about their lives and emphasis was on contacting families working in different produce categories to the extent possible in order to detect similarities and differences. In order to cover the issues of discrimination, social exclusion, poverty and deprivation experienced in the field in greater detail, in-depth interviews and focus group studies were held with various ethnic, gender and age groups.

Those that engage in seasonal agricultural work for the most part provide their labor as an entire family, including those of their children. In that sense, when we analyze in detail the context that the families are in, we see, both in this study and through numerous field studies carried out in the past, that the well-being indicators and particularly objective indicators of all family members and especially of children are much worse than the average for Turkey.

After officially declaring that the use of child labor in seasonal agricultural labor is one of the 3 worst forms of child labor, Turkey made a commitment to International Labor Organization to end child labor by 2015. In March 2010, the Prime Ministry issued a public mandate regarding the 'improvement of working and living conditions of seasonal agricultural workers'. This mandate regulates the rules and procedures regarding the transportation and accommodation of the seasonal agricultural worker families and ensures education for their children and brings special duties to the central and local governments. For enforcement of the regulations brought about by the mandate a 'Monitoring Group for Seasonal Agricultural Workers' at the central government level and a 'Provincial/District Monitoring Group for Seasonal Agricultural Workers' at the local government level were established.¹⁰ In this regard, the foundation for monitoring, inspection and precautionary measures has been put in place, albeit reservations of its effectiveness.

Another regulation regarding agricultural workers is the 'Bylaw for Labor Brokerage in Agriculture'. Even though it is ISKUR's (Turkish Labor Agency) responsibility to manage and provide job and recruitment services in the agricultural sector, since 1946, this task has been carried out by agricultural brokers both legally and illegally. ISKUR doesn't have the necessary resources

⁷ Payment by the piece: It is the payment method whereby the wages of the agricultural workers are determined based on acreage or kilogram. Daily salary: daily wage in return for employment of agricultural workers during certain hours of the day; it can be paid daily, weekly or monthly.

⁸ Hurst, Termine, Karl, *ibid*, p. 8

⁹ See for detailed information about historical background: Uygur D. Yıldırım, "1980 Sonrası Türkiye Tarımında Yapısal Donüşüm ve Mevsimlik Tarım İşçileri: Sakarya Örneği [Structural Transformation of Agriculture and Seasonal Agricultural Workers in Turkey after 1980]", İstanbul University Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished PhD Thesis, İstanbul, 2014, p. 303.

¹⁰ Cihan Selek Öz and Enver Bulut, "Mevsimlik Tarım İşçilerinin Türk Hukuk Sistemi İçerisindeki Yeri [The Position of Seasonal Agricultural Laborers in Turkish Legal System]", Ministry of Labor and Social Security Magazine of Work Life, Volume: 1, Issue: 1, July-September 2013: 94-111, p. 109.



Photography: Kerem Yücel

and capacity to handle this task alone. The brokers work on behalf of ISKUR. Even though the bylaws regulate the relations between the worker, employer, broker and ISKUR, in practice the brokerage services are provided unofficially.¹¹

As indicated in a comprehensive academic study conducted in 2011, “unavailability of healthy and favorable conditions for accommodation, access to clean water and sanitation, and access to food offers an extremely unfavorable context in terms of occupational health. High risks of early death and diseases brought about by living in unhealthy conditions, the inability to access health, education and social services and working in tough climate conditions as well as exposure to pesticides have resulted in this group being identified as a particularly vulnerable risk group”.¹²

Weakening of agricultural support mechanisms in Turkey and changes in government subsidies and pricing structures are factors adversely affecting not only the producers but also the agricultural workers. Interviews with the producers and observations of workers in the field provided valuable insight regarding the lack of security and the severity of vulnerability brought about by agricultural transformation in Turkey. Levels of vulnerability in agriculture can be categorized into three groups as: climate related, domestic-market related and global market related vulnerability. Environmental/climate related vulnerability is inherent in agricultural production and is the main form of vulnerability. Changes in rainfall, agricultural diseases, unfavorable weather conditions for agricultural production and drought are factors that affect agricultural production adversely. When these factors are analyzed in view of broader economic conditions, the real effects on farmers and workers become evident¹³. It is increasingly the case that seasonal agricultural workers are more in demand as they provide cheap labor and producers want to maintain their low production costs.

¹¹ İbrahim Görücü and Muzaffer Demirbaş, “Türkiye’de Tarım Aracılığı: Uygulama, Sorunlar ve Çözüm Önerileri [Agricultural Mediator in Turkey: Practice, Problems and Solution Recommendations]”, Hikmet Yurdu Düşünce – Yorum Social Sciences Research Magazine, Year: 6, Volume: 6, Issue:12, July - December 2013/2: 133-153, p. 133.

¹² Zeynep Şimşek, Mevsimlik Tarım İşçilerinin ve Ailelerinin İhtiyaçlarının Belirlenmesi Araştırması 2011: Nüfus /Tarım İşgücü Göçü/Yaşam Koşulları /Üreme Sağlığı [Research for Determining the Needs of Agricultural Workers and Their Families 2011: Population / Migration of Agricultural Labor Power / Living Conditions / Reproductive Health], Ankara, November 2012, p. 17-18.

¹³ Sinem Kavak, Struggling for Survival in the Village: New Rurality and Patterns of Rural Restructuring in Response to Agricultural Liberalization in Turkey, LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2012.



To the extent possible, this study tries to demonstrate the current conditions in seasonal agricultural labor in Turkey in 2014. From the perspective of human development and well-being, a diversity of crops and locations were visited to gain a full understanding of the living and working conditions of seasonal agricultural workers in view of different ethnic, gender and age groups.¹⁴ Well-being is analyzed on the basis of both quantitative and qualitative criteria looking at the status of individuals in different areas such as shelter, health, water supply, sanitation and hygiene, education, and income. This study aims to demonstrate the link between working conditions of seasonal agricultural workers and the living conditions and well-being of the whole family and especially of the children. What this data shows us is that realistic policies should be developed by taking into account the needs in every sector in order to solve the problems in this area and progress should be monitored via well-established monitoring and inspection mechanisms.

When complaining about insufficient support from the municipality, a female seasonal agricultural worker interviewed in Ordu summarized very well the crux of the problem by saying 'There are elections but we never vote'¹⁵. This statement clearly portrays seasonal agricultural workers as the least visible, least vocal, and the "least citizen"¹⁶ of all in Turkey.

As stated in detail in the study, in order to break the vicious cycle they are in, seasonal agricultural workers migrate with all members of their families, trying to survive in desolate and often inhumane conditions that impact their right to human dignity. Some interviewees have gone as far as stating that they would even prefer to live in prison so they have access to clean water and restroom facilities.

To further exacerbate their livelihood conditions, 34% of the adult men and 77% of the adult women indicated that they are illiterate. This data alone is enough to summarize the social alienation that seasonal agricultural worker experience throughout their lives and their inability to exercise their most basic rights.

¹⁴ Well-being, see: Pınar Uyan Semerci vd., *Eşitsiz Bir Toplumda Çocukluk: Çocuğun "İyi Olma Hali"ni Anlamak İstanbul Örneği* [Childhood in an Unequal Society: Understanding the "State of Well-being" of a Child, Istanbul Example], İstanbul Bilgi University Press, İstanbul, 2012.

¹⁵ Unless otherwise noted, all quotes in the report are taken from the qualitative interviews on the field. Age and field information are provided in the quotes. Indicated names are not the real names of the respondents.

¹⁶ See: Pınar Uyan Semerci, "Demokratik ve Hakkaniyetli Bir Toplum İdeali: Ekonomik-Sosyal Haklar ve 'Yurttaş Olabilme'" [The Ideal of a Democratic and Just Society: Socio-Economic Rights and 'Being Citizen']", (in) *Yurttaşlık Tartışmaları: Yeni Yaklaşımlar* [Discussions of Citizenship: New Perspectives], Ed. Filiz Kartal, TODAİE 2010: 57-87, Ankara.



Photography: Kerem Yücel

Over the past decade, civil society organizations, academicians and local officials have developed recommendations and models related to approaches for understanding the extent and scope of seasonal agricultural labor, problems associated with it, and potential solutions for improved conditions. As a result, commitments have been made, little of which has spilled over into practice¹⁷. As can be seen in this study, further policies need to be developed. Changes in external factors also need to be accounted for. For example, drought and adverse climate conditions have had, and will continue to have, detrimental effects on crop production in Turkey, as do the increased the number of Syrian refugees joining the seasonal agriculture labor force with their families.

Despite the increasing number of studies on this topic in recent years, public awareness about the issue is quite limited in Turkey. One can claim that awareness and sensitivity towards the issue is almost non-existent. At a time when Turkey is ranked among the top 20 economies of the world, this study and similar others try to portray, based on quantitative evidence where possible, the real picture that has mostly been ignored up to now. During the preparation of this report, an investigation commission was formed in the Turkish Parliament that worked on the issue for 3 months following an incident in which 15 female agricultural workers lost their lives in an occupational accident in Isparta, Southern Turkey.

We hereby invite, firstly the members of this commission, and all other relevant officials to recognize and take action in the areas of healthy shelter conditions, improved physical conditions, health and hygiene, access to education, and child labor. Before more lives and time is lost, we hope that solid steps are taken in favor of better opportunities for seasonal agricultural workers. And for these steps to be taken, it is the social responsibility of all of us to realize the current situation regarding seasonal agricultural labor and to create the necessary social pressure for humane living and working conditions to be provided.

¹⁷ See: Ethemcan Turhan, "Karpuzlar ve İnsanlar Hakkında: Türkiye'de Mevsimlik Tarım İşçiliğinin ve Tarımdaki Neoliberal Dönüşümün Politik Ekolojisi Yolunda [About Water-melons and Humans: On the Way to Political Ecology of the Neoliberal Transformation and Seasonal Agricultural Work in Turkey]", *Praksis*, Issue: 25, 2011/02: 69-86.

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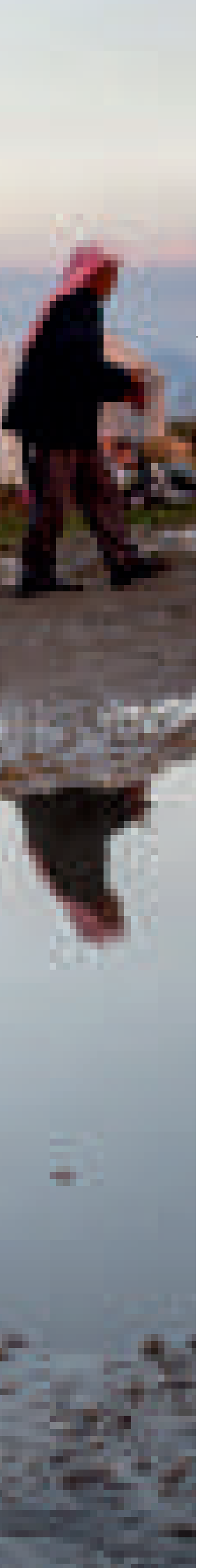
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2. Scope and Methodology

Support to Life's program tackling child labor in seasonal agricultural work has been ongoing since spring 2012. The survey was initiated in 2014 as part of this program to look at the conditions of seasonal and migratory agricultural work in Turkey in general and child labor in particular. The main purpose of the study was to collect systematic and comprehensive data related to seasonal agricultural labor in Turkey and to analyze from different perspectives, this major problem for the country, which is an important yet not fully recognized issue.

In order to collect comprehensive and systematic data about seasonal agricultural labor, working conditions and living conditions as well as child labor in this sector, a multi-layer research strategy was chosen. The survey was designed to provide an integrated in-depth analysis, by using various data collection methods. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. The survey essentially employed a semi-anthropological approach in which four families earning their living through seasonal agricultural labor were selected. These families were observed at their work stations along their annual migration routes. At every work station, in-depth interviews were conducted and surveys were administered to family members. Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected in order to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the issues.

All of the families surveyed for this report are based in Şanlıurfa. Even though this might be seen as a limitation of the study, preliminary survey and literature reviews demonstrate that a great majority of seasonal agricultural labor in Turkey originates from Şanlıurfa. For most of these households, seasonal agricultural work is the only source of income and almost all the members of the household join the migration. The migratory period for families from Şanlıurfa is usually longer than for those from other provinces and regions. Some families indicated that they didn't return home for a few years and spent the whole year in tents, thus limiting their children's access to education and health services, among others. Failure to break the vicious cycle of poverty is an indication that poverty and deprivation becomes more intense throughout the process. In addition, this results in child labor becoming widespread. Therefore, instead of carrying out the survey in different cities to provide variety in data, Support to Life team decided to carry out the survey in Şanlıurfa and its vicinity. This was beneficial for demonstrating the social and economic factors resulting in seasonal agricultural labor.

Analyzing the relationship between Şanlıurfa as the provider of the majority of the seasonal agricultural workers and phenomenon such as land ownership, internal displacement, rural transformation and effects of the Southeast Anatolia Project (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi, GAP) on local agriculture provides insight to understanding the structure of agricultural labor and its transformation. Representation was solved by means of in-depth interviews and surveys administered to family members at locations where these four families went to work and by applying these interviews and surveys to a broader sample. In addition to the four families followed for the purposes of this survey, Roma Gypsies who mostly work as seasonal agricultural laborers in the Western part of the country were also included as a target of the surveys. A field survey was

¹⁸ According to United Nations Children's Rights Convention, every individual is considered to be a child until the age of 18.



conducted with a group of Roma Gypsy laborers in Kemalpaşa-Izmir, which was important in terms of demonstrating the relation between social and economic alienation that seasonal agricultural workers are experiencing. The results are included in this report as a case study.

Because seasonal agricultural labor is a household activity, taking the “family-household” as the unit of analysis was an appropriate strategy. However, the individual was chosen as the unit of analysis for some of the questions in the household survey and in the in-depth interviews. In this way, data collection and analysis was possible both at the household and individual level.

As part of the survey, field studies were carried out in cities that frequently receive seasonal workers, namely Adana for greenhouse vegetables and citrus, Afyon and Izmir for cherry picking, Düzce and Ordu for hazelnut picking, Konya-Aksaray and Yozgat-Nevşehir for sugarbeet hoeing, Samsun for vegetable harvesting, and Şanlıurfa for cotton picking. The survey started in March 2014 in Adana when seasonal agricultural migration began and was completed in November 2014 with cotton in Şanlıurfa and citrus in Adana. In-depth interviews were conducted with 85 individuals including farmers and local officials, along with a total of 168 households with working families.

With the survey administered to 168 households, data from 1,353 individuals including seasonal agricultural workers and those directly affected by the practice were collected. Of these, 701 of the respondents were below the age of 18 and 652 were adults.

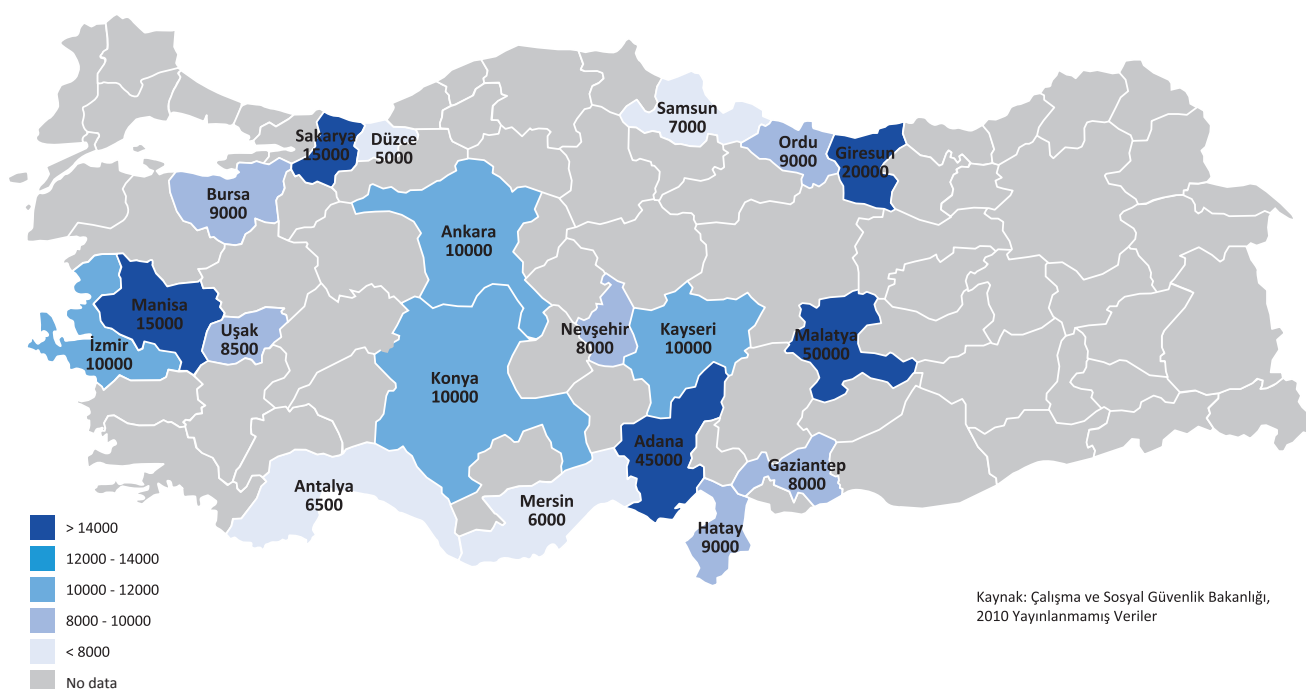
As part of the survey, field studies were carried out in cities shown in the map (Map 1) below. Map 2 features the total number of seasonal agricultural workers at the provincial level based on data from the Ministry of Labor and Social Security.¹⁹

Map 1: Cities where the field study was conducted



¹⁹ As it can be seen in Map 2, Malatya is one of the cities attracting the highest number of seasonal agricultural workers however apricot yield dropped by around 90% as a result of the frost experienced in the spring of 2014 when the field study was conducted, bringing down the requirement for seasonal agricultural labor for apricot harvest almost down to zero. Because of this, Malatya was not included in the survey.

MAP 2²⁰: Cities attracting seasonal agricultural labor



A preliminary survey was conducted in Adana and Şanlıurfa in early March 2014 in order to identify the study design. In light of the data collected, and after the families to be observed were selected, the field study started in Adana in late March 2014 where seasonal labor migration started and ended with the cotton field study in Şanlıurfa in November 2014. During the preparation of the report, field teams also visited the citrus fields in Adana and olive fields in Ayvalık, Balıkesir. Quantitative findings from these visits were not included in the report but qualitative data was used to the extent possible.

The first phase of the study was carried out on 24-28 March in the Tuzla area of the Karatas district of Adana where greenhouse vegetable production is mostly common. In the Tuzla area, two major locations were selected. One of the locations was the METIP²¹ camp and the other was the seasonal worker tent camp in the Cavuslu village. At the Tuzla METIP camp, 12 households were selected and in the Cavuslu tent city, 11 households were administered the survey, equaling a total of 23 households. Families to be included in the survey were selected via random sampling method based on camp sizes and settlement intensity. In addition to surveys, 10 in-depth interviews, 2 focus group interviews (one with children aged 8-14 years and one with women aged 18-25 years), and 4 farmer interviews were conducted. In May, working families moved from Adana to the sugar beet fields in Central Anatolia where surveys were conducted in two villages in Yunak district of Konya between 5-8 May 2014, a village in Eskil district of Aksaray, in Bogazliyan district of Yozgat, and in Kozakli district of Nevşehir between 20-22 May. A total of 35 households were administered a survey.

²⁰ Source: Kuvvet Lordoğlu, Fındık Hasadının Oyuncuları: Batı Karadeniz İllerinde Fındık Hasadında Yer Alan Mevsimlik Gezici Tarım İşçileri, Çocuklar, Tarım Aracıları ve Bahçe Sahipleri Temel Araştırması [Players of the Hazelnut Harvest: Main Research on Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Workers, Children, Agricultural Mediators, and Field Owners in the Western Blacksea Cities], Kalkınma Atölyesi, July 2014, Ankara, p. 126.

²¹ METIP (Project for Improvement of the Working and Living Conditions of Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Workers): This is the project carried out by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security with the goal of improvement of the current living, shelter, transportation, education, health, security, social relations and social security status of the seasonal migratory agricultural workers who migrate to other cities with their families to be employed as agricultural workers.



In order to observe the living conditions and work environment of the Roma Gypsy workers who were included in the study during sugar beet hoeing, 21 households were interviewed at the cherry orchards in a village in Kemalpaşa-Izmir between 12-15 May, in which data from 128 people was collected. In addition, quantitative data was supported with qualitative data collected via in-depth interviews, focus groups and interviews with farm owners. After the departure of one of the families in the study to go to Afyon-Sultandag to work in the cherry orchards, a field study was held in this location between 7-9 June. The field study included surveys administered to 21 households, 5 in-depth interviews, 2 focus groups, and interviews with 2 farmers and 2 bureaucrats. Data from a total of 184 individuals was collected from the survey.

With the arrival of June, harvest began in vegetable and fruit fields in the Çarşamba plain of Samsun in the Black sea region. In the Çarşamba plain where workers mostly pick tomato, green pepper, green beans, kidney beans, melon and watermelon, field study was carried out between 15-17 June. This field study was comprised of 15 surveys, 7 in-depth interviews and a focus group with children aged 8-12. Data from a total of 110 individuals (60 female and 50 male) was collected. Of these 110 respondents, 62 were 18 years old and below.

The fifth round of field surveys focused on hazelnut picking, a sector that is believed to have the highest number of children employed. The surveys were carried out in the Efirlı and Uzunisa districts of Ordu between 12-13 August 2014 and the Çilimli district of Düzce between 14-16 August. A total of 33 households were surveyed, with 15 in Ordu and 18 in Düzce. In total, quantitative data from 208 people was collected, complemented with face-to-face interviews,



focus groups and observations in order to conduct a comprehensive analysis. Of the 208 respondents, 107 were male and 101 were female. Of the total, 86 of the respondents were below the age of 18, which corresponds to around 41% of the total sample size. In addition to surveys, a total of 17 in-depth interviews (6 in Ordu and 11 in Düzce) were carried out.

Field surveys among cotton workers, as the sixth and last group of the study, were carried out in Bozova and Harran districts of Şanlıurfa and the surrounding villages between 14-17 October 2014. A total of 20 household surveys were carried out and quantitative data from 156 people was collected. Of these, 68 were male and 88 were female. 89 of the respondents were below the age of 18, which corresponds to around 57% of the total sample size. In addition to surveys, a women's focus group discussion and 9 in-depth interviews, consisting of 6 Syrian workers, 2 farm owners and one cotton expert, were conducted along with a final interview with Şanlıurfa Chamber of Agriculture.

In total, in-depth interviews were held with 85 people including farmers and local officials and household surveys were administered to 168 households. As a result of the survey administered to 168 households, data from 1,353 people was collected, enabling the research team to reach out to seasonal agricultural workers and others directly affected by this process. Of the total respondents, 660 were male and 693 were female, representing a gender balance in the study. Of all, 701 of the respondents were below the age of 18 years.



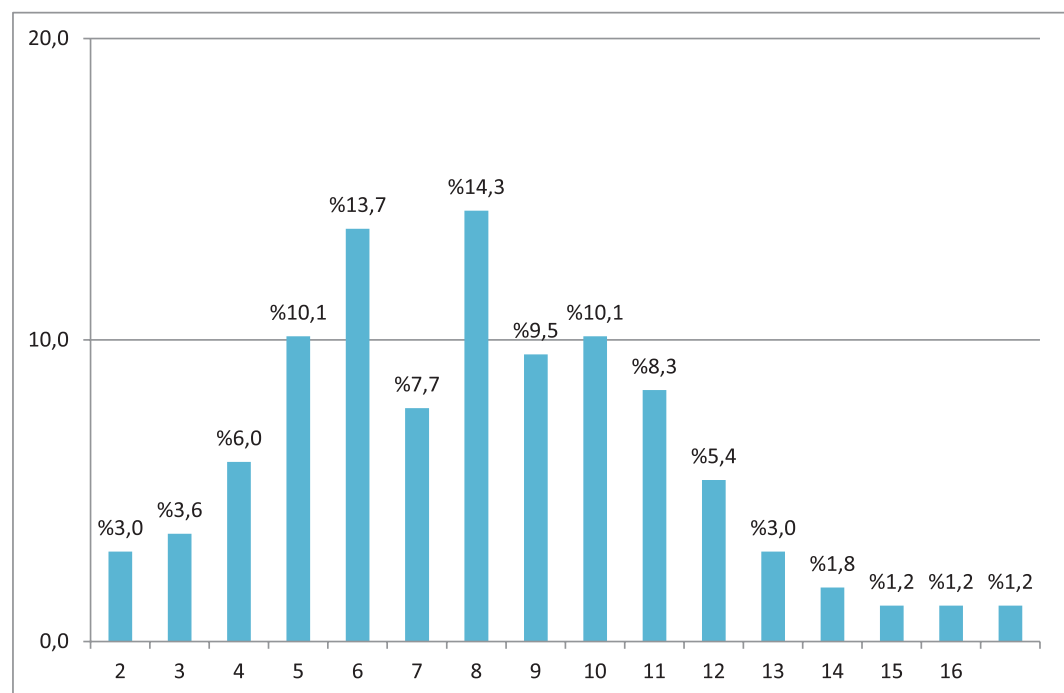
3. Survey Findings

In this chapter is a summary of basic demographic information including household structure, age and gender segregation, number of children and other dependencies among seasonal agricultural workers. The specific situation of women and children is highlighted, while qualitative data is supported with quantitative data for an overview of debt and poverty levels. Survey findings also cover in detail working conditions while helping understand the different forms of discrimination that seasonal migratory workers are confronted with. Additionally, the impact of displacement from Syria on seasonal agricultural labor is analyzed and presented here.

3.1 Basic Demographics

Household Structure

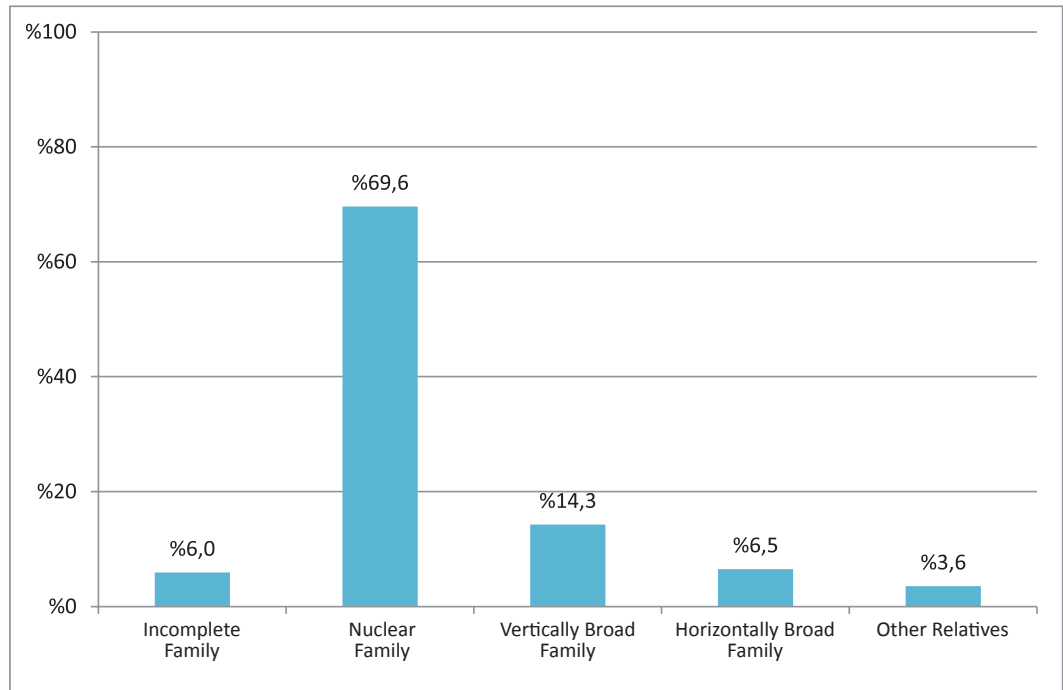
Figure 1. Household Size



Distribution of the sizes of households interviewed is given in the table above. 50% of the households have 7 or less members, with an average household size of 8 people. The fact that a quarter of the households interviewed have 10 or more family members provides insight as to the living conditions of seasonal agricultural workers as it will be seen in the following sections. According to data from the Turkish Statistics Institute (TUIK), the average family size in Turkey is 3.7 people. Average family size in the countryside is 4.3 people²².

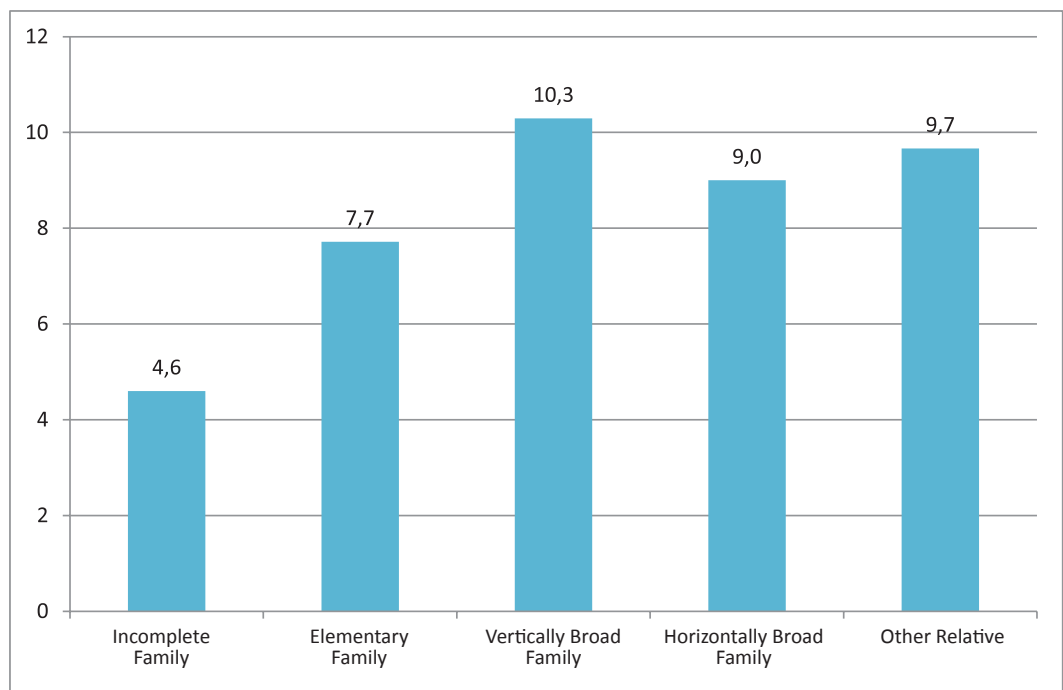
22 Zafer Yükseler ve Ercan Türkan, Türkiye'de Hanehalkı: İşgücü, Gelir, Harcama ve Yoksulluk Açısından Analizi [Household in Turkey: Analysis with Regard to Employment, Income, and Poverty], Turkish Industry and Business Association, March 2008, p. 26.

Figure 2. Household Structure



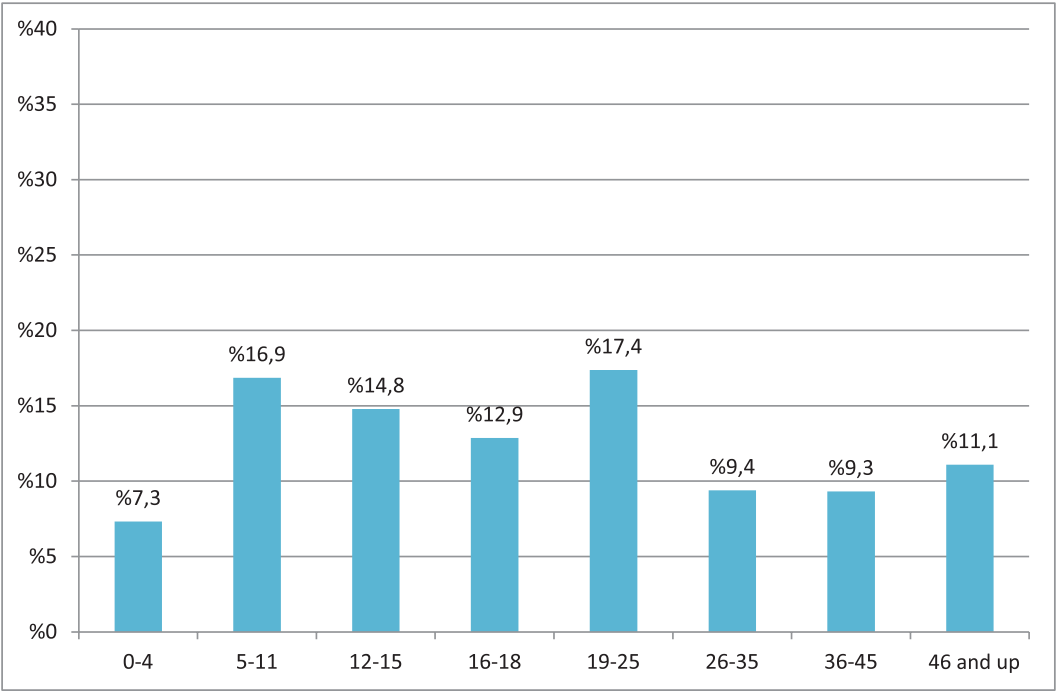
Looking at the structure of the households interviewed, it is seen that a majority of them are nuclear families comprising of the parents and the children. This family type, which is 70% of all families, is followed by “vertically broad family” with a share of 14%, which includes 3 generations. “Horizontally broad family” where siblings and their families live together has a total share of 7%. Among the 168 households interviewed, the share of incomplete families where one of the parents is missing is 6%. According to data from TUIK, 80% of households in Turkey are nuclear families and 13% are broad families. The percentage of nuclear families in the countryside is 76% and the percentage of broad families is 18%. It is evident that broad family structure among seasonal agricultural labor families is close to the countryside average in Turkey.

Figure 3. Household Structure and Household Size



Looking at household sizes for different household structures, statistically significant differences were observed among them. The nuclear family structure, which is the most common family structure, has an average household size of around 8 members. The average household size in the “vertical broad family” category where grandparents are included, is 9 members. Even with the incomplete family structure where one of the parents is missing, average household size is 4.6.

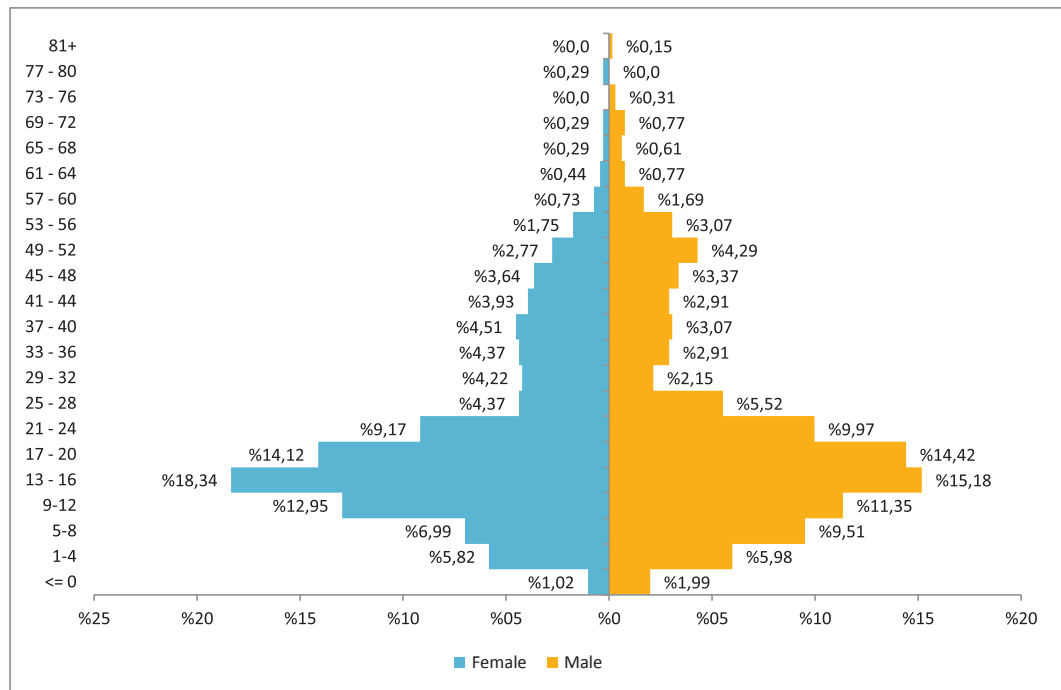
Figure 4. Age Distribution of Household Members



Looking at the age distribution of the members of the households interviewed, it is seen that 7% of the members are 0-4 years old, 17% are 5-11 years old and 15% are 12-15 years old. The percentage of members between the ages 16-18 years is 13%. Thus, children comprise 52% of the total household population interviewed. 35% of the 1,353 people living in 168 households are 19-45 years old while the share of those 46 years and above is 11%. The average age of household members is 22 years, revealing a young population among seasonal agricultural workers.



Figure 5. Age Pyramid of Household Members



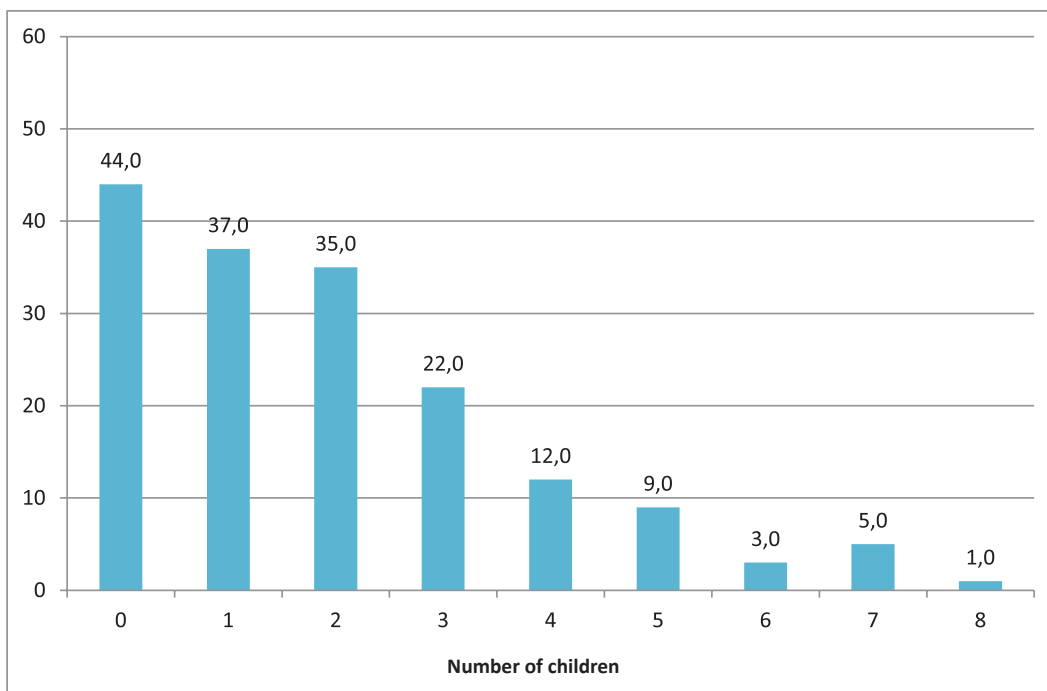
The figure given above shows the age pyramid of household members. As can be seen in the figure, the majority of family members are younger than 25 years old. Being a young population, there is no significant difference between male and female members. Ratio of the population below 25 years old is 68% both for male and female members. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the percentage of family members above 45 years old is 15% for males and 10% for females. According to TUIK statistics, there is no statistically significant difference between the number of men and women in the population above 45 years in the Southeast Anatolia region and for both genders, the percentage of this age group to the total population is around 15%. With regard to seasonal agricultural workers, the difference between these groups is quite noteworthy. One possibility is that older women who cannot be included in the seasonal agricultural labor force do not join the seasonal agricultural migration. Another possibility is that the men who are the heads of the household oftentimes marry women younger than themselves. Considering the fact that the households have limited income, the number of children in a household limits the availability of resources that a child can normally access. Thus, the



number of children in the household is a factor that directly influences the wellbeing of the children. 44 of the 168 households that participated in the study, do not have children aged below 11 years. There is 1 child in 37 households, 2 children in 35 households and the number of households with 3 or more children aged below 11 years is 52. The average number of children aged below 11 years is 2.

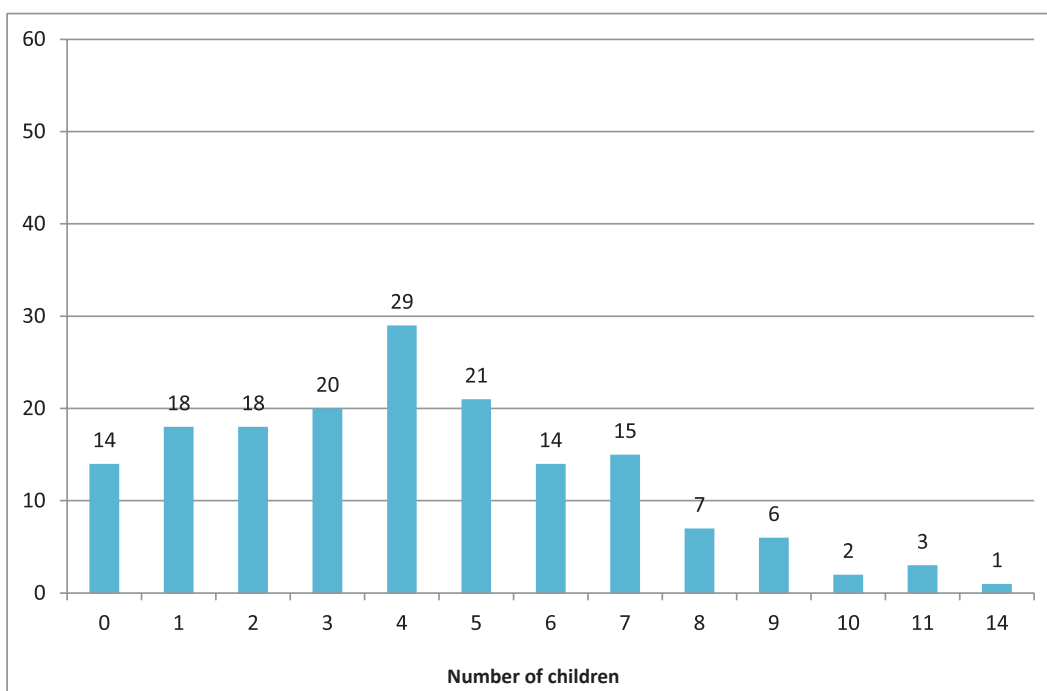
Considering the fact that households involved in seasonal agriculture have limited income, the high number of children in a household limits the avai-

Figure 6. Number of Children below the Age of 11 in the Household



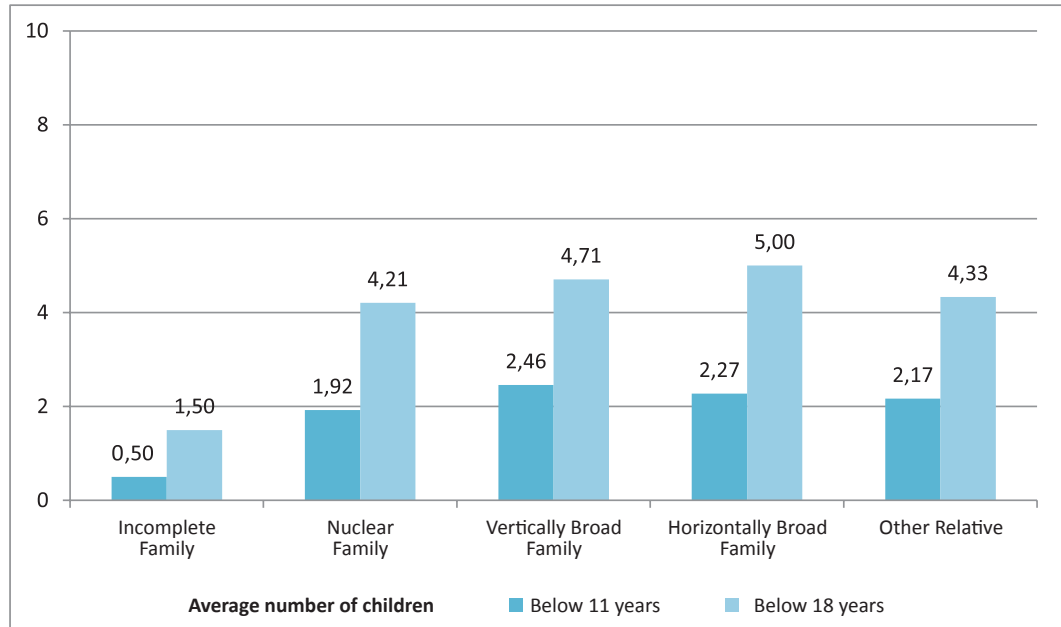
availability of resources that a child is able to access. Thus, the number of children in the household is a factor that directly influences the wellbeing of the children. Taking as reference age 10 and below is important due to the fact that this group of children are at-risk of becoming workers in seasonal agriculture given the fact that they travel with their families from one produce to another, as potential breadwinners. Only 44 of the 168 households (26%) that participated in the study have no children below the age of 11 years. There is one child below 11 years in 37 households (22%) and 2 children below 11 years in 35 households (21%). The number of households with 3 or more children aged 10 years and below is 52, which is equivalent to one third of all families that earn their living from seasonal agricultural work. The average number of children per household below the age of 11 years is 2.

Figure 7. Number of Children below the Age of 18 in the Household



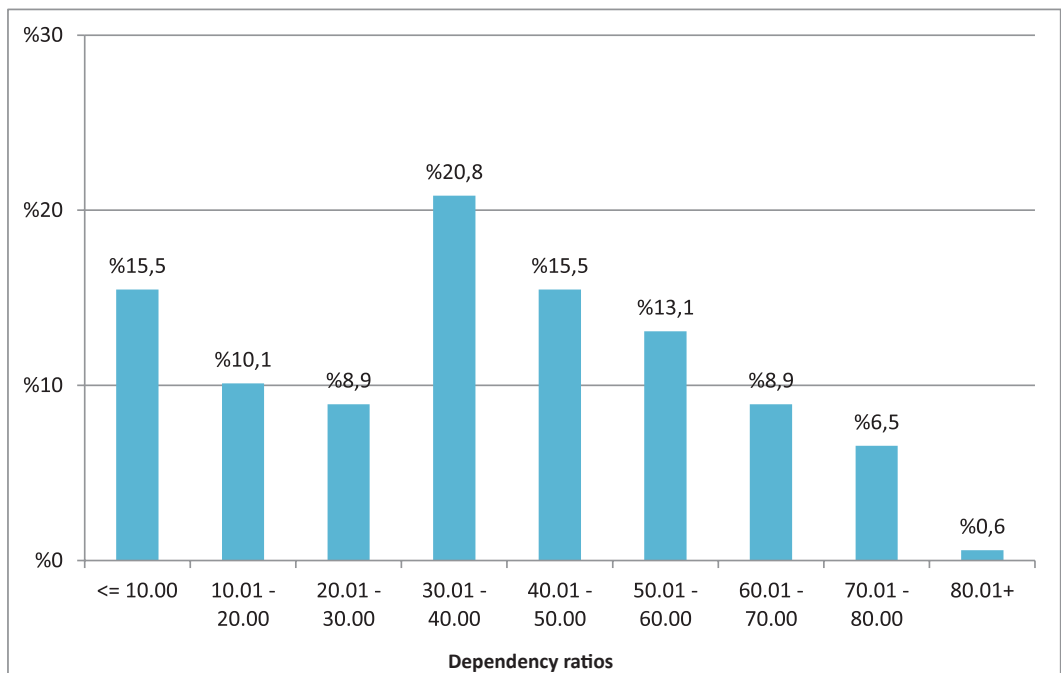
Looking at the number of children in the household below the age of 18 years, we see that none of the 14 households have children aged below 18 (8%). In 85 of the 168 households interviewed (51%), families have between 1 and 4 children below the age of 18 years, while 50 households (30%) have 5, 6 or 7 members in the family younger than 18 years of age. In 19 of the 168 households (11%), there are 8 or more children. The average number of children per working family is around 4.

Figure 8. Number of Children below the Age of 11 and 18 Years based on Household Types



Looking at the number of children below 11 years old and below 18 years old based on household structures, we see that the average number of children in incomplete families is very low. In these types of households, the average number of children below 11 years is 0.5 while the average number of children below 18 years is 1.5. Otherwise, the average number of children per household does not vary significantly depending on the household type. While the number of children below 18 in the nuclear family is 4.2, it is 4.7 in the vertically broad family and 5.0 in the horizontally broad family type. A similar difference exists in the number of children below 11 years old. It is not surprising that the number of children in broad families is the highest.

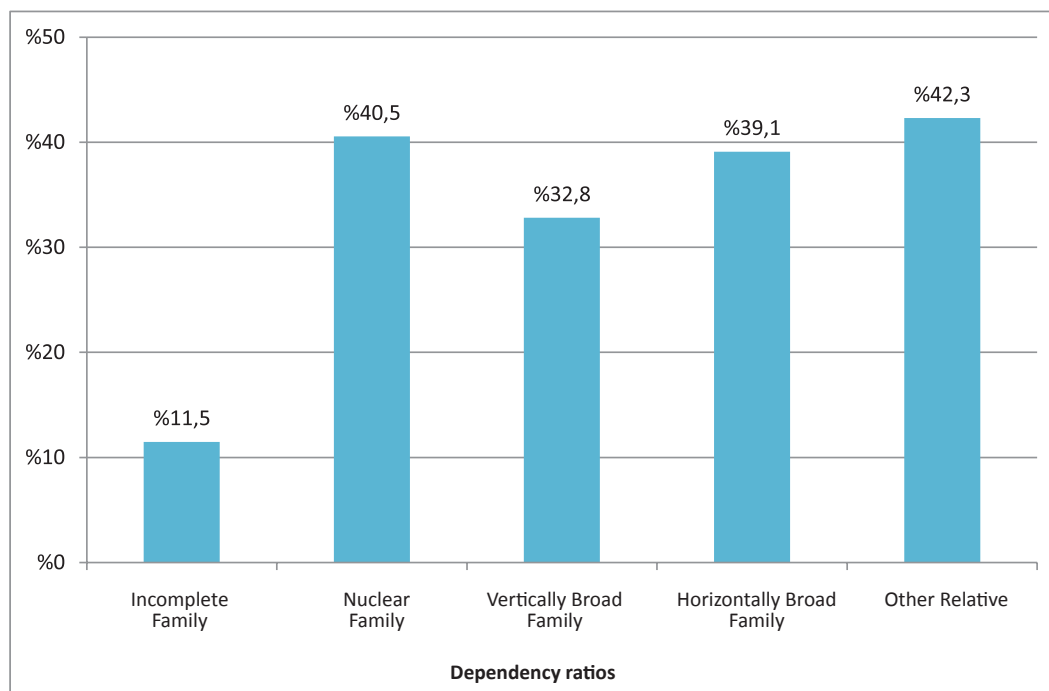
Figure 9. Distribution of Dependency Ratios



“Age dependency ratio”, technically defined as the percentage of members in the household who are unable to work (younger than 15 years and older than 64 years) to those who are able to work, provides us with clues as to the financial burden on the households. Dependency ratios in the households interviewed are given in the figure above. According to this graph, dependency ratio is 30% in 33% of the households. In other words, for every one person who is unable to work, there are 3 members capable of work. Dependency ratios for 48% of all households vary between 30% and 60%. The percentage of families with dependency ratios of 70% and above, which is considered to be high, is around 16%. The average age dependency ratio of working families is 38%, which is lower than the national average of 47%.



Figure 10. Household Structures and Dependency Ratios



The figure above shows that dependency ratios vary for different household structures. Dependency ratios for incomplete households are the lowest with only 11.5%. The lower ratio for vertically broad families compared to the ratio for nuclear families shows that the third generations in these families are at an age in which they are capable of joining the labor force, also indicating that grandmothers and grandfathers in the family are still at working age. The reason for the similarity between dependency ratios for nuclear families and horizontally broad families is that the children of siblings live together in horizontally structured families. Even though it is not officially recognized, polygamy, which means having multiple spouses, was observed in 15 households, 9% of the target population.



Evin's Family - Doğankent, ADANA, 27.11.2014

Evin is 14 years old and this year, 25 days ago for the first time, she started working on the lemon orchards with her family. One day, her eye started itching and she noticed a redness. Her family thought it was due to allergies and applied ointment and eye drops to her eye. Evin's condition got worse as she started to experience loss of vision and a white spot appeared in her pupil. Her family took her to a doctor in Adana and the doctor told them that her eye developed fungus due to pesticides used in lemon production. The doctor said her condition was further aggravated by the dust and dirt in the tent they were living in. They were told by the doctor of a risk of complete loss of vision and that she had to have a corneal transplant immediately. Evin was lucky because

they found a matching cornea for her within a week and she underwent transplant surgery, which saved 50% of her vision. The operation was successful and Evin started seeing again. Following the operation, she was prescribed an eye-drop priced at 210 TL per box, that she had to use until her eye healed completely. Because the family had no social security and health insurance, they had to pay for the medication out of their own pocket. Having to commute to and from the hospital was an additional financial burden at a time when the family was unable to work.

Evin belongs to a family of nine members from Şanlıurfa. She has not seen her hometown in the last six years. Evin and her family continuously work in seasonal agriculture,



engaged in a variety of harvests in different cities, living in tents. Before choosing to become engaged in seasonal agriculture, the family used to work for free for a landowner in their village.

Their official address for residential registration was dropped last year because they have not been back to Şanlıurfa for the past six years. Because of this the government stopped providing disability benefit to Evin's 11-year-old mentally disabled sister. This year they moved their address to Adana using a family friend's address so that they could keep getting the disability benefits. No member of Evin's family has ever gone to school and the older children grew up in tents, as part of the life of a family working in seasonal agriculture. Evin's 23-year-old brother said "I grew up in the tents during the seasonal

agriculture migration and started working at the age of 11 and never went to school. From now on we can take care of ourselves this or that way but we're mostly worried about our disabled sister... In fact Evin is too young to work but it's all because of poverty. We weren't at a working age when we started doing this job and ended up spending our entire childhood doing seasonal agricultural work."

Last year around this same time, the family was again in Adana and worked in citrus, watermelon and greenhouse fields and then went to Kirsehir, Yozgat, and Konya for the sugar beet harvest and then to Hatay during the cotton picking season before returning to Adana for citrus. In the previous years, they would go to Samsun for hazelnut picking and to Malatya for apricot picking. This year, they didn't go there because there was little harvest.

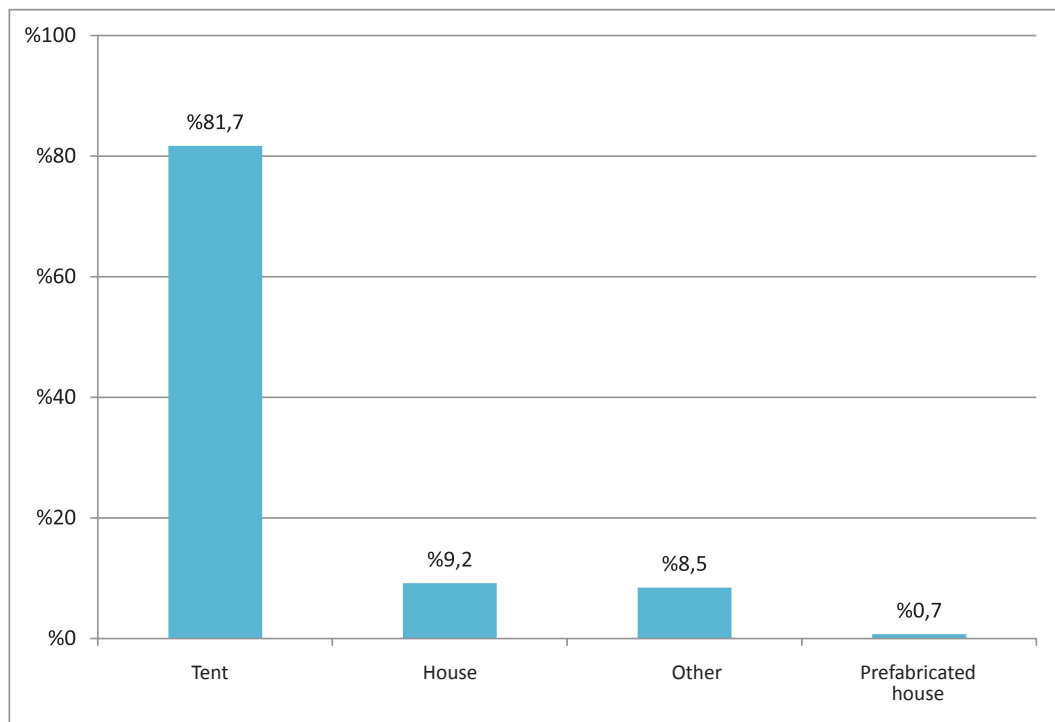
3.2. Living in the Vicious Cycle of Poverty-Deprivation-Debt:

This study summarizes findings on the living conditions of seasonal agricultural workers and the factors that affect the well-being particularly of the children of these families. Prior to presenting data regarding living conditions, it is crucial to gain an understanding of the poverty and deprivation that is characteristic of those that choose seasonal migratory agriculture as their livelihoods.

Poverty, as revealed by both the detailed family histories through in-depth interviews and the quantitative evidence through surveys, forces these families, including their children, to work in appalling conditions as seasonal agricultural workers. The current working conditions are not sufficient to help them break out of the vicious cycle of poverty and debt. Even though they all work longer than 11 hours a day for 7 days a week, data shows that 65% of the families interviewed are in debt. It is a commonly observed phenomenon that these families working under the table as part of the seasonal labor end up in debt because of the lack of social security coupled with social and cultural factors that place them at a disadvantage.

Given their mobility, these families mostly use tents as their shelter. Very rarely do the employers provide accommodation for their workers. And even more rarely do families rent houses in the places they go to work. Even in cases where worker families have the intention to do so, most often the locals are reluctant to rent out their houses to out-of-towners²³. In some regions, the METIP project has provided temporary camp settlements, with a maximum capacity of up to 1,000 people, in order to improve living conditions.

Figure 11. Shelter Types



80% of the families interviewed reported that they live in tents. The percentage of those who live in houses or other shelter types is only 9% and as can be seen from the table. Almost none of the families live in prefabricated houses.

23 Şule Bekmezci ve Sare Sahil, "Çukurova Yöresindeki Mevsimlik Tarım İşçilerinin Yerleşim Dokuları ve Yaşam Üniteleri [Settlement Configurations and Living Units of Seasonal Agricultural Workers in Çukurova Region]", Gazi University Journal of Engineering and Architecture Faculty, Volume: 19, Issue: 4, 2004: 375-391, p. 376.



Table 1. Shelter Conditions

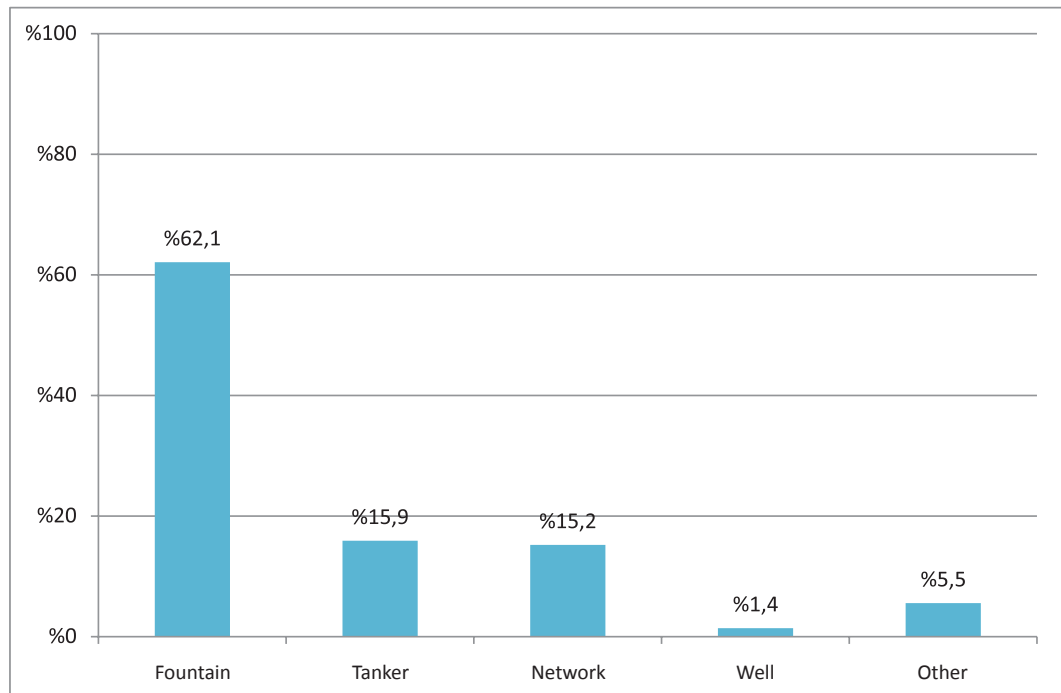
	Average Household Size	Footage	Average
Tent	7.09	16.30	2.3
House	4.15	9.11	2.2
Prefabricated House	8	16.00	2.0
Other	14.6	210.00	14.4

The shelter conditions of seasonal agricultural workers are given in detail in the table above. The average size of the tents, which is the most common shelter type, is around 16 m² and on average 7 people live in a tent. 9% of the families who indicated that they lived in houses live in an area of 9 m² on average, which is basically one room. Houses with several rooms are shared with other families. The living spaces in the 'other' category are mostly dormitories and data at hand shows that these living spaces can be several hundred decares. However such places accommodate 35 people on average. One of the most striking findings in the table above is that, aside from people living in the dormitories, for all accommodation types average living space footage per person is around 2 m².

According to study findings, for each household structure, there is no statistically significant difference between the shelter type and the size of the shelter. The only exception is that among incomplete families, the number of family members living in a shelter is higher than for other household structures.

As observed in Düzce, some families were not aware of the campsites offered by local authorities and chose to find other solutions in terms of their shelter and related facilities. Even for families settling on the campsite, some did not mingle with other families and did not make full use of the facilities offered. For instance, the 5 families that were unaware of the washing machines in the Düzce campsite had not been to the sports building where an educational unit and a laundry unit had been established on site.

Figure 12. Drinking Water Sources

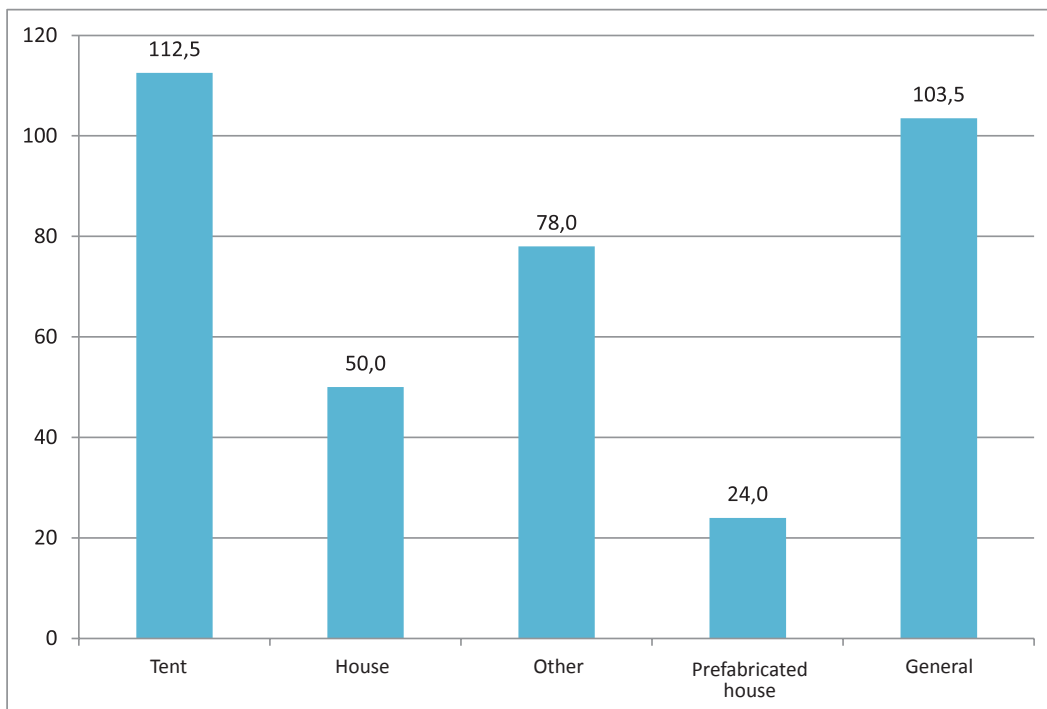


An analysis of where seasonal agricultural workers obtain their drinking water show that water is supplied mostly from fountains or taps²⁴. 62% of the families use tap water for drinking. The number of people who use water from tankers and access the water network is around 15% each. While the primary drinking water source for 70% of the families living in the tents is fountain/taps, a few families living in houses have access to the water network. Water turned out to be the main problem in most campsites in the field. As it was the case in Adana example, families have to carry water to use for cooking, bathing, washing dishes and for laundry. While some families have to carry water from locations 20 to 50 meters away, long queues form at fountain locations due to insufficient numbers. During the survey, water samples were taken from the fountain at the Cavuslu camp and sent to the laboratories of the Provincial Health Directorate of Adana. Analysis results showed that the water contained poultry feces and that it is not suitable for drinking purposes²⁵. Also during the interviews, some women indicated that the water was the main cause of diseases seen in children.

²⁴ As part of this survey, Support to Life also prepared a report with the definition of WASH (Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene) as well as minimum standards in humanitarian aid. In the appendix at the end of the report, a detailed definition of WASH is provided along with three cases.

²⁵ See: "Mevsimlik Tarım İşçileri Bakterili Su İçiyor! [Seasonal Agricultural Workers are Drinking Contaminated Water", Milliyet, 02.06.2014, s. 14, (online) <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/mevsimliktarim-iscileri-bakterili-gundem-1891127/>, Access date: 29.12.2014.

Figure 13. Shelter Types and Distance from Drinking Water Sources (meters)



When the families that live in houses and use municipal network water are excluded from the analysis, the average distance to drinking water sources for seasonal agricultural workers is more than 100 meters. This figure is 112 meters for families living in the tents and 80 meters for those living in the prefabricated houses. On the other hand, it was also observed that 40% of the households carry water from an average distance of 5 meters and 66% of them carry water from an average distance of 50 meters and less. In addition, the presence of households that have to carry water from a distance of 500 meters increases the average. This shows that there are significant differences among seasonal agricultural worker families in terms of access to water.



Adana-Tuzla METIP Camp Water Source

Survey findings indicate significant problems in bathing conditions and facilities provided to families. The most common bathing setup, for 56% of cases is that the family bathroom is next to the tent. 11% of the families indicated that they shared a bathroom, but most of these families live in houses so they share the bathroom with other people living in that house. The share of families that use public bathroom facilities is 9%, while 21% of the families make use of other bathroom facilities. The most common of the other bathroom facilities is the bathroom converted from the tent that the families live in. Families bath in a tub-like cabin with water they heat outside the tent. In some areas, and especially in the Black Sea region, families fulfill their bathing needs in the nearby natural creeks and rivers.

The Idle Prison House in Afyonkarahisar

At the METIP camp in Afyon, there are only two restroom facilities for 500 people and there are always very long queues. Washing facilities also constituted a big problem in the camp. Aggravating the lack of shower units was the lack of water supply for those willing to bathe in their tents. While men had the opportunity to go to a public bath facility, the best women could do was to wash their hair in the tent.

Apart from the METIP camp, Support to Life team also visited an old and idle prison house. Some families that couldn't be accommodated in the camp were lodged in this prison house. The information that "they are living in better conditions" because they had running water, electricity, restroom and bathroom facilities in the prison house demonstrates how dramatic the situation is. Below are some quotes from the interviews held in Afyon.

"Some of us didn't bathe for 15 days... Minibuses wouldn't let us get on because we stink"
(a female worker)

"We rented a house here for 350 TL and we're in total 20-30 people. We heard the neighbors say "they will bother us". So they kicked us out. We called the local government and asked for a place to stay and they opened the old prison house for us and gave us electricity and a water connection. You see we started living in the prison house now." (a female worker)



"Because there isn't sufficient water, we can't bathe and we went to the public bath. But the public bath owner said he wouldn't let seasonal workers in." (a male worker)

"There are 700 workers in Sultandagi and there's just one restroom. It's just like when they distributed sugar only to those with certificates during Demirel's time²⁶. I haven't been to the restroom for 15 days now. The locals want us to leave." (a male worker)



"There are two restrooms and every night you have 100 people in line." (a male worker)

²⁶ Süleyman Demirel was the prime minister in the period between 1975 and 1977, preceded by the global oil crisis of 1973 and the embargos put on Turkey as a response to Turkish military operation on Cyprus in 1974. 1970s were remembered with lack of petroleum, oil and sugar.

Figure 14. Bathing Facilities

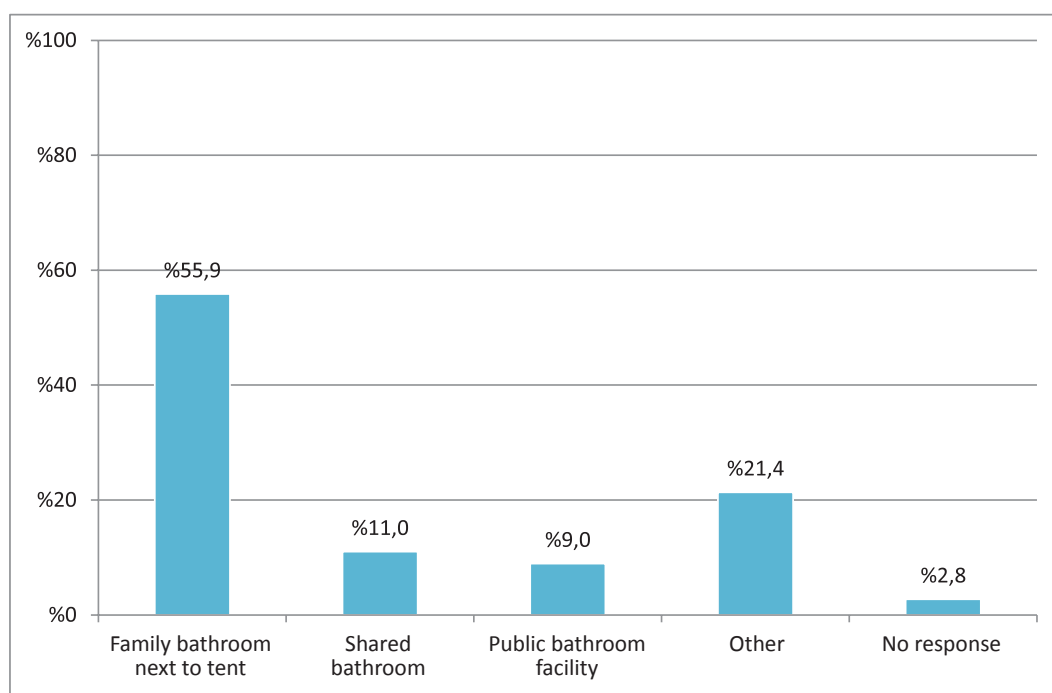
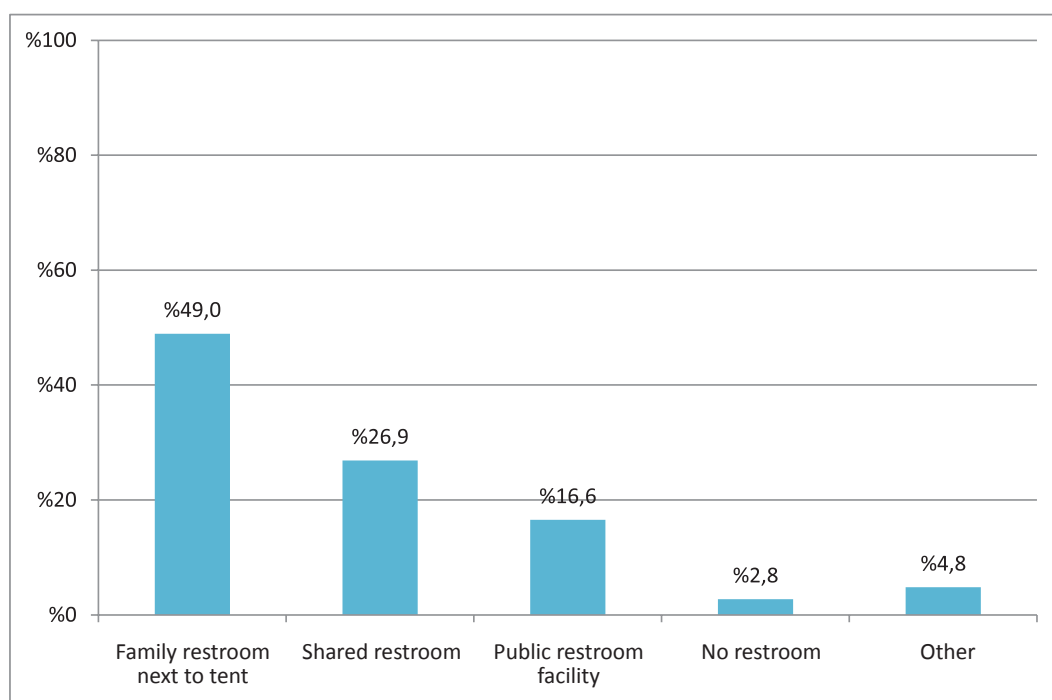


Figure 15. Restroom Facilities



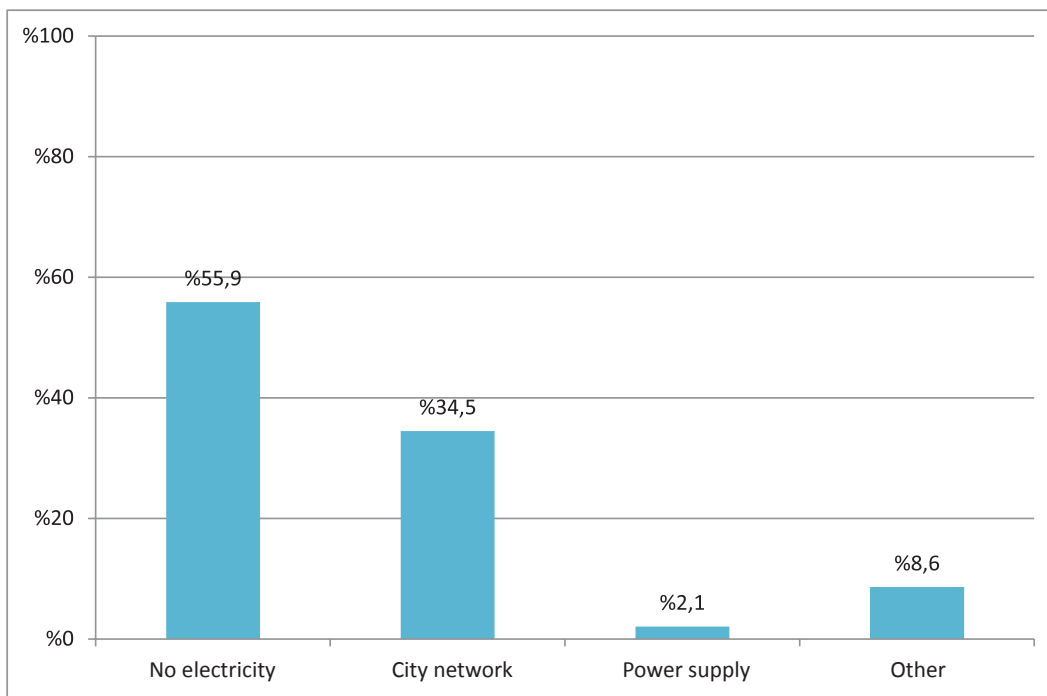
50% of the families in the study used restroom facilities set up next to the tent. Family restroom comprises of a ditch right next to the tent, surrounded by curtains. 27% of the families use common restroom facilities and most of these families live in houses. 17% of the families make use of the restroom facilities provided by the state. The share of families with no access to any kind of restroom facility is 3%.



Photography: Kerem Yücel

Water Source at Adana Çavuşlu Camp

Figure 16. Electricity usage



As can be seen from the figure above, 56% of the households do not have access to electricity and use other sources of energy. Overall only one third of the households make use of the electricity from the city network. While one fourth of the families living in tents have access to the city network, they do not utilize it. The fact that some families living in houses do not use electricity shows that even living in a house does not necessarily improve the quality of life for these laborers. Power supply utilization is almost non-existent. All of the families living

in dormitories and similar facilities have access to the city network. Lack of electricity is a major contributor to difficult living conditions. Unregistered use of network electricity is a very common phenomenon, but is generally prevented by officials. As it was expressed by a 14-year-old girl in Adana, it is not even possible to charge mobile phones: 'My brother wakes up in the morning to take our phones to the city to charge them.' A common observation during the field surveys was a lack of access to water and electricity. Quantitative data confirm these findings and unfortunately indicate the prevalence of this common problem.

Konya, Aksaray

Difficulty to meet basic needs

Seasonal agricultural workers living in tents in the villages and surrounding areas of Konya-Aksaray, indicated that they didn't have access to water and electricity and they were not able to charge their mobile phones. Male workers said the following about the living conditions:

"It was the village headman, not the local governor that refused to let us [set up tents]. Because when we first arrived we unloaded our stuff and they said the village headman didn't want us staying at that location because it was right across from the cemetery and we would disturb them. I don't see how we could bother a cemetery. There's nobody there anyway, there are only a few graves. Anyway we had to move."

"There's no way a 5-year-old child can go to the village for school from here... The children can only go to school in Adana. The school is too far, there's no school bus and we can't let them walk on their own because the dogs in the village attack them. Imagine, a sheep was eaten by dogs. They're all wild because nobody takes care of them. They attack people."



'We don't have electricity,
it's dark everywhere.
We have a searchlight and
we can charge it at the
village but most of the time
they reject it, they don't
charge it'

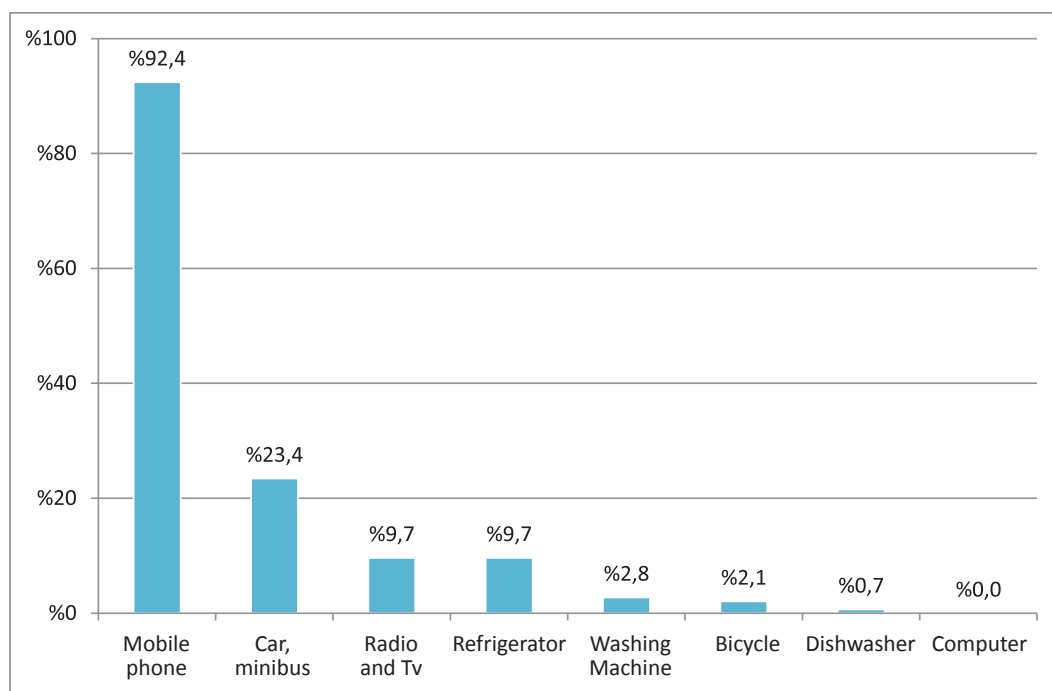
"We have to pay for water to make tea...
The water here is so bad, you can't even drink it,
you can't make tea with it. You drink a glass of it
and you feel as if you drank 10 liters of water.
It's so dense, there's lime in it."

"It rained and
everywhere turned
into mud (showing
the waterway dug
in the ground for the
restroom-bathroom
facility next to the
tent). The rain flooded
the whole place.
We have to dig the
ground using our
hands, I wish we had
an earth digger."



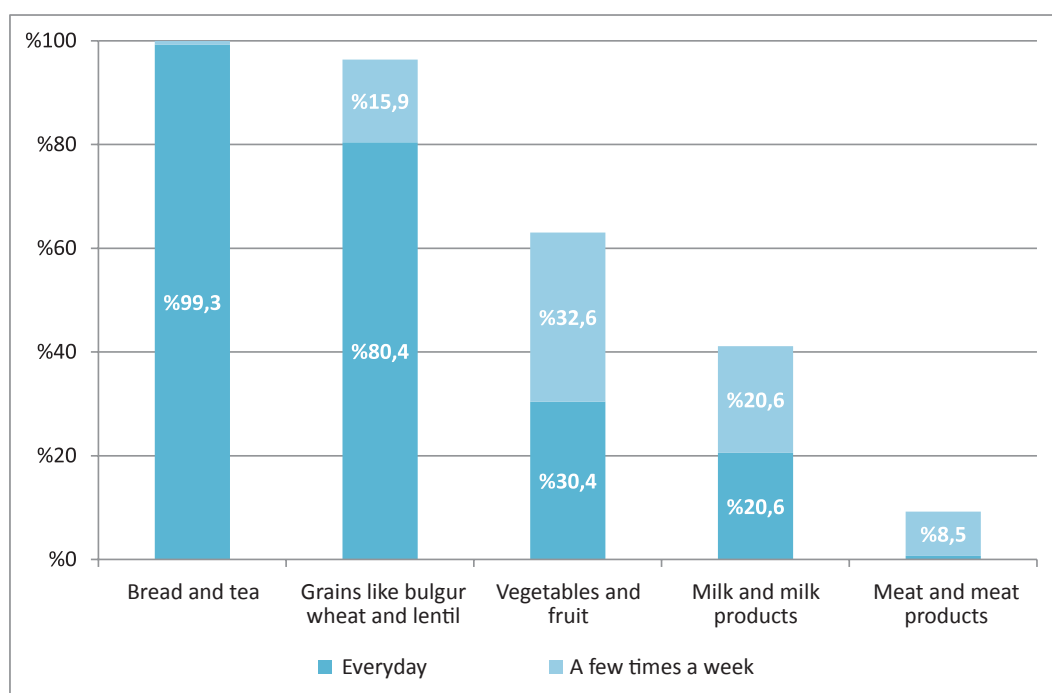
"Well, we wouldn't have had these needs if they [the locals]
treated us better. We can't go to the restroom, we can't take
a shower. The guy keeps his goats in the bathroom, imagine.
But still this is how the people here treat us".

Figure 17. Use of Household Items



The figure above shows the household items that seasonal agricultural worker families own. Almost all of the households interviewed have phones. The percentage of families that own a car or a minibus is only 23%. In terms of household items, families with a radio-TV and refrigerator have a share of less than 10% each. There are almost no families that use a washing machine, bicycle or a dishwasher. None of the households have computers. Not surprisingly, only the families living in the houses have access to a radio-TV, refrigerator or washing machine.

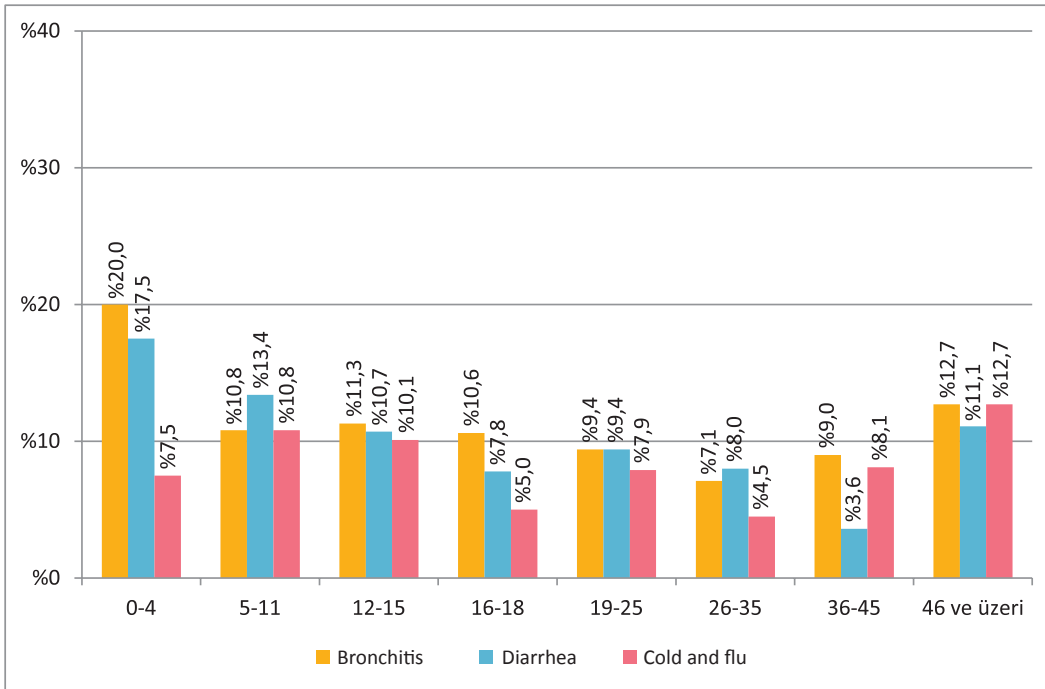
Figure 18. Food consumption



To measure food security for each household, certain food items were selected and the families were asked how frequently they consumed these items. As seen from the figure, bread, tea and grains are consumed on a daily basis. While the share of those who consume vegetables and fruit a few times a week or more is 60%, the share of families that consume them everyday is only 30%. Milk and dairy products as well are rarely consumed food items. While the share of families that consume milk and dairy products on a daily basis is a mere 21%, the share of those that consume them several times a week increases to 41%. Among the families that were interviewed, there was none that consumed meat and meat products on a daily basis. These results reveal the borderline situation of agricultural workers in terms of food security. Taking into account, the high percentage of young family members per household, inadequate and imbalanced nutrition adversely affects the healthy growth of infants and young children in particular.

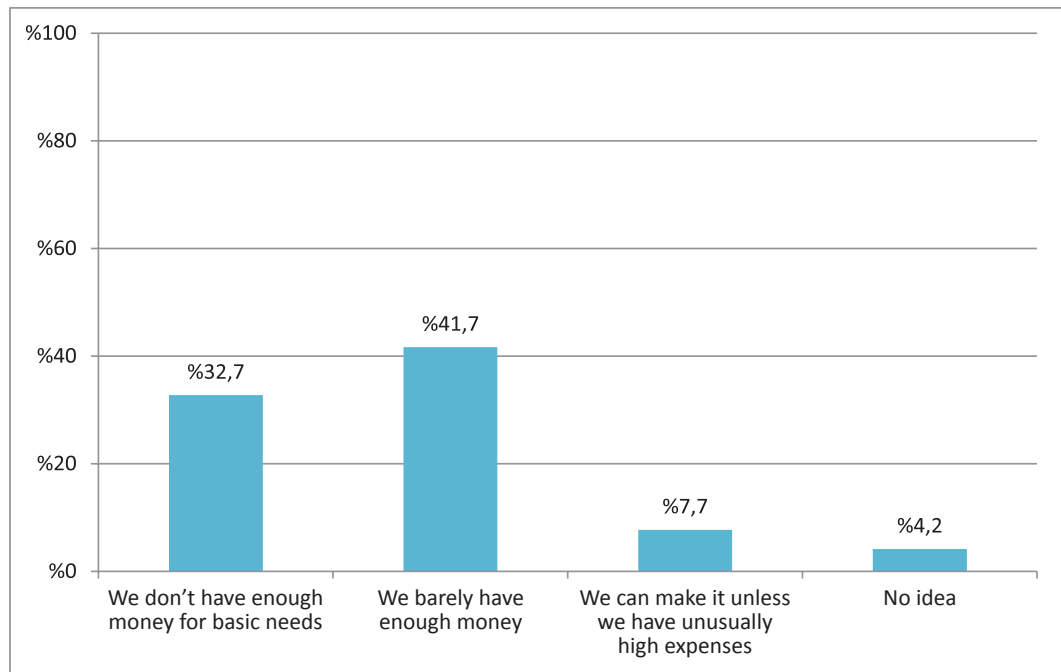
The findings under the category of living conditions should be carefully taken into account in order to identify areas of priority and support mechanisms with the goal of ensuring good health and wellbeing for all families. As noted by Şimşek in her report, "Repetitive physical motions of seasonal agricultural workers, working with a poor posture, stress, and strenuous activities, working for long hours without taking a break, working in very high or low temperatures, lifting heavy weights, carrying weight on the head, on the shoulders and on the back, are the most common causes of skeletal pain and injury commonly observed among this group."²⁷ Health-related data given below demonstrate the prevalence of these conditions.

Figure 19. Health Conditions and Age Groups



²⁷ Şimşek, ibid, p. 19.

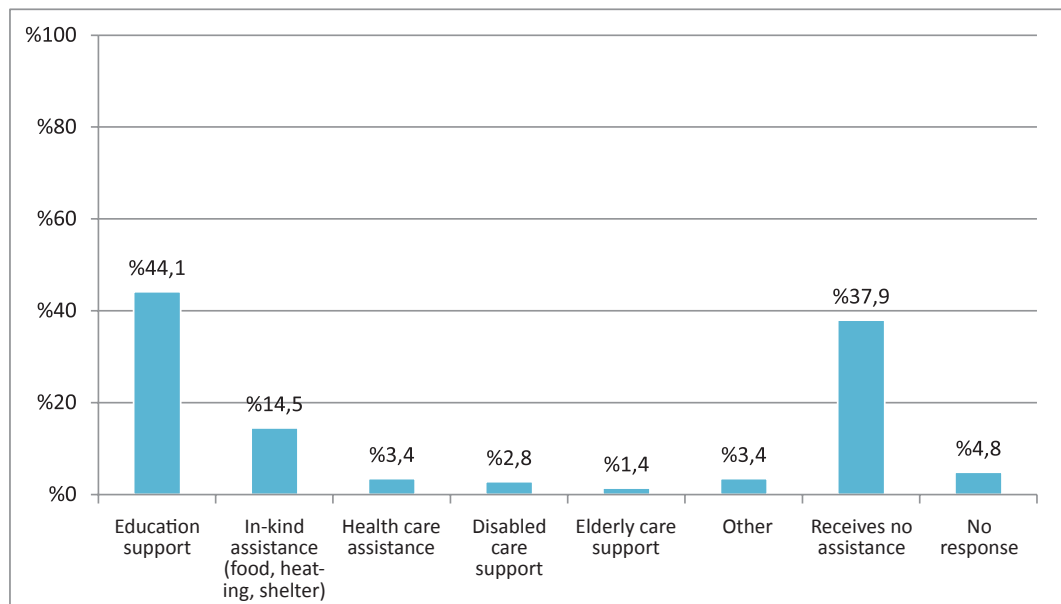
Figure 20. Income level



Seasonal agricultural worker families included in the survey were observed to be having difficulty earning a living. One third of those interviewed indicated that they were unable to meet basic needs like food and rent. 42% stated having barely enough money to make a living, and 8% of families manage to make ends meet unless they have unusually high expenses. Thus, it is not surprising that 65% of the families are in debt. The majority of the families interviewed indicated that they had taken loans from their relatives. The fact that one third of families have income from other sources and that this income is less than 1,000 TL per month is an important indicator of the difficulties experienced by this group.

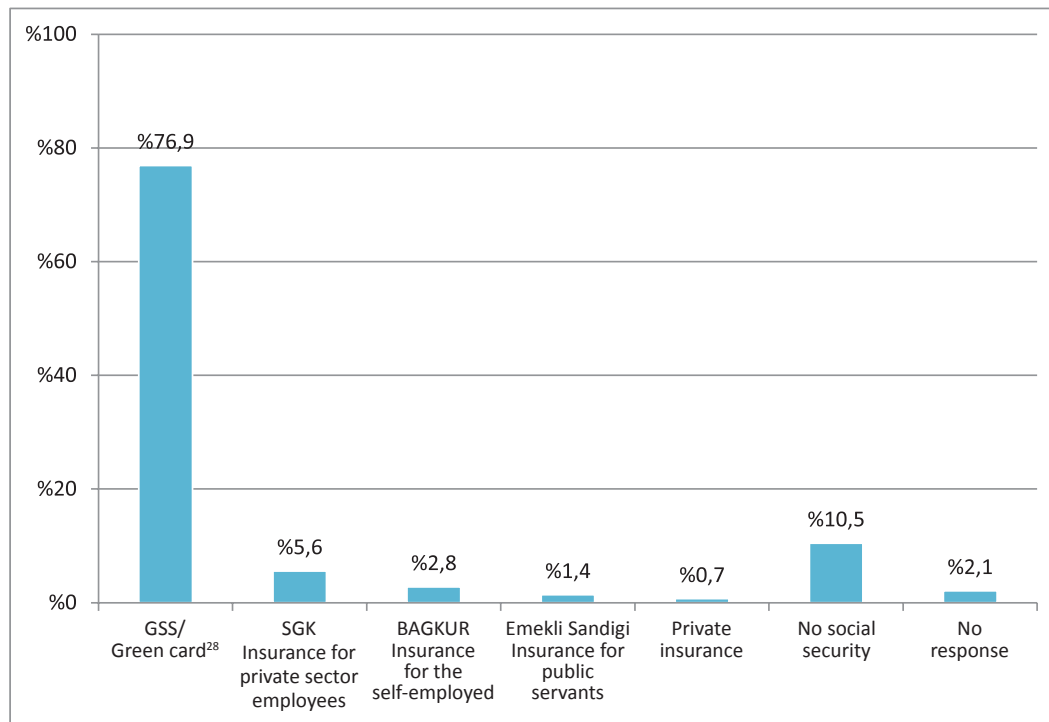
Levels of income among seasonal agricultural workers are drastically below the household monthly food expenditure threshold (referred to as the "hunger" threshold) as calculated by the Turkish Statistics Institute. For February 2015, this threshold is calculated as 1,308 TL for a family composed of 4 members. Considering minimum wage in Turkey to be 949 TL for the first half of 2015, many members of the refugee community are also living below the poverty line.

Figure 21. Social Assistance



In addition to economic hardships, families also experience difficulty tapping into social protection mechanisms. The most common social benefit families receive is education support, with 44% of the families receiving this support. In-kind assistance ranks second with 15% of the families receiving this support. The percentage of families that do not receive any kind of assistance is 38%. During the interviews, household members indicated that they were unable to receive support mostly because of not residing permanently at their official address and that the previously given support was suspended after their migration.

Figure 22. Social Security Coverage of Households



Findings show that families experiencing poverty are hardly covered by social security. While 77% of the families have access to social security provided by GSS/Greencard, this only covers public health services and is not an investment towards old-age pension. Even though they are private sector employees, a meager 6% are in possession of this insurance, while the percentage of families with BAGKUR coverage is less than 3%. 11% of the families have no social security of any kind.

During the in-depth interviews and focus groups held with the seasonal agricultural workers, the issue of debt was the most frequently mentioned concern. It is a common observation that these families who work under the table with no social security coverage have found themselves in debt both due to their working conditions and social-cultural reasons, and that they can't break this vicious cycle of debt and poverty:

“When you have no insurance, you get injured and nobody cares, you get too old to work nobody cares, you die and nobody cares. For instance we have to hit the road early in the morning like 3.30 a.m. and get on a minibus with a capacity of only 27 passengers and we are 40 workers including children. What if the minibus fell into the river? Nothing will happen, whoever will die will die. If you don't go to work you'll starve and if you do you just waste your life.” (Male worker, Adana)

²⁸ Green card in Turkey is given to people without any social security, with the condition that their monthly income is less than one third of the minimum wage. People with green card are provided with free medical services. With the transformation of Social Security laws in 2012, the green card went out of use; and previous green card owners were able to access to health services with their ID cards after they applied to the relevant institution for their income valuation. The new Social Security implementations are still in service.

Survey results showed that in total 65% of the families interviewed were in debt. Of these, 19% were in debt to banks and 4% were in debt to public institutions, while the share of those who are in debt to friends or pawn brokers was over 50%. This shows that these families who have to work informally find informal ways of financing their debt. It was observed that because some respondents didn't want to mention they were in debt to pawn brokers, they indicated that they were in debt to friends or relatives. In other words, debt financing through unofficial sources at high interest rates is very common and most respondents indicated that the interest rates in Şanlıurfa are indeed extremely high. This gives insight as to the extent of the under-the-table economy in this city.

One of the families indicated that they worked in seasonal agriculture to pay their debt. They built a house in Viranşehir and borrowed around 30,000 TL and now they are working to pay it off. They can spend only 4 months a year in their house. Another family borrowed money first to build a house and then to finance the wedding of their older son. The quote below summarizes this situation:

"We owe 70,000 TL to the pawn broker. The interest is a lot, you borrow 15,000 TL and you pay 22,000 TL in two years. We owe money to others too, it's around 10,000 TL. One year we borrowed for the house and the other year for my brother's wedding. We work and all the money goes to paying the debt. My parents wouldn't have to go to work if we didn't have any debt (...) If we can't work the apricot harvest, we'll go to sunflower harvest to pay the debt." (female worker, Nevşehir)

Families borrow money due to numerous reasons. One of the main reasons is the occurrence of unexpected events that disrupt the household economy. Family vulnerability is high and they are not covered by any financial security mechanism to overcome unexpected hardships. An interview held in Adana with a woman from Şanlıurfa is a very good example of this situation:

"We don't have a house so we're staying with our relatives.
We used to have a house but we had to sell it to pay our debt".

-What did you borrow the money for?

It's just a debt, there was a blood feud, then the house was gone.

-Did you have to leave the village after the blood feud?

No, my brother-in-law passed away, he was shot. But he didn't die right away, he stayed at the hospital for 9 days. And my husband as well stayed at the hospital with him. And the hospital sent us a huge bill so my husband had to borrow money. We had to sell our land and other stuff. It cost around 100,000 TL." (female worker, Adana).

Although this family from Şanlıurfa once owned a house and land and could make their living, the family ended up in debt because of hospital bills as a result of a blood feud and had to start working in seasonal agriculture. No one in the family including the person who had been shot had no health insurance and wasn't able to pay the hospital bills. The family had to sell their land and house and had to borrow additional money at a high interest rate to pay the hospital bill. At the time of the interview the family had been working in the seasonal agricultural labor sector for 10 years and were still in debt.

Another woman interviewed in Aksaray said the following:

“We had a house but we had to sell it to pay our debt. My mother-in-law borrowed money and because they couldn’t pay it back, they sold the house. We don’t have a house anymore and we won’t go to Şanlıurfa. There are too many pawn brokers in Urfa.”

In this family, the husband was working as a street seller and after one of the family members borrowed money, they had to sell the house to pay the loan back. After that, they started working as seasonal agricultural workers and because they no longer have a house in Şanlıurfa, they do not go back there. The fact that they do not go back to Şanlıurfa and will have to work in seasonal agricultural labor for the whole year means that they are not sending their children to school.

An interview held in Samsun with a woman from Şanlıurfa is an important example in that it demonstrates the relationship between the lack of social security and the debt cycle for seasonal agricultural workers. When this family was interviewed in July, it was the first year that the family was engaged in seasonal agricultural labor. In Şanlıurfa where male dominance is common and women’s employment is very low, the 19 year old daughter of this family was working at minimum wage and had social security but was laid off after Syrian refugees who worked under-the-table for lower wages joined the labor force. In addition, as a result of health problems that occurred one after the other and the economic problems, the family had to borrow money and chose to work in seasonal agricultural labor to pay the debt. Below is their story, as recited by the mother:

“Living conditions in Şanlıurfa were tough anyway and after Syrians came it got worse. If you worked legally, you could make 1,000 TL a month but now there are Syrians working for 250 TL. My daughter can’t work in retail now. My son had a tumor in his face and then he got a kidney disease. We had to pay for surgery. And my husband’s business wasn’t going too well so he had to borrow money.”

Below is a quote that reveals how Syrian refugees in Adana-Dogankent work for low wages and often go unpaid:

“This year, the daily allowance is 45 TL and we’re paid 40 TL. The farm owners made an agreement with Syrians for 30-35 TL. Usually they pay the money once a month. They haven’t paid the Syrians for 3 months. There’s no work and there are too many people looking for work. This month we worked for only 10 days.”

The head of the household working in sugar beet hoeing, stated that they had to borrow money to pay for the basic expenses of their children and that seasonal agricultural labor is their only source of income:

“I have 5 children, the oldest one is 9 and the youngest is 1 year old. We don’t have land, and we have a house in the village that has no title deed. This is my only source of income for the last 9 years. I’m the only one working in the family, the children are too young and my wife has to take care of them. When my children had bronchitis I borrowed 12,000 TL from a pawnbroker in Urfa to pay for their basic needs.”



Apart from this economic hardship resulting from the lack of social security, certain cultural factors such as a dowry can worsen the debt situation for families. At a focus group discussion held in Adana with children aged 8-12 years, one of the children said the following:

“Because my older brother got married in Şanlıurfa, we can’t go back to our house, and we can’t register for school there. I work here. We had to borrow money to pay for the dowry of my brother.”

At a focus group discussion held with children in Samsun, another child shared details of his brother’s wedding for which they had to borrow money and they were working to pay that debt. At another focus group discussion with women in Adana, a woman who got married 3 years ago stated that they couldn’t go back to their house for the last 3 years and she had to give birth to her children while she was working in seasonal agriculture:

“It’s difficult to borrow money, interest rates are too high. We borrow money from our relatives and they borrow from others. Şanlıurfa is better than here. It would have been better if it had been our own land and we worked there.”

At an interview held in Eski-Aksaray, a male worker from Akçakale in Şanlıurfa made the following comments:

“We’ve been doing this for 3-4 years. We used to grow wheat and cotton in our own fields but after getting married we couldn’t live with the family anymore. We have a total debt of around 20-30,000 TL.”

Another 23-year-old male worker summarized the situation as follows:

“We’re ruining our lives here just to pay our debt. The pawn broker charges very high interest rates like 5-6% monthly. This interest is like cancer, once you get under that load, you can’t get out for your entire life. If we had a car or a house, we’d pay it at once but we don’t have a house, this tent is our house and we can’t sell it.”

Families working in seasonal agriculture borrow money to meet their basic needs or to pay unexpected expenses like hospital bills. They can often only borrow money at high interest rates as they work under-the-table, have no property or social security. And as a direct consequence of this situation, the family ends up in a vicious debt cycle. The only way to close debt as soon as possible is to make the most money from seasonal agricultural work. And the only way to maximize income under the given conditions and in the competitive labor market is to fully utilize household labor potential and to work as seasonal agricultural laborers for longer terms during the year. Both options mean that children will have to work for longer periods in the field and will stay away from their homes and thus from their schools. In other words it doesn't seem possible for these families and children to break the vicious cycle of poverty under the given conditions of the labor market. One of the main contributors behind this phenomenon is the migration from the countryside to the city due to no possession of productive assets back home.

Urban Agricultural Workers

80% of the households in the study live in the city center. The fact that those living in the villages is only 20% clearly indicates that contrary to common belief, it is the workers in the cities and not in the rural areas that make up the bulk of the seasonal agricultural labor force. Survey results show 40% of the families are internally displaced, the displacement having taken place 25 years ago on average.²⁹ Since then, displaced families have oftentimes moved more than once, the most common reason for migration being indicated by the workers as "economic hardship". Two thirds of those who were displaced and later migrated still have relatives in the countryside. In most cases, the social bond with the villages still exists.

The share of families that previously owned land is very little. Thus, it is not surprising that seasonal agricultural labor was their main source of livelihood prior to migration as well. The rest made their living as "workers of the landlord", who is the traditional community leader owning vast amounts of communal land. Only 7% of the families have arable lands back in their villages, with an average acreage of less than 10,000 decares.

Existing data on seasonal agricultural labor in Turkey indicates that Şanlıurfa provides the highest number of seasonal agricultural workers. 100 of the 168 families that joined the survey stated that they were originally from Şanlıurfa. The most commonly emphasized point in the interviews was about land ownership structure, which is built on feudal ties and communal relations.

The current feudal structure in Şanlıurfa is revealed by the land ownership relations as portrayed in the table below. As can be seen, while the total acreage of arable lands in the city is 9,821,677 decares, the share of large farms is 4,265,756 decares. The total number of farms is 50,406 while the share of large farmers is 2,879. While the total number of families that run their own lands is 44,648, the number of families that own larger acreage of land is 2,812. The total acreage of lands owned by families that run their own farms is 8,976,294 decares while 4.182.885 decares of these are large farms.³⁰

²⁹ Armed conflict between Kurdish separatist groups and the Turkish armed forces culminated in the 1990s, with thousands of families evacuating their villages to mainly settle in the outskirts of cities in Southeastern Turkey.

³⁰ İşletme Büyüklüğü ve Arazinin Tasarruf Şekline Göre İşletme Sayısı ve İşledikleri Arazi [Business Size and Number of Enterprises by the Use of Land and the Land They Work], Turkish Statistical Institute, (online) http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PrelstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=292, Last access date: 29.12.2014.

Table 2. Number of farms and acreage based on farm size and ownership (TUIK data)

	Turkey (Total)	Turkey (500-5000+)	Şanlıurfa (Total)	Şanlıurfa (500-5000+)
Total Acreage (Decare)	184.348.223	20.917.200	9.821.677	4.265.756
Total number of farms (Miktar)	3.022.127	21.907	50.406	2879
Families running their own lands-Acreage (Decare)	136.346.152	14.622.143	8.976.294	4.182.885
Total number of families running their own lands	2.458.263	13.763	44.648	2812

http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PrelstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=292

While the per-farm share of large arable lands in Turkey is around 955 decare, in Şanlıurfa this share is around 1,482 decare. In terms of land ownership, while the per-farm acreage for families that farm their own lands is 1,063 decare, this ratio is around 1,488 decare in Şanlıurfa. The fact that land of 1,571,100 decare is owned by a single farmer in Şanlıurfa indicates that feudal landownership is very dominant in the area.

The first land reform law titled "Providing Land for Farmers" numbered 4753 was passed in 1945 followed by the law titled "Land and Land Reform" numbered 1757 in 1973, and the law titled "Law of Agricultural Reform for Land Allocation in Irrigation Areas" numbered 3083 in 1984. However, as land reforms have taken place as allocation of lands owned by the Treasury, none of these laws benefited the peasants that had very little or no land.

The second land reform of Turkey, which took effect between 1973 and 1978, was first implemented in Şanlıurfa. However as per article 33 of the law, 8,525,000 decare of the 16,600,000-decare of land was given to big land owners.³¹ Five years later, after the cancellation decision of the Constitutional Law, most of the allotted lands were returned to their original owners.³²

The region of the Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP - Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi) comprises 9 provinces (Adiyaman, Batman, Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Şanlıurfa and Şırnak) in the Euphrates and Tigris basins and upper Mesopotamia plain. The main purpose of the GAP project was to improve the income level and living conditions of the people of this region and to eliminate the differences in terms of development levels between regions and to contribute to national development goals such as social sustainability and economic growth by improving efficiency and employment opportunities in the rural areas. It was a regional development project that envisioned an integrated and sustainable notion of development that covered multiple sectors.³³

³¹ Nazmi Yıldız ve Erol Köktürk, "Türkiye'de Kırsal Toprak Düzenlemeleri [Regulations on Rural Land in Turkey]", Topographical and Cadastre Engineering, Issue: 48-49, Spring-Summer, 1984: 98-119, p 6.

³² Zeynep Dernek, "Cumhuriyet'in Kuruluşundan Günümüze Tarımsal Gelişmeler [Agricultural Developments from the Foundation of the Republic until Today]", Süleyman Demirel University Journal of Agricultural Faculty, 1(1):1-12, 2006, p 5.

³³ "GAP Nedir? [What is Southeast Anatolia Project?]", (online)http://www.gap.gov.tr/site-icerik/gap_nedir.aspx, Access date: 29.12.2014.

Among the main causes of poverty in the GAP region are imbalance in terms of land ownership, failure to complete transition to modern agricultural methods and existence of feudal structures. The structural poverty in the rural areas has been transposed to the big cities of the Southeast. Most studies have found that the household income in the migrant neighborhoods of these cities is very low, with economic situations of the households not improving at all after the migration.³⁴

In terms of land assets and utilization, Şanlıurfa has a share of 84% in the GAP region and is seen as a "hub for agriculture and agricultural exports."³⁵ The irrigation potential brought about by the GAP project since 1995 has resulted in a change in the product variety offered in the Harran Plain.³⁶

According to TUIK data, total acreage of barley, wheat and red lentil plantations have declined rapidly in Şanlıurfa, Harran and Akçakale between 1991 and 2011, a rapid increase was seen in the acreage of corn and cotton fields.

In the in-depth interviews and focus group interviews, the most commonly emphasized issue was not lack of land ownership but the powerful tribal landlords. One of the families monitored in the survey provided a story of how they escaped from the pressure of the landlord. In an interview held in Adana, the family stated that they used to live in a village near Siverek district of Şanlıurfa 30 years ago and had to work as agricultural laborers for the landlord. Then they moved to Viranşehir but because they had no property and communal networks there, they had economic hardships. This family has 12 children, four of them married and working as construction workers or porters in Viranşehir. The other 8 children work in seasonal agriculture with their families. They haven't returned to their hometown for two years. The story of this family is very similar to that of another seasonal agricultural worker family from Şanlıurfa:

"We've been doing this for 15-20 years now, and before this we used to work as sharecroppers in the village. We used to live in the landlord's house 30-40 years ago."
Female worker, Adana.

Taking a rest in the citrus fields in Adana, an elderly woman recited:

"We had to leave the village because of a blood feud. The landlord had a lot of land but he wasn't paying his workers. It was difficult then but also difficult now. We're barely making a living now."

A male worker in Nevşehir said the following about seasonal agriculture and his past in the village:

"Because agricultural workers all used to be in the countryside in the past, they had lots of cattle. A landlord normally owns one or more villages. And we were busy with livestock breeding. He used to pay us a daily allowance. And he didn't like it if one of us had too many livestock. Several households left the village in 1989 and the landlord was left alone. He brought migrant workers but he is still alone."

³⁴ Özkan Yıldız, "GAP İllerinde Sosyal ve Ekonomik Dönüşüm [Social and Economical Transformation in the Cities of Southeast Anatolian Project]", *Ege Akademik Bakış*, 8 (1) 2008: 287- 300, p. 297.

³⁵ Sedat Benek, "Şanlıurfa İlinin Tarımsal Yapısı, Sorunları ve Çözüm Önerileri [Agricultural Structure of Şanlıurfa, Problems and Solution Proposals]", *Journal of Geographical Sciences*, 2006-4 (1): 67-91, p. 69.

³⁶ Mehmet Ali Çelik ve Ali Ekber Gülersoy, "Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi'nin (GAP) Harran Ovası Tarımsal Yapısında Meydana Getirdiği Değişimlerin Uzaktan Algılama ile İncelenmesi [Examining by Distant Detection the Changes in Agricultural Structure of Harran Plain that are Brought About by Southeast Anatolia Project]", *Journal of International Social Research*, Issue: 28 Volume: 6, Fall 2013: 46-54, p. 47.

In general, in the countryside workers provide their labor in return for a daily allowance or the landlord meets their basic needs. In that sense, migrating to a city and even working with low wages under-the-table is perceived as a liberalizing experience for many workers.

Below is a quote from a worker from Viranşehir who escaped the village of the landlord and got his trailer driver's license despite all the pressures from the landlord:

"Now our eyes are open, we no longer have to be slaves to the landlord. I even went to Russia, and can find a job wherever I go! Why would I work as a slave?"

While not having to work for the landlord is seen as gaining freedom by some families, some of them associate their working conditions with landlessness. A male worker from Konya said the following:

"People that have no land live in economic hardship. If they have land, they stay in Şanlıurfa. The landlords are now selling their lands. People with 100-150 decares land usually stay there."

As seen in the quote above, it is quite common for families to state they would not be working as seasonal agricultural workers if they had land.

In in-depth interviews and focus groups, most respondents indicated that landlords had very strong political connections and that they didn't believe things would change in the future. They stated that the landlords and village owners are in Parliament and they wouldn't worry about changing the system. Particularly at a focus group in Konya in May and an interview in Afyon in June 2014, male workers made different comments about the landlord system in Şanlıurfa. Giving the names of familiar politicians, they emphasized that political representation is still based on landownership. Below are some quotes with the names omitted:

"There are many landlords. Each has at least 1,000-2,000 decares of land, some of them even have 10,000 decares. Parliamentarians don't do anything. All they want is your vote. They don't listen to the problems of the people."

Below is a quote that clearly demonstrates the relation between political representation and the big landlords as well as the political power of these landlords.

"We know that 8 of the 12 Parliamentarians own a village. You can't ask for agricultural reform from them. The state can allow agriculture on barren fields and distribute land with mines to people in the whole area from Kirikhan [in Hatay] to Nusaybin [in Mardin] so that we can turn it into something useful and make a proper living."



“There are factories in Gaziantep, in Kayseri and everywhere. And you don’t even have a grain factory in Şanlıurfa. You need agricultural reform in the whole Şanlıurfa area and in parts of Mardin. In Viranşehir [...] families have up to 50,000 decares of land each. In Siverek district, [...] families have a lot of land and as many as 20 villages. A Parliamentarian from this area has 11 villages. He gave the village to the people and now they are running it and making money.”

“There is always at least one Parliamentarian or Party leader who owns a village in Şanlıurfa! The whole of Ucak, Cicekli and Del villages are agricultural workers, nobody stays in the village anymore.”

“Ecevit was the only one who brought true reform. He took the land away from the landlord but people were scared to take it back.”

It is evident that power politics maintains the status quo and causes the poverty cycle to continue. Families working as seasonal agricultural workers have to borrow money to meet their basic needs or to pay for their unexpected health expenses. The only way to get rid of debt is to do more work in seasonal agriculture. This, unfortunately, is not a solution, as most families are not able to break the cycle of debt no matter how long they engage in seasonal agriculture. The only way to maximize income under the current conditions and in the competitive labor market is to fully utilize the labor potential of the family and to work for longer periods as seasonal agricultural workers throughout the year. Either way, children will have to work longer in the fields and will have to stay detached from their schools and their homes. This means that it is not possible for these families and their children to break the vicious circle of poverty and debt they are caught in, given the current conditions of the labor market.



3.3. Working Conditions of Seasonal Agricultural Workers

The working conditions in agriculture are very fragile due to factors such as environmental, seasonal, domestic and global market conditions. Environmental/seasonal fragility is inherent in the nature of agricultural production and is the main cause that adversely affects production. The changes in rainfall, agricultural disease, and unsuitable weather conditions are all factors that result in unpredictable yields.

During the period of economic protectionism in Turkey, the rural population and local production were supported by import quotas, agricultural incentives, purchasing guarantees and price caps. Therefore, even if climate conditions were tough one year, with these protective mechanisms in place, such fluctuations in production and marketing were absorbed to a large extent. While the rural population has decreased over time, it still accounted for 40% of the total population at the beginning of the 2000s.

Although liberalization of the economy and interaction with global markets started after the 1980s, it was not until after 2002 that structural adjustment reforms could be implemented given patronage and populist relations between the rural population and political elite at the time. The Sugar Code, Tobacco Code, limiting of price and purchasing guarantees offered by the state to the farmers, minimized costs in order to compete better in the global market, and abolishing of trade quotas diminished the security previously offered to local producers, eventually intensifying the fragility of agricultural production. With the liberalization of agricultural production and susceptibility to fluctuations in the global market underlying the vulnerability of local producers, it became difficult for farmers to continue agricultural production, which hastened the disintegration of rural populations. Similar to the case in Çukurova where there was always a need for seasonal workers, agricultural labor came to be viewed as cheap



labor in order to continue agricultural production, which is gradually becoming more insecure with lowered costs.³⁷

This analysis makes it easier to understand the adverse effects of climate conditions on agricultural production and labor in the summer of 2014, during which this survey was conducted. Starting from April, the frost, hail and extreme rainfall experienced throughout Turkey resulted in a serious decline in the yield and quality of agricultural products.

In May 2014, watermelons were starkly damaged by the frost. Similarly, the damage to apricots and hazelnuts were not only to the products but also to the branches and leaves of the plants as it was early for harvest in Malatya and the Eastern Black Sea region, greatly reducing total yields. The biggest loss was during the apricot harvest, which saw damages around 90%. Due to the agricultural frost in Ordu and Giresun, both yield and the need for labor for hazelnuts dropped substantially. Furthermore, heavy rainfall in Izmir, Kemalpaşa in May for two days caused cherries to soften and crack. Because the quality required for export could not be achieved, the products were sold in the domestic market. Prices dropped and the revenue from cherries was insufficient to cover the labor costs.

For some farmers, the daily revenue earned from cherries equaled daily labor costs:

³⁷ For more background reading, please see: William H. Friedland, "Agrifood Globalization And Commodity Systems", The Globalization of Agriculture and Food at the Agriculture and Human Values Society Annual Meeting Report, June 2003, Austin Texas. Abdullah Aysu, *Tarladan Sofraya Tarım: 1980-2002 Türkiye Tarımında Yapılanma(ma)* [Agriculture from Field to Table: 1980-2002 (Non) Structuring of Agriculture in Turkey], Su Publications, 2002, Istanbul. Zülküf Aydın, *The Political Economy of Turkey*, Pluto Press, 2005, London. Çağlar Keyder and Zafer Yenil, *Bildiğimiz Tarımın Sonu: Küresel İktidar ve Köylülük* [End of Agriculture as We Know It: Global Power and Peasantry], 2. Edition, İletişim Publishing House, December 2013, Istanbul.

“While we sold cherries for around 2.5 TL last year, this year a kilo of cherry is around 1 TL. 500 TL incentives are provided for 50 decares, while irrigation costs 19.5 TL per hour. Orchards are irrigated during 6 months. Labor costs are 48 TL per day. We sell cherries for 450 TL while we pay 440 TL to workers.”

Male worker, İzmir, Kemalpaşa



During the field research conducted in Kemalpaşa district of İzmir, farmers were angry that prices dropped in one day. When the cherry prices could no longer cover the labor costs, let alone the costs of other inputs, many producers gave up on picking cherries. As a result, the work load of workers declined by a great deal and they couldn't hold on to their jobs until the next harvest.

Similarly, the heavy rainfall in May 2014 in Konya, Yunak and its vicinity was higher than the seasonal norm, causing sugar beet harvest to be delayed. The hoeing out of sugar beets, which takes over 40 days, was delayed and workers had to wait for the weather conditions to improve. Thus, revenues were lower when compared to the previous year.

The most dramatic effect was observed in apricots and hazelnuts due to sharp decreases in product yields and demand for labor. The seasonal migration route for most families starts in Adana. After the sugar beets are hoed in the central plains, workers continue on to the apricot harvest in Malatya, moving on to the hazelnut harvest in the Black Sea region. However, due to unfavorable weather conditions affecting apricots and hazelnuts, which are two of the products requiring the highest labor, the route for seasonal migration for many families changed in the second half of 2014.

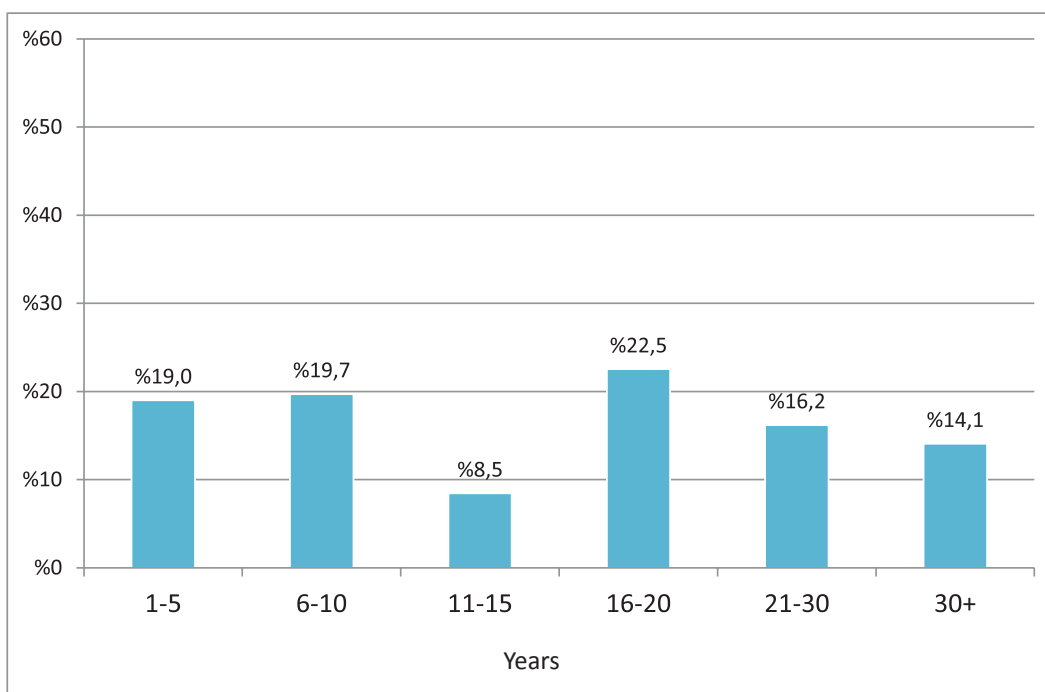
Interviews with families that normally migrated to Malatya in May but were unable to do so in 2014 pointed out the reasons for the change in migration routes and its impacts. The field research showed how families who would normally migrate to Malatya had gone to Afyon,

Sultandağı for the cherry harvest. The wages of workers decreased due to the high labor force migrating to Sultandağı for the cherry harvest in the spring of 2014. Workers have noted that normally the job that is completed in 40 days was finished in 20 days last year and plantation owners have chosen younger and stronger workers.

Another trend observed was that seasonal agricultural workers who own vehicles can change places and can find jobs easier. Those without their own means of transportation have tough time paying the travel costs and prefer remaining at one location despite uncertainties related to work potential.

The study tries to depict a detailed picture of the working conditions of seasonal agricultural worker families, introducing working conditions by product.

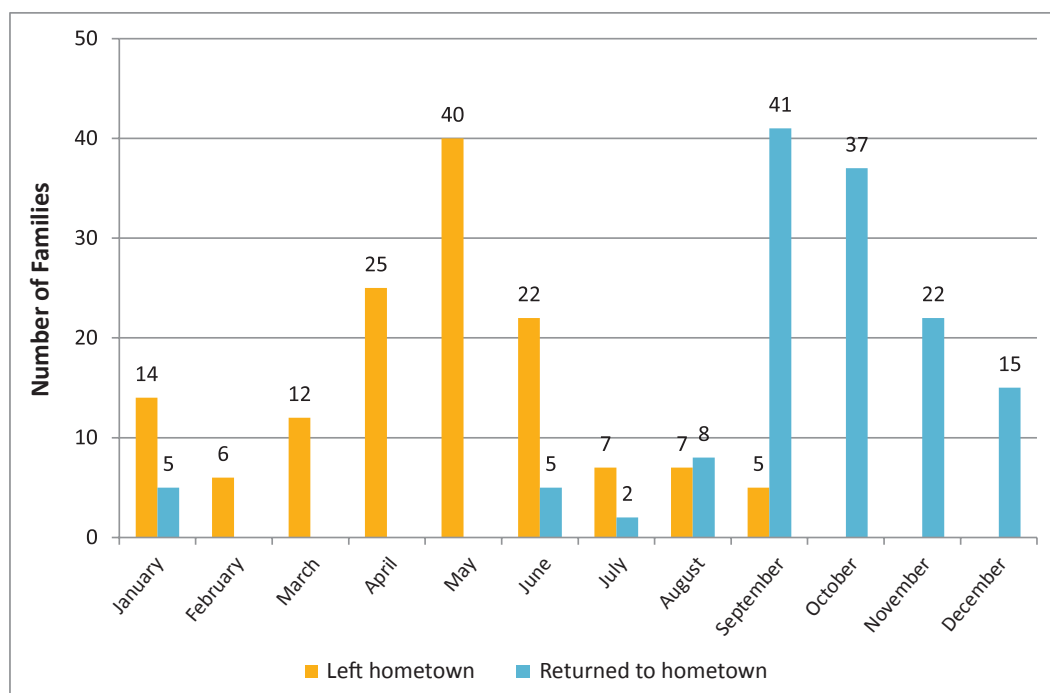
Figure 23. Working Hours of Seasonal Agricultural Workers



Survey results show that over half the families interviewed had been seasonal agricultural workers for the past 16 years. 30% of the families have been working as a part of the seasonal agricultural labor force for at least 20 years. Data shows that the average period of work in seasonal agriculture is 19 years.

As high as 95% of seasonal agricultural laborers do return to their homes within the same year. While few in numbers, there are some families who have not returned home for years. Of all families interviewed, two noted that they have not returned home within the last 10 years and one family has not returned home within the last 5 years.

Figure 24. Mobility of Seasonal Agricultural Workers



When we look at the mobility of seasonal agricultural workers throughout the year, it is evident that most families leave their homes in April, May or June. Their return dates are mostly concentrated in September, October and November. The days they leave their homes and the dates they return are predominately school months, which most certainly is the main reason for increased school dropout rates among children of seasonal agricultural workers.

The working conditions vary according to the harvested product. For example, the main complaint in Afyon about the cherry harvest is the very high stairs that can reach upwards of 20 meters. They are dangerous as they pose the risk of falling down. Indeed, the research team came across a young girl that had fallen and broken her arm. Another complaint of the workers is that the farm owners select the “most powerful and young”:

“They come in the morning and pick up boys and girls. It’s like a cattle market.

Then, when they come at night, they again say ‘I don’t want him or her for tomorrow. These are tall trees. He or she cannot climb.’ They don’t want any leaves to fall, they don’t want any branches to break.”

“It’s just like a cattle market. They say that we don’t work enough. Then, they don’t hire that person the next day.”

“They choose people. The ladder is 20 meters long just for one cherry tree. They say I’m old so they don’t want me to work.”

Working in the cotton harvest in Şanlıurfa, according to agricultural workers, is the toughest due to both the low wages paid for labor and the difficulties of the harvest:

"Everyone is used to getting up at 5 in the morning. Then, around 5:30 or 6, they go to the field. We always leaven the bread early in the mornings, which we call 'bazlama'. We eat that for breakfast and then eat whatever we can find at lunch. We again return from the field at 6:30 in the evening and cook. Then, we clean the dishes till 8 pm and go to bed."

"The worst is cotton because it's both cheap and is tiring to pick. We get dirty. It's the dirtiest job. And when rain falls on cotton, it gets washed and loses its honey, becomes lighter. While I used to collect around 100 kilos of cotton before the rains, now, I can only collect around 60 kilos."

"Cotton harvest is the hardest. It scratches our hands and hurts our backs."

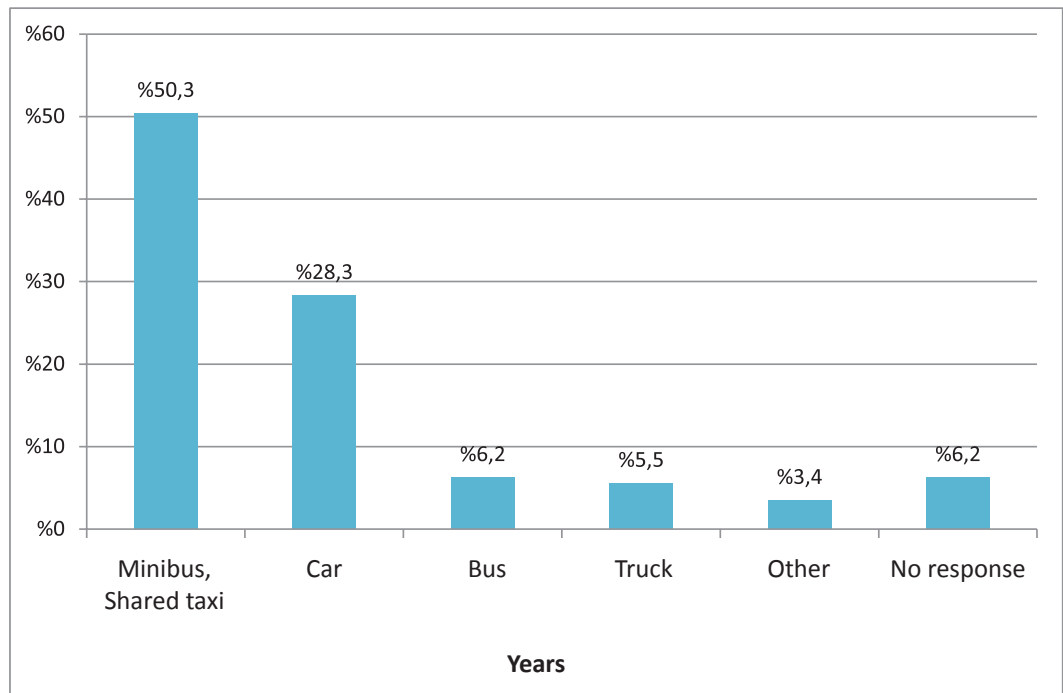
"What we tie around our waists for cotton harvest is hard; it hurts our backs."

"The gloves are nylon, when they get warm under the sun, it becomes hard. Our backs hurt and we cannot sleep at nights."

"It is very hard to survive around here when it is raining and muddy, kids don't listen to you. They are not clean. We stay in tents so how can kids learn how to wash their hands or use the toilet?"

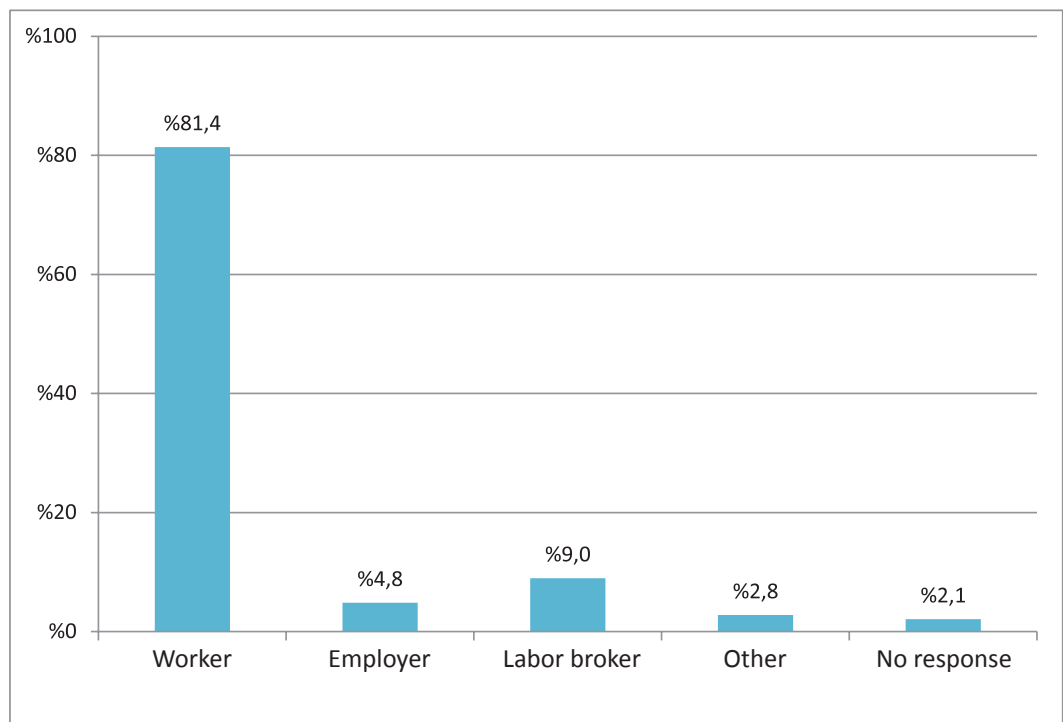


Figure 25. Transportation to the Place of Work



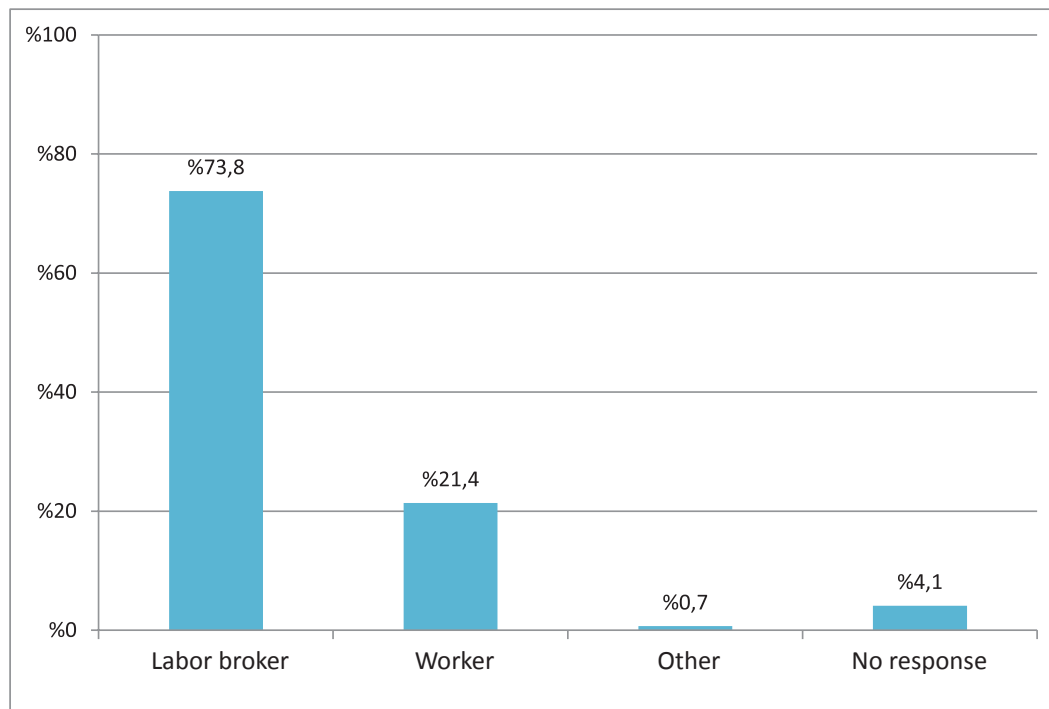
The survey points out that the families mostly use public transportation to reach their place of work. With a total of 57% using public transport, 50% uses minibuses and the dolmuş, while 6% uses buses. More than a quarter of families use private cars to move around from one product to another. About 6% of the interviewees noted that they ride on the backs of trucks, pointing to the fact that they travel under unfavorable and unsafe conditions.

Figure 26. Transportation costs



Costs related to transportation are mostly covered by the families themselves. While 81% of the families cover their own transportation costs, 9% said their labor brokers³⁸ cover the transportation costs and 5% said their employers meet the costs. Since travel costs are mostly covered by the families themselves, this is why public transportation, which is generally affordable, is the preferred method of transport.

Figure 27. Mediator in the Workplace



When asked about mediators, three out of four families noted that they use labor brokers and are not in direct contact with their employers. Even though 28% responded positively to the question of whether they knew their employers, only one fifth of working families in fact establish contact and go into direct agreement with the farm owners.

There are similar mediators in other labor-intensive sectors such as mining and textile workshops. These people that usually mediate between workers and employers mostly conduct their business without any sort of legal registration and without providing any job security, receiving commissions of around 10%. They are the main actors of the informal labor supply. Deepening the exploitation of labor, labor brokers nevertheless bring some level of stability and predictability for seasonal workers.

Oftentimes there is a relationship of dependency between the labor broker and the workers. For example, on large farms such as sugar beet farms where it is highly unlikely for workers to contact their actual employers, in exchange for money, labor brokers facilitate the workers in selling their labor in the pre-, during and post-harvest period.

Families without cars and who live in remote areas away from city centers have noted that in any kind of illness or emergency, they ask their mediators to take them to the city centers for the needed services. Further, as most tent camps for seasonal agricultural workers are far away from city centers just like in Adana Tuzla, Samsun's Çarşamba Plateau and many villa-

³⁸ Labor brokers (dayıbaşı): Also called labor contractors, brokers are middlemen that mediate between the employers and the seasonal agricultural workers. Labor brokers receive commission from the worker or the employer in return.

ges in Konya, workers cannot travel to purchase needed goods. Labor brokers deliver various necessities such as fruit, vegetables, hygiene items and others by trucks or minibuses to the camp areas. Since most workers are paid after the job is completed, they have stated that they benefit from such services, which is pre-financed by the labor brokers.

The quote below depicts the dependency between seasonal workers and the labor brokers:

“Wages are subject to bargaining. The wages set by the government are not paid to us. Allowances are low, at most around 30 TL and labor brokers get around 3 TL of this amount. They pay our wages (after they deduct our expenses till that day) once the watermelons are sold.” Female worker, Adana

During field visit in a village in Samsun, the role of the labor brokers in deciding on wages was clearly observed. Around 140 workers and 40 families working in fruit and vegetables harvest in the village found jobs through the same mediator. The labor broker placed all the workers in a field of poplar trees with fences. According to the agreement reached between the farm owner and the labor broker, the wage was set at 35 TL per day, with 3.5 TL out of this 35 TL from each and every worker’s wage being deducted as commission for the labor broker.³⁹ The field team



³⁹ The same labor broker did not allow the research team to interview him for one whole day and insisted that permission be taken from the village headman.

found out that local workers do not work for wages below 60 TL, while seasonal agricultural workers should normally be receiving a daily amount of 40 TL. Labor brokers who recruit whole groups of seasonal workers from single villages have a monopoly and an advantage in employing workers for lower wages, therefore having an important impact on further deepening the exploitation of labor.

Many of the workers interviewed noted that labor brokers gather workers from their houses in the morning and assign members of the same family to different farms, which makes them uncomfortable. By distributing family members to different farms, labor brokers are in better control of the workers and this is a strategy to prevent families from making personal deals with the farm owners, as well as spending less time on chatting and taking long breaks when in the fields. Because seasonal agricultural labor is generally a family activity, family members prefer to work together and bring food and drinks for the entire family. Being separated and placed into different farms is often an additional burden and reason of discontent for many seasonal workers.

While labor brokers appear as if they are living under the same conditions as all other seasonal worker families, it was observed that they benefit more from the facilities in the campsites:

“The government has built toilets in the camp but only the dayıbaşı [labor broker] can use it,” Male worker, Adana

The research team also observed some labor brokers to be living in prefabricated houses built by the state. In a village in Konya, while all other workers were staying in tents, this wasn't the case for the labor broker. In the tent camp in Samsun, one of the two fridges on the campsite was being solely used by the labor broker while the other could only be used by the workers if the labor broker allowed them.

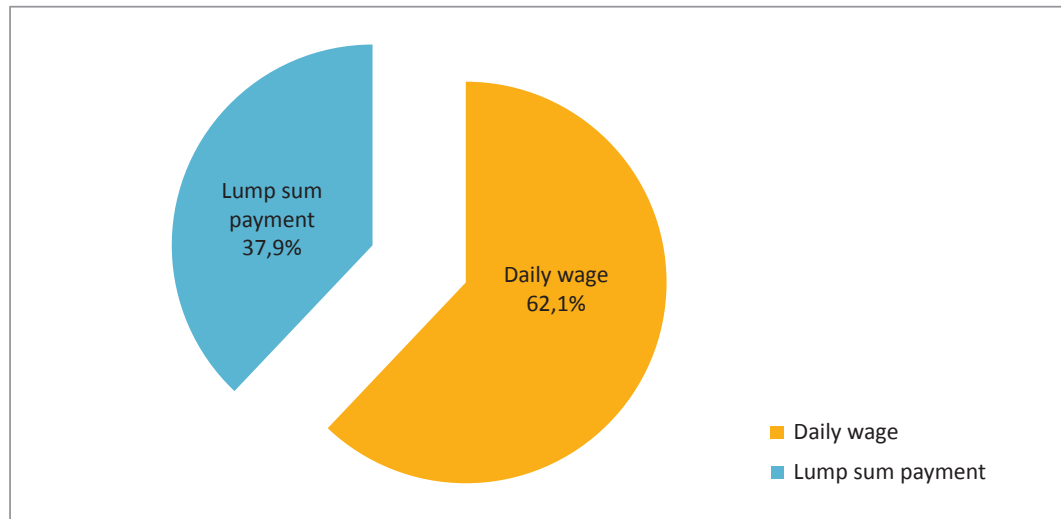
The research team came across a case in Afyon, Sultandağı in which the labor broker was receiving additional money from the farm owner on top of the 10% commission he was getting from the wages of the workers. In the face of an agreement with the farm owner, labor brokers have been observed to exert power on the farm owners in addition to their power over the workers:

“One day the employer did not give the extra allowance to the labor broker. So the next day, the labor broker did not send the worker to the field, thus, the worker lost his wage for the day because of the labor broker.” Male worker, Afyon

Another quote below depicts how mediators use their power in managing the relation between the workers and the employers and how they prevent labor from becoming independent and empowered, thus making every effort to maintain the informal character of the labor offered by seasonal workers:

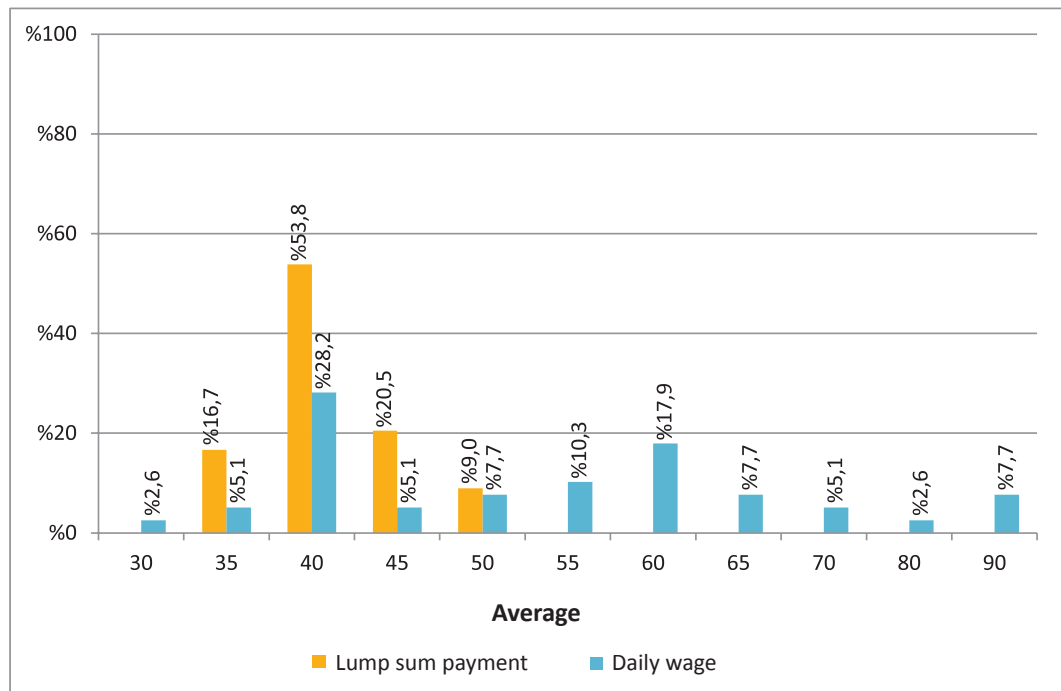
“We arranged a farm but it was a bit far away. We were going to get there by car. I asked 50 TL from the farm owner for the fuel of the car, but the mediator, the Kurdish labor broker, told him I had asked for 80 TL. So he didn't give it to me. I'm angry and don't understand why he's getting involved.” Male worker, Afyon

Figure 28. Source of Income



With 62%, many seasonal workers that were interviewed stated that they work for daily wages, while 38% mentioned receiving payment on lump sum basis. This rate changes according to the agricultural product and city in which the survey was conducted. Lump sum basis type of payment was not mentioned by seasonal workers that are engaged in hoeing and harvesting of sugar beets.

Figure 29. Amount of Income



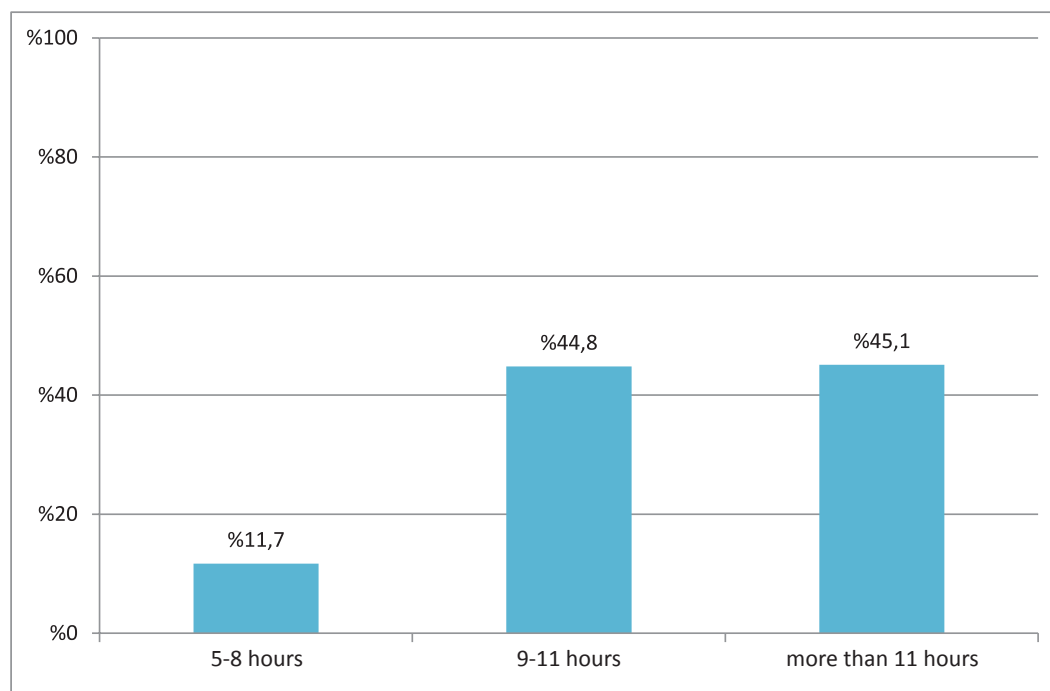
No significant difference was observed between daily wages and lump sum payments among seasonal agricultural workers. 71% of those who work for a daily wage stated they earn less than 40 TL a day, which is the average daily wage. Surveys results show that only one third of the workers earning lump sum payments work for less than 40 TL. While there are more people that earn above average among those receiving lump sum payments, since income levels are low, it was noted that lump sum payments are not necessarily better than daily wage payments. Moreover, it is important to consider that daily wages are earned per person whereas lump sum is the amount earned per family from harvesting one decare of land. The most



important difference between those that earn daily wages and those who work on lump sum basis is that in order to earn more money, it becomes critical to work with all members of the family in the fields. Since using the labor capacity of each family increases the overall amount earned, families work harder and for longer hours.

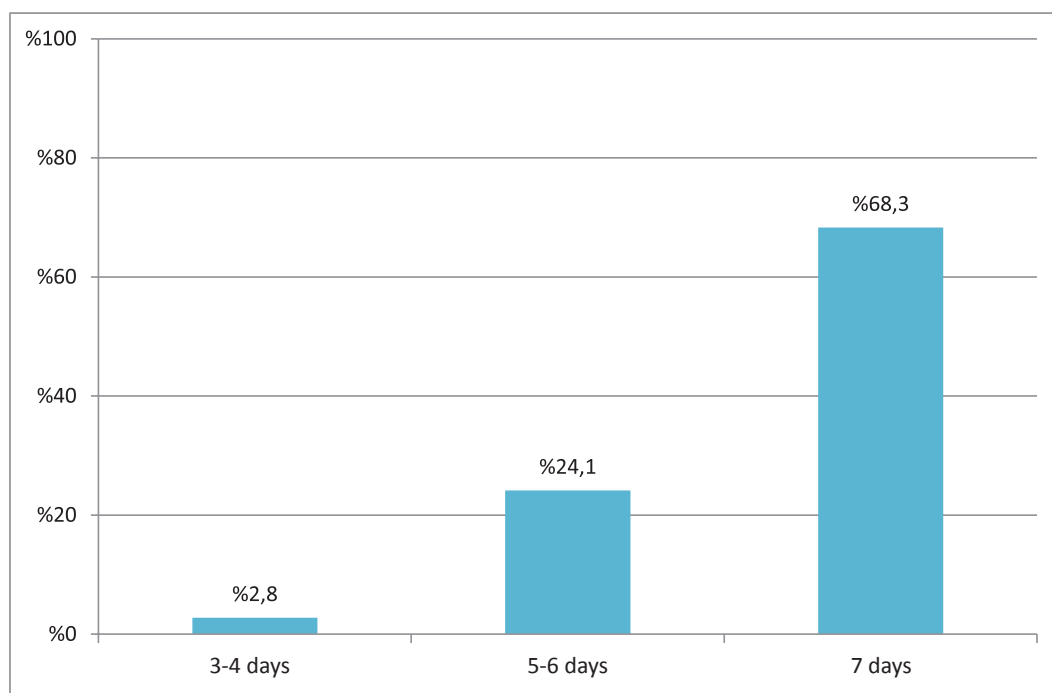
Half of the people interviewed said that daily wages are the same for women and children.

Figure 30. Average Daily Working Hours



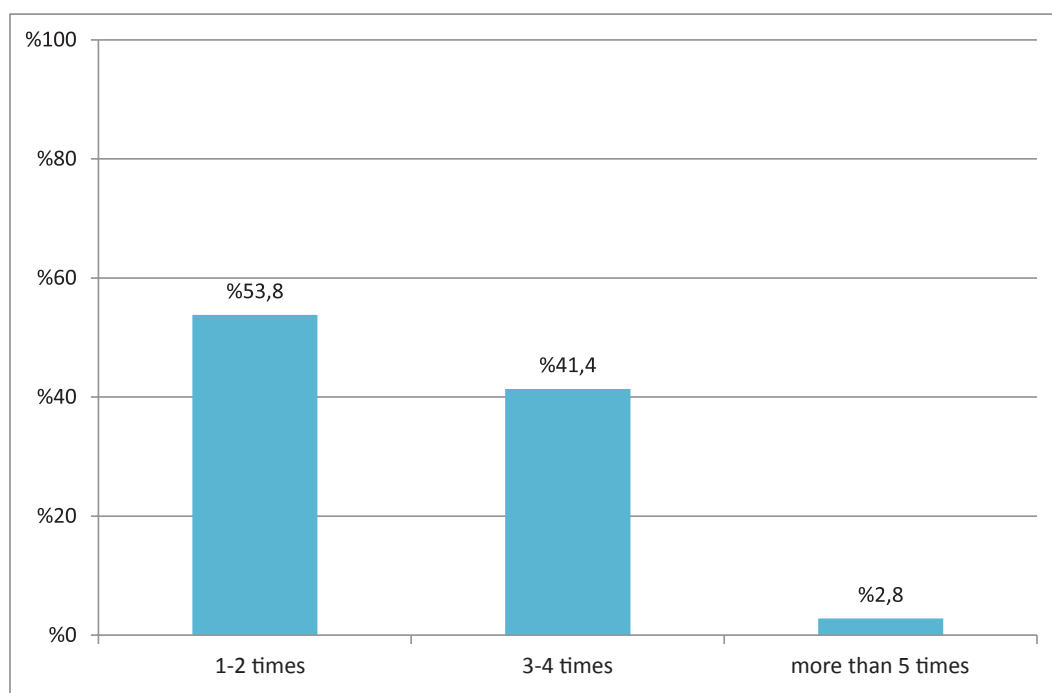
When asked about average working hours, only 12% have noted that they work for less than 8 hours, with a majority of them being younger children. Slightly less than half of seasonal agricultural workers noted that they work between 9 to 11 hours per day, while the other half end up working for more than 11 hours in a day.

Figure 31. Number of Days Worked per Week



Despite long working hours, 68% of seasonal agricultural laborers work throughout the week. With 90% of them working over 9 hours a day, most workers are in the fields every day of the week with no time for rest in between. A quarter of seasonal workers reported working for 5 to 6 days a week. It is evident that seasonal agricultural workers have an intense schedule. Even then, some workers have complained about the days that they were unable to work due to shortage of crops or bad weather conditions.

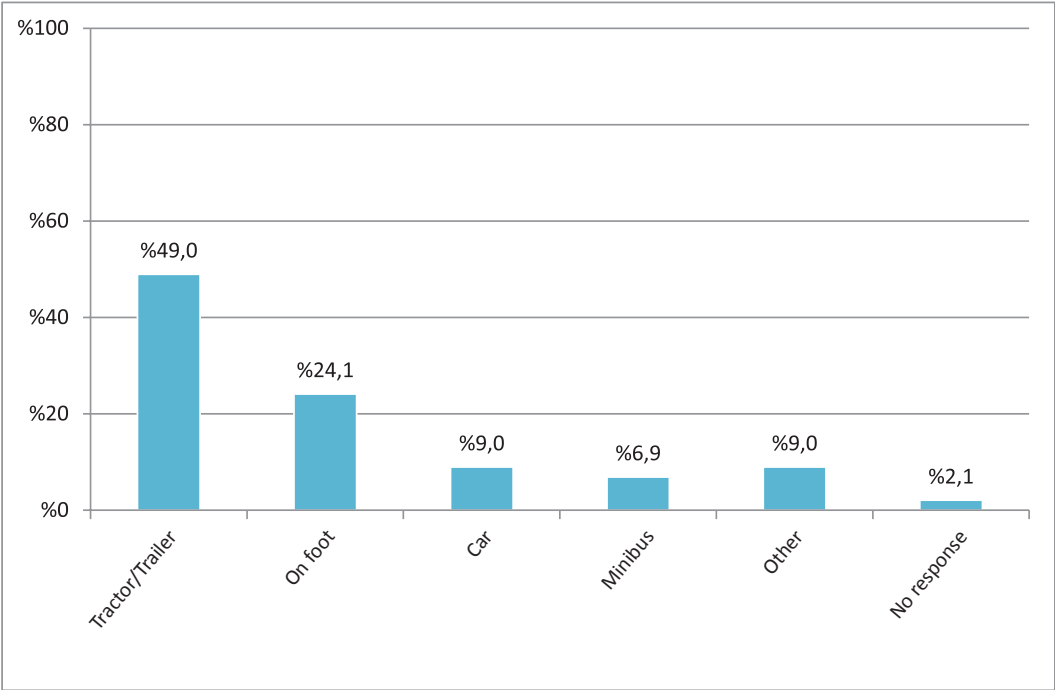
Figure 32. Number of Breaks per Day



54% of the workers reported that they take only 1 to 2 breaks a day while 41% take 3 to 4 breaks a day. Workers who can take 5 or more breaks during an average day are only 3%, with the majority being the younger workers. The interviewees have noted that they do get lunch breaks, with lunch being provided and paid for by the workers. Less than 5% have noted that the employer pays for lunch. Many people have reported that the workday simply ends when the truck is full.

“There are no breaks, no lunches, we work all the time.” Female child worker, Adana

Figure 33. Transportation to the Field



Seasonal agricultural workers usually reach the farms by tractors or trailer cars. While these two types of vehicles are used by half the workers, 24% walk to the fields. This is mostly due to workers living in tents and campsites established near fields and farms. The number of workers that use cars or similar transportation vehicles is relatively low.

While serious accidents are rare in seasonal agricultural work, an accident did place on 31 October 2014, which claimed the lives of 15 women and child workers and has still not been recognized as an occupational hazard.

Occupational Hazards and Death



Seasonal agricultural labor involves risks. We came across many hazards during our field research. We saw children that were attacked by dogs in Konya, child workers that developed hernia in Yozgat and Nevşehir, developed allergy to hazelnuts in Düzce, along with many cases of diarrhea in the cotton fields in Şanlıurfa. There were more than one case of workers who had slipped and fell after rains in Ordu during the hazelnut harvest, insect/snake/bee stings and bites in onion plantations and sugar beet harvesting in Konya, hand injuries while collecting eggplants in Samsun, broken arm after falling down from a ladder while picking cherries, and those with severe back and waist pain.

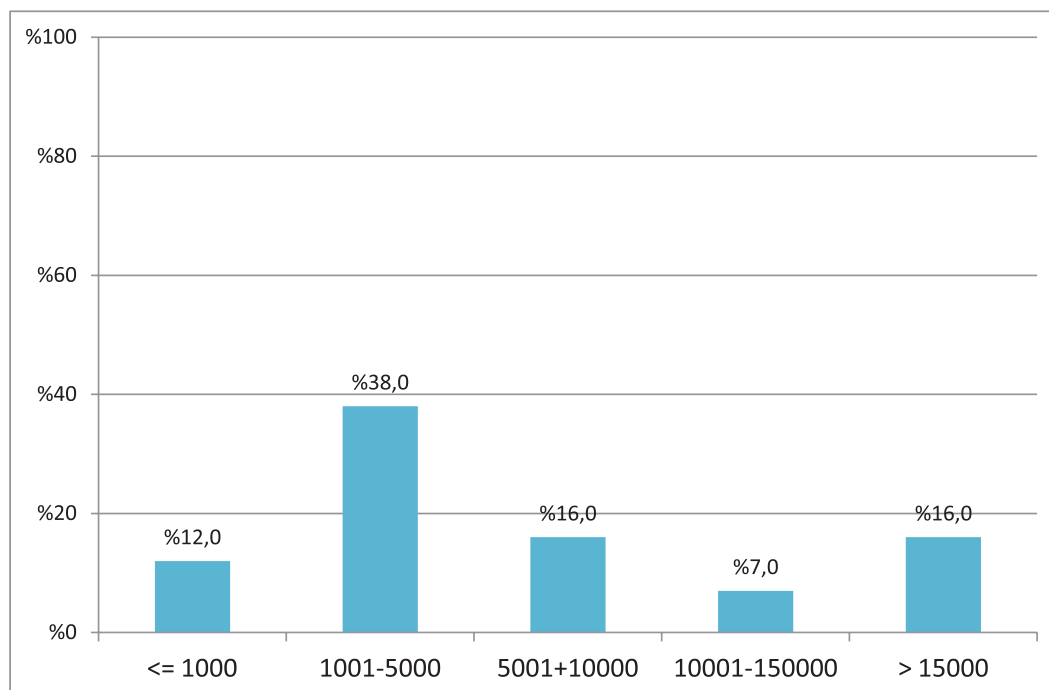
The list can be extended with what happens after the weather starts getting cooler in the citrus fruit fields. But more importantly, any accidents during transportation that result in heavy injuries or death should not be considered merely as “traffic accidents” but as occupational hazards.

As the research team, when we arrived in the vegetable cultivations in Adana, there was talk of an accident that had taken place a short while earlier. The families had started their journey to the field from the campsite with a tractor that carried both a trailer car and a water tank. Like any other day, the families were sitting on the sides of the trailer car with their children. On the muddy and bumpy village road, the back door of the trailer suddenly opened and three people fell out with the tanker crushing

them. 17-year-old Gülsüm who was one of the three, died immediately. Nur, who was pregnant, lost her baby and became disabled. The third girl can no longer use her legs. One family returned home for the funerals. By the time we arrived on site, together with the extended families, many workers had left. We listened to what happened from the eyewitnesses.

First police came to the spot of the accident but paid no attention saying that the region was under the control of the gendarmerie. Then the gendarmerie came and said, “Since death is involved this is the police’s business”. The driver was imprisoned and it was noted that a public action had been filed against him although the workers were not involved in the legal procedure. Because the injured did not have social security and health insurance, we were told that families were covering the hospital expenses by getting loans from their relatives or pawnbrokers. While the aftershock could still be felt on the farm, two days before our arrival, a trailer car carrying a large family almost tilted over 4 km away from the farm after being stuck in mud. The workers stepped out and got into an argument with the driver. Ever since the incident, they don’t go to the farm. “We are not going to work until the owner of the orchard calls us and guarantees that no such accidents will ever take place again,” said the male seasonal worker we spoke to. He also requested the traffic police to stop and regularly check vehicles carrying agricultural workers.

Figure 34. Annual Income from Farm Labor



When families were asked about annual income from working on farms, 50% stated that they earn 5,000 TL or less in a year, with 16% earning an income higher than 15,000 TL. On average, the annual income for a household employed in seasonal agriculture is around 9,000 TL. While it might not be representative, the research revealed incomes from vegetable and sugar beet harvesting to be the highest. Although workers who are paid on lump sum basis earn slightly higher than those that receive daily wages, this comes at a cost as families work for longer hours with all members of the family being involved.

3.4 Different Forms of Discrimination in Seasonal Agriculture:

The mother tongue of two thirds of the families that took part in the research was Kurdish while one fifth spoke Arabic. The data and analysis in the preceding chapters clearly indicates the link between seasonal agricultural work and poverty. However, the fact that seasonal workers are subject to different wages compared to local workers, as well as alienation in schools and difficulty of access to hospitals and other basic services also point to social exclusion. Conditions for undertaking work that does not provide any occupational health and safety coupled with discrimination are issues that need to be further analyzed. Discrimination is also inherent within the community of seasonal workers. Hostility is observed between Arab-origin workers and Kurdish workers, as well as among Roma groups and Syrian refugee workers. Above all, gender inequality is highly prevalent as observed mainly in the heavier workload taken up by women and young girls.

“Well, there is certainly discrimination. Turks usually look down at others. They don’t care about the Kurdish when they have money. This is what I believe. There’s always discrimination.” Male worker, Adana

Another male worker from Adana expressed himself with the following words:

“Well, what can we do? We left our homes and are struggling here trying to earn a living. There are no jobs. No investments in the Eastern regions. Even if investments are made to the East, they pretend like we don’t live there. Eastern people have always been in exile. Turks have always acted like this. It is true. We wouldn’t say so if we hadn’t experienced it.”

Discrimination as reflected in the wages of local workers and seasonal workers is mentioned in a plantation in Samsun:

“Daily rate is 35 TL. Labor brokers get 3.5 TL of it so the workers get only 31.5 TL. But the local workers do not work for less than 60 TL a day and their working hours are shorter.”

Another male worker in Samsun who works in the fields during the summer and continues his school during winter shared the following:

“The discrimination is extreme. People are afraid to get into a conversation with seasonal workers on the farms. They leave as soon as the job is finished. Same in Erzurum. We cannot say we are Kurds to them. One friend in Istanbul got bullied because he was standing on the left side of an escalator and people said, ‘Oh he’s Kurdish, he wouldn’t know which side to stand on an escalator’. He took to the mountains after this incident. But everyone who works on construction sites is almost always Kurdish, everyone coming here are Kurds. I wonder why Turks don’t come here. Well we’re all under-educated, that’s one of the reasons.”

The distress felt by the adults is also reflected onto the children. One male worker echoed the message of his son when he explained why his children do not mingle with the local children:

“We get into fights with the village kids. They challenge us about who is more powerful. There were 7 of them and 4 of us but we beat them. They still continue to pick fights with us.” Male child worker, Samsun

In many instances, interviewed families reported that the village headmen and the locals do not want them in their village but cannot say anything as they need the work force. This alienation and social reaction is visible in many cases. For example, farm workers have said that they get rejected by the villagers when they ask if they can use their electricity to charge their mobile phones or lanterns. For workers that wanted to set up their tents next to the cemetery in order to use the cemetery’s fountain and restroom facilities, they were not given permission. It is clear that such prejudices against seasonal agricultural workers puts strain on access to toilets and other basic facilities to meet their most basic needs.

On the campsite for hazelnut workers in Düzce, research shows that while Roma workers received 50 TL per day and did not work on Saturdays, workers from Şanlıurfa and Şırnak received 40 TL per day and did not take any days off to rest. Restrooms and showers were additional issues. While families from Şanlıurfa and Roma workers from İzmit lived together on the campsite in Düzce, they were completely detached from one another. The smell of the



Photography: Kerem Yücel

restrooms located behind the tents of the Roma workers reached the tents of workers from Şanlıurfa who didn't like going to the toilets so close to the tents. While Roma workers didn't talk about workers from Şanlıurfa in any bad way, workers from Şanlıurfa were negative about the Roma families. One girl from Şanlıurfa said, "Roma workers are really dirty. They constantly ask for stuff, like ground peppers, tea..." Workers from Şanlıurfa had a similar attitude towards those from Şırnak, calling them "too comfortable" as they stay in the same tent even though they are not from the same family: "They stay 18 people in one tent, use the social facilities and walk around with wet hair."

A young male worker from Şırnak described how children work during the summer months to save money for school, also for university level education:

"I'm 19 years old, the youngest in the tent is 14. Except for 4 or 5 of us, everyone else goes to school. We go to school during the winter and come here during summers to pay for our education. The ones that don't go to school are usually the older ones."

Most of the prejudices were directed towards the Roma community in Yozgat-Boğazlıyan.

"They don't work. They take advance payments and run away, they don't work properly. They will beg and steal, beware of them."

"The blue tents belong to the Gypsies. Don't go near them."

During in-depth interviews at the cotton harvest in Şanlıurfa, a woman of Arab origin spoke about ethnic hostilities:

"The landlord owns vast lands, but only his relatives work on those lands. Arabs do not get along with each other. Because we do a clean job we receive 40 Kuruş per kilogram.

That is what is just. We want to make sure the cotton we collect is clean so that there won't be any sins and the money we earn is honestly earned. [...] Everything is free for Kurds.... They can be teachers, lawyers, doctors... They are all Kurds! What else do they want! [...] Now that the Syrians have arrived, we are not at ease. We have to lock our doors. We are afraid. There are foreigners on the streets," Female worker, Urfa

The research team observed at campsites that Kurds and Arabs do not want to set up their tents next to each other. They are hesitant to interact with one another. Kurdish children were observed to not play with the children of Arab families.

Similar observations were made in Manisa between Roma workers and families of other ethnicity. This inter-class competition is especially apparent in relation to Kurdish workers, and more recently to Syrian workers, who are the newcomers to the labor market and offer cheap labor.

"There is economic assimilation. They employ 20 Kurds at the Municipality, 30 Yörüks, but no Roma. They say we steal, sell drugs, do illegal things. This is economic racism... Is there anyone among us who hasn't done his military service? Kurds win because they rebel against the government. When Kurds arrive, they take the seat of honor."

The reason behind such hostility on the part of the Roma community is feelings of being stigmatized and lack of opportunities. They resent the fact that jobs are not readily available to them. The Roma also view themselves as more worthless than "the Kurds that rebel against the government" and they reflect this reaction towards people who are placed in the jobs they have missed. The stigmatization of the act of stealing, selling drugs, and being involved in illegal business points to the inherent social exclusion and discrimination among the different communities within this group. Social exclusion, and further economic exclusion, intensifies ostracizing of the Roma people. The quotes below demonstrate how the Roma are trying to prove they are "favorable" citizens⁴⁰.

"[...] We brought scrap cars. The gendarmerie locked the car up for 15 days plus fined us for 750 TL. They wouldn't do this to people from the East. But we are the losers; they can react like that to us. The others object. There are about 20 million Gypsies. Is there anyone among us that objects to the state? To the army? [...] Instead of objecting, they should go find jobs and earn themselves a living."

"Gypsies are second-class citizens! When we arrive to a new place, people warn each other to be careful against theft. We are Muslims; our flag is the Turkish flag. We want to live in Republic of Turkey, not anywhere else. There are many nationalists among us. Most of us vote for MHP [Nationalist Movement Party]."

⁴⁰ Füsün Üstel, "Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi [On the trail of 'Favorable Citizen': Citizenship Education since the Second Constitutionalist Period], İletişim Publishing House, İstanbul, 6th Edition, February 2014.

The competition between the low skilled labor force is also targeted towards Syrians. Syrians provide cheap labor in Manisa and İzmir and are often preferred for positions that are usually filled by the Roma. This causes discomfort among the Roma community and further triggers class conflict:

“Pavements were laid in Akhisar, they employed Syrians. Syrians also find work opportunities in Turgutlu and Manisa city. They are a part of an informal economy and are hired for cheap. Laying pavements pays 60 TL a day. Why don't they take our children? Syrians are very much respected in these regions.”





3.4.1 Syrian Refugees: Newcomers to the Labor Market and Deepening Class Conflict

Syrian refugees fleeing the war in Syria have settled in Turkey and entered the labor force with limited and ambiguous legal standing. Without a clear view on if or how they will access formal employment opportunities, the vulnerability of their situation has turned Syrian refugees into cheap labor reserves in industrial and agricultural production as well as the service sector. The insertion of Syrian refugees into the labor force in Turkey continues to change the local labor dynamics of seasonal agriculture. Specifically, the increase in labor supply has further challenged the conditions of seasonal agricultural work, which already underestimates the cost of labor and offers no job security.

The plummeting of daily wages upon the inclusion of Syrian refugees in the pool of unskilled labor in seasonal agriculture has deepened exploitation of labor and sharpened clashes between different worker groups, and not just the Syrian refugees.

During data collection, the highest number of Syrian refugees as seasonal workers was encountered in Adana with smaller numbers in Afyon. Agriculturally a highly productive area, Çukurova region of Southern Turkey appears to be an accessible area for Syrian refugees as there is constant demand for labor throughout the year and is in close proximity to Syria.

The research team came across relatively fewer Syrian refugees in the rural areas of central Turkey, namely Konya, Kayseri, Yozgat and Nevşehir where sugar beet is a major production and one of the main sources of seasonal labor. Farmers in the region explained the hoeing process to be an important stage in sugar beet production, with yields suffering if hoeing is not done properly⁴¹. In other words, farm owners mostly prefer “experienced” laborers.

⁴³ Interview with the Chairman of Boğazlıyan Chamber of Agriculture, Yozgat, May 2014.

Despite talk of Syrian workers in Samsun for the hazelnut harvest, the research team did not come across any Syrians in villages visited for the purpose of the study. Some interviewees noted that labor brokers do employ Syrians but they have to hide it as otherwise they might end up paying a fine of 80,000 TL per worker, a statement made by the Samsun Governor.

Interviews conducted at the Tuzla campsite in Adana confirmed the increase in labor supply upon arrival of Syrians. Daily wages decreased or stayed the same levels as the previous year. This notably strengthened the negative perception and attitude towards Syrian refugees, even to the point of denying the war in Syria as the below quote reveals:

“Syrians came here to work; they’re lying. There is no war there. Syrians here have left their country to work on the farms [in Turkey]. They came here once harvest there was completed. The only ones running away from the war are the ones staying in the refugee camps.

- Did this affect your work?

Everything decreased; our wages, the work load. Social assistance was given to Turkish citizens before but now Syrians receive it.”

A male worker in Konya said:

“The standard of living of Syrians in [refugee camps] is higher than ours. There are many people from Georgia and Afghanistan working for cheap here but Syrians decreased the wages. For example, in Antalya, the daily wage for collecting oranges dropped from 55 TL to 40 TL after Syrians arrived. They have subcontractors, they don’t give the 40 TL to the Syrians but take 15 to 20 TL for themselves.”

The research team observed Syrian families to have lower standards of living when compared to other seasonal agricultural worker groups. For seasonal workers who have been doing this job for generations, their tents were found to be more robust and resilient to rain and cold, whereas the tents received by Syrians from relief agencies or made by themselves were fragile, taking in the rain and wind. Some Syrians didn’t even have tents. Moreover, many Syrian families during the interviews noted that their beds, blankets and duvets were not adequate or healthy. They also stated that they work for lower wages and sometimes live off the food provided by the local community when they cannot access work, especially in the central provinces. Many Syrian refugees speak either Kurdish or Arabic, which enables them to communicate with other groups of seasonal agricultural workers. Despite the competition and resentment, the research team noticed that workers of Kurdish and Arabic origin help Syrian families access work and find their way around.

Since Syrian refugees do not have financial security and are obliged to work, they have become the target of labor exploitation. Due to their high vulnerability levels, not knowing Turkish and not being familiar with the Turkish farming sector, Syrians tend to be exploited even more in seasonal agriculture, which is already a sector with the highest rates of exploitation.

Two male workers interviewed in Afyon, Sultandağı further supported this:

“Whether or not they are from Syria, they are our guests. They make Syrians work harder. Syrians don’t know Turkish, they don’t pay them.”

“Some labor brokers work by the piece. They agree on 100 TL for a decare but give no more than 25 TL to Syrians. Because Syrians do not know about money, they deceive them.”

Another male worker in Boğazlıyan of Yozgat province described the abuse of Syrians as follows:

“Middlemen sell the Syrians. If the wage is 50 TL, they give 20 TL to the Syrians. They can barely live on that money. In Adana, they give food for free but they don’t give any to the Syrian kids.”

Given their desperation and unclear legal status, labor brokers take advantage of Syrian workers, which results in increased tension among other workers. The research team observed tensions between Roma workers, Syrian refugees and workers of Kurdish or Arab origin, as portrayed in the words below:

“Syrians came and there was no work left. Does Turkey not have any poor? The bosses benefit because they are cheap. A Syrian was showing a 20 TL banknote to the orchard owner last year in Malatya saying they’ll work for this much. The normal wage was 40 TL.” Male worker, Nevşehir





Syrian refugees in Turkey who became part of the labor market and who work for lesser wages have increased competition and driven down the wages for all laborers, also increasing prices of local commodities and services. Rising inner-class tensions were also observed in other seasonal and mobile worker groups and other farms included in the scope of this survey:

“While a kilo of tomatoes used to be 1.25 TL, now with the Syrians here, prices for tomatoes have increased to over 3 TL. Let alone markets, we can’t even find tomatoes in the wholesalers.” Female worker, Urfa

Another female interviewee in Adana described the situation as follows:

“Rents used to be around 3,000 to 4,000 TL [per year] but now with the Syrians, they are as high as 5,500 TL. Syrians came, prices increased. We receive the same wage as last year. We receive 30 TL, Syrians receive 20 TL.” Female worker, Adana, Çavuşlu



The 19-year-old daughter of a family in Şanlıurfa city center working as a sales person at a clothing shop for minimum wage with social security was dismissed since Syrians started doing the same job for 250 TL a month. Because of the loss of her job and debt due to the illness of her father, the family was forced to engage in seasonal agriculture for the first time.

This clearly depicts the high vulnerability levels of the poor that are deprived of conditions for improving themselves in this highly competitive and insecure environment. Participation of women in the formal labor market is low in cities such as Şanlıurfa due to cultural constraints as well as the structure of the labor market.

Rising insecurity felt towards Syrian refugees has triggered resentment among women of different ethnic groups. Adapting a male-dominant discourse, local women condemn Syrian women in the quotes below:

“Syrian girls go for cheap. The Syrians say dowry is a sin but they receive 1,500 TL as milk money.” Female worker, Adana, Çavuşlu

- Does your husband have another wife?

“I don’t have a kuma [co-wife] but you can never trust men. Men marry Syrian women. Syrians marry their daughters off to whoever they can find; Turkish, Kurdish, Arab. But they don’t give their daughters to ignorant people. They marry them as co-wives to married men. For example, I wanted to take one of them for my son, but they said no, ‘we don’t marry our daughters off to the illiterate and ignorant’. Men divorce their wives to marry the Syrian women. Syrian women don’t ask for any dowry, nothing. They simply come as they are.” Female worker, Adana, Tuzla



3.4.2 Women in the Seasonal Agriculture Labor Market

Being a woman or young girl surrounded by the values and traditions of a male-dominated culture while living in poverty and deprivation offered by seasonal agriculture is extremely disenfranchising. Given the risks of agricultural labor, oftentimes women are not able to take a bath, have some private space, or give healthy births. The hazardous effects of pesticides on women's health have been studied. The effects of pesticides that enter the body through the mouth, skin or by the respiratory system on women's health starts at the womb and passes through the mother to the fetus, resulting in abnormalities and miscarriages. A study carried out in 2013 in the GAP region provides the birth losses of women working in seasonal agriculture: natural miscarriage 43%, deliberate miscarriage 7%, stillbirth 7%, disability/illness at birth 21%.⁴²

Women carry the burden of cooking without proper ingredients, washing children with little water, keeping the whole family and the home clean while working on the farm. It should be noted that men and women do work together in the fields, but women and children have the burden of both looking after the shelter/tent and the household chores. In focus group discussions in Sultandağı with women from Diyarbakır in June 2014, women were found to question gender roles: "What is the difference between men and women? Cooking, washing, making bread, working inside and outside the home... There's no difference between men and women." Despite this awareness, women are forced into their social gender roles of mothering, cooking, and cleaning, among many others.

Another factor impacting women and girls is their limitations in going to school or continuing their education. 77% of the women over 18 years who participated in the survey were found to be illiterate. This also indicates that seasonal agricultural workers, and particularly women face the hardest social exclusion in terms of their access to education.

⁴² Zeynep Şimşek, Health Research for Workers of GAP Agriculture Project 2013, University of Harran, Occupational Health and Safety for Agriculture, Application and Research Center, Editor: Muhsin Akbaba, Publication no: 4, Şanlıurfa, p. 79



A 16-year-old young woman at a hazelnut farm in Samsun said:

"I went to middle school, I love school. But they said those who attend high schools are spoiled. They don't respect anyone, and listen only to their friends. I didn't want to be spoiled."

Another quotation from a young woman also points to the close relationship between access to education, kinship marriages, and being married off at an early age:

"It is our choice not to attend school. There are many schools in Viranşehir and many of them are good schools, but we don't attend them. Girls who go to school are not thought highly of. Our uncles wouldn't approve of it. Our uncles are like fathers to us. Their words matter."

It was also noted that especially "girls from tribes" do not go to school, traditions and cultural norms along with poverty and deprivation contributing to deepening unequal gender roles. Lack of knowledge of the Turkish language and illiteracy of women cause them to be deprived of basic services and to be exposed to discrimination. Women workers interviewed in Samsun, Afyon and Adana have stated that especially doctors can be rude and condescending:

"When they treat Arab women their attitude is different than when they check Turkish women. There are pregnant women who can't speak Turkish and it's very hard for them." Female worker, Adana



The research team came across cases of plural marriages, bigamy and co-wives to be highly common among Kurdish families engaged in seasonal agriculture. Difficulties were voiced by women in accessing their legal rights, especially legal processes related to marriage and divorce. During an interview in Samsun, a woman recited the story of when her husband left her behind with one son and three daughters who are now between 10 and 16 years old:

“My husband ran off with another girl from the tribe. So I was left alone with my kids. I couldn’t get a divorce because the tribe doesn’t allow it. My husband had an imam marriage with the other woman and they had a child, who is now registered under my name. It’s been 7 years since he left. My eldest son was 10 when he left. I had to take him out of school and make him work. He was working for 20 TL at a restaurant. He had to work because his father ran away.”

Another female worker in Adana described the harsh gender structures in Kurdish tribal communities:

- When did you get married?

“I got married when I was 15. They gave me to someone who wasn’t a local. I didn’t have anyone. My father is dead; I don’t have any brothers. We are 5 sisters. They paid a dowry for me. It is forbidden to love another or to run away here, they’d kill me.”

- How old were you when you had kids?

I was 16-17 years old. I gave birth at home. God helped me. Except for three of the births, I always gave birth at home. It’s easier, more comfortable.”





“Since I was a girl we have been going to Ordu, to Malatya. We were even poorer back then. We were 11 kids. They didn’t send me to school. When I was taking the minibus, I told my parents that it was their fault I was illiterate. All my other brothers and sisters studied until middle school. I always went to work. After I grew up, my mother didn’t work, she stayed at home and looked after the children. I’ve been doing this work for 20 years.

My husband and I met each other at the hazelnut harvest in Ordu. I got married at the age of 15. I thought things would get easier after I got married, but they didn’t. I am not complaining, my husband does provide for us. Some

men beat their wives up or don’t provide for them. My husband is a quiet type, he’s good. They came to ask for my hand in marriage three times.

I gave birth to my eldest child at home. My husband was at the village just before he went to Malatya. I told him I was sick. My mother-in-law said I still had many days till the birth, my belly was not even showing. But I gave birth before my father-in-law could prepare the car. When I gave birth at 6 months, neither my mother nor my mother-in-law were with me. They didn’t allow my husband inside because he is a man. Because I’m a berdel [bride exchange], they look down on us.”

Of all interviewed women, 86% had 3 or more children. More overwhelming was the fact that 56% of these women had 7 or more children. 57% remain in the reproductive age group.

Even though 87% of female seasonal workers in the study have undergone civil marriages, more than half of the marriages (53%) are kinship marriages. Marriage-age data indicates that 63% of the women were child brides at the time of marriage, with 23% of women married between the ages of 13 and 15 and 40% between 16 and 17 years.⁴³

⁴³ For marriages between the ages of 16 and 18 years, a special permission needs to be granted by the parents for a civil marriage to take place between underage children. Marriage before the age of 16 years is prohibited in Turkey and subject to penalty.

27 year old Sakine

"The doctor told me not to keep anything inside. But who am I going to say anything to? Getting divorced when I was innocent, visiting my father's home for three days and hearing the words 'don't come back' from my in-laws is not easy..."

I got divorced. I gave birth but they said I was infertile just because the hospital lost my file. My mother-in-law is horrible. Think about it; I was married for 5 years. When I got married, my brother-in-law was 15 years old at that time and I had to prepare his bath until he was 20. I used to start ironing at 10 at night, and finish at midnight. All my friends and neighbors used to ask me, 'Sakine are you the women of this house or the servant? What kind of a person are you? Your husband goes to bed at night while you're downstairs still working.' We used to sleep on the roof during the summers. God is my witness. I used to prepare the bed for my father-in-law and then go to bed. My mother-in-law would start shouting in the middle of the night. 'Sakine, come on. Your uncle wants his tea.' I would think, well, you are already lying next to my father-in-law, so why can't you go make some tea for your husband's brother, but I would go down anyway. I would prepare tea in the middle of the night and even mix in the sugar. I'd say, 'here you go uncle.' Now there's a kuma [co-wife] in the house. Now she's being treated the same way they treated me. See, they haven't had kids for three years. They said I was infertile, now she's having difficulties in getting pregnant.

(...) I got divorced. It's been two years.

I had a daughter, but she passed away. If she had lived, she would be 7 years old now. She was a premature baby. There was 20 days till her expected birth. The doctors said if she can make it through the first week, then she would live. After 11 days they said she'll be alright, she'll get out of the incubator. But back then in the public hospital, they used to put three babies together. They put my baby next to another baby and they infected each other. One day the doctor called to inform us she was dead and asked us to pick up the corpse. After that, they didn't take me to the hospital for five years. My mother-in-law used to say, 'you went to your family's house, worked hard there and that's why the baby died.' I used to go to my parent's house because my mother secretly took me to the hospital.

I used to blame my parents. Ours was an arranged marriage. But my mother says, if I didn't marry my husband my uncle wanted to marry me and I didn't want him. She says 'you didn't say anything about this one so we married you off to him.'

(...)

I got divorced when I was 25. Now, I'm 27 but everyone says I look older. Well, what can I say, when they say that I'm a widower, it offends me. We're the same age as my sister-in-law but people say, 'Oh, have you heard? She's a widower now?' 60-year-old men come to ask for my hand and make me their co-wife. Or 40-year-old men want to get married. Can a 20-year-old be with a 40-year-old? I sometimes say, 'What does it matter whether I'm a girl or a woman?' But I cannot become a co-wife or ruin anyone's marriage.

There's a factory I can work at in Şanlıurfa but they don't allow girls to go and work on their own. If it was a place where only women worked at, then, it would be alright but if there are men around then the rumors start."







3.5 Data on Child Labor in Seasonal Agriculture

Regarding minimum working age stated in the Turkish Labor Code, “children who have not turned 15 years cannot work. However, children who are 14 years old and have completed their primary education can work at light jobs that will not prevent or harm their physical, mental and moral growth.” Field research has shown that children are being employed in seasonal agriculture despite their age. As stated in the Child Labor Report for 2013, issued by the Research Institute of Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions, child labor in agriculture accounted for 45% of the total child labor in Turkey in 2012 and the number of children used in agriculture has reached 399,000.⁴⁴

Families who constantly migrate and undertake the hard living and working conditions of seasonal agriculture adversely affect their children. According to a report published in 2011, the findings related with children’s health among seasonal agricultural worker families reveals prevalence of malnutrition among 5-6 year old children (38-45%), intestinal parasites (55%), anemia (17%), children not vaccinated (46-51%), growth deficiencies (18%), language-cognitive deficiencies (32%), fine motor skills development deficiencies (49%), gross motor skills development deficiencies (15%), and social skills development deficiencies (19%).⁴⁵

As reflected in basic demographic data, one in every five children who took part in the survey

⁴⁴ Child labor report, 2013, Research Institute of Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions, Report No: 8 Istanbul, April 2013, p. 7

⁴⁵ Şimşek, ibid, p. 21

between the ages of 0 and 4 years had bronchitis and the same percentages were seen in cases of children with diarrhea. While rates decreased as children got older, the percentage of bronchitis and diarrhea never fell below 10%. Additionally, as children's ages increase, cases of flu and cold increase. Furthermore, the recovery period for children who took part in the survey is longer than the average. While recovery periods for children between the ages of 0 and 4 years is around two weeks, 16% took longer to recover. This percentage decreases to 7% for children between 5 and 11 years old. In the elder age groups, the recovery periods were relatively lower. In the fields, children are also under risk of insect bites, exposure to pesticides, hernia and diarrhea, with sub-standard shelter facilities causing additional risk.

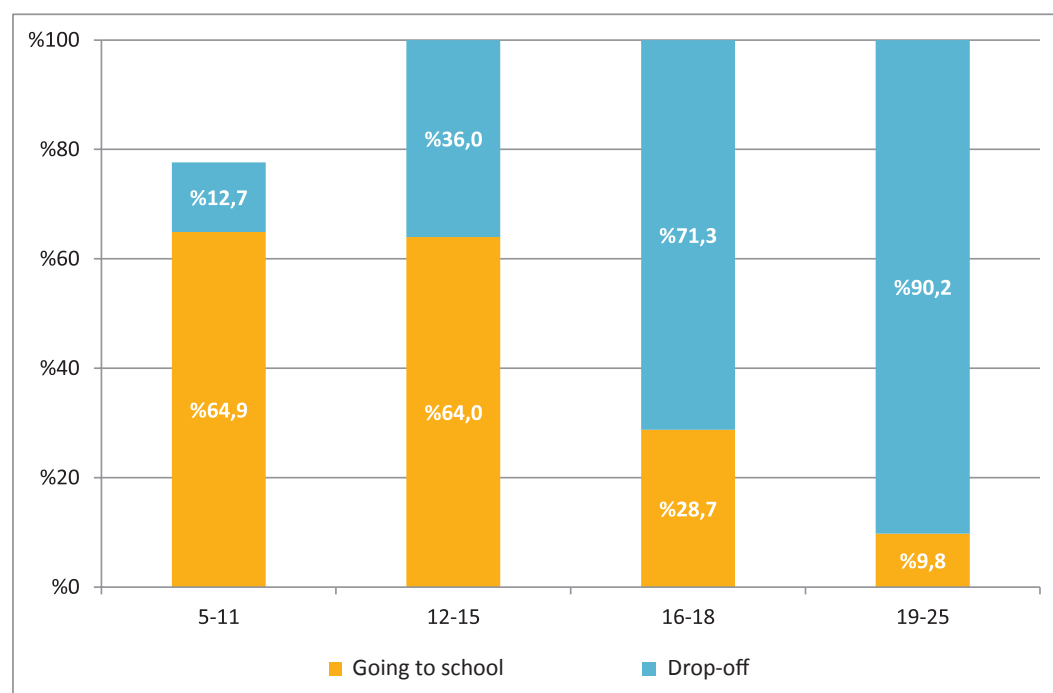
Education

An important part of the field research on seasonal agricultural working families focused on the participation and access to education by the children.



MURAT is 10 years old and this is the first year he is "officially working". They set on the seasonal migration route from Şanlıurfa, Viranşehir with his extended family of 22. Murat cannot attend school properly because they leave Şanlıurfa every year in May. "We have again set on the migration route. First we will hoe sugar beet in Aksaray, then go to vegetable harvest in Samsun. Then, we will head to Düzce for picking nuts. After Düzce, I won't go to the cotton harvest with my family but continue school," said Murat describing their journey. But during their seasonal migration, which we witnessed, instead of going back for school, he went to the cotton harvest close to Viranşehir with his family. According to Murat, while he doesn't work hard during hoeing of beets, he has to work really hard at the vegetable harvest, while picking nuts and cotton and he earned quite a large amount for his family. Because Murat's family doesn't own any land, they have to migrate from their village to the city center and they have been seasonal workers ever since. Murat's sister who also doesn't attend school is another example of children not being able to attend school. "I went to 7th grade but because we have to set on the road for work, I had to leave school. We used to go to school for 4 months, we had to work for 6. When you only attend school for 4 months, you cannot learn anything except to read and write; nothing else."

Figure 35. Status of Education



The tendency to drop out of school among children of working families is very high. Out of 99 children between the ages of 0 and 4 years, only 2 of them had access to pre-school education. For the group between the ages of 5 and 11 years old, 13% were reported out of school. They had either not been sent to school at all or had dropped out before receiving a primary school diploma. Even for the 65% that attend school in this age group, the quality of the education they receive is highly questionable.

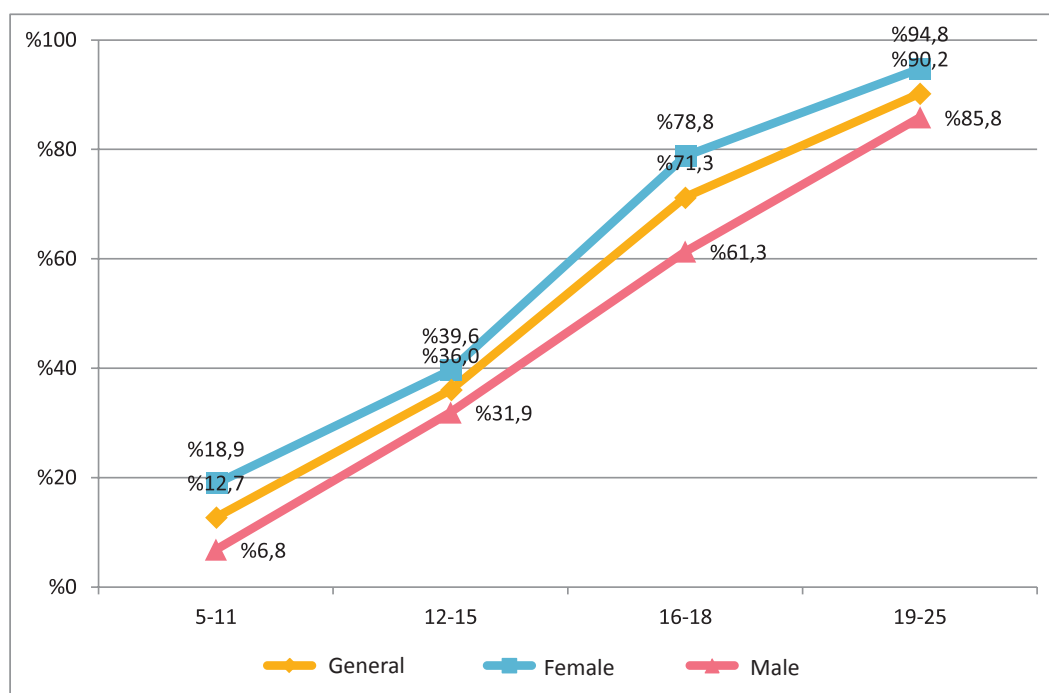
For the 12-15 year olds, 64% of children continue their formal education. For this age group, data shows that one in every three child drops out of school. In the 16-18 year old age group, the number of

children dropping out of school increases drastically to 71%. Teenagers continuing their education in the 19-25 year old age group drops to a mere 10%. According to OECD statistics, only 59% of children between the ages of 15 and 19 years in Turkey continue their formal education, which essentially means that 4 out of 10 teenagers do not attend school.⁴⁶ For comparison, schooling among boys at the secondary school level in Turkey is 68%, while only 64% of girls are enrolled in secondary school. These percentages, which are 40% and 28% respectively in Şanlıurfa, also support the research findings.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Education at a Glance 2014, OECD Indicators, OECD Publishing, 2014 p. 307

⁴⁷ Analysis of the Situation of Children and Young People in Turkey, UNICEF, 2012

Figure 36. School Drop Out, Gender and Age



The table above shows how school dropout rates for children who took part in the survey changed according to their gender and age group. Clearly, the tendency to drop out of school increases with age. While children between the ages of 5 and 11 years old who left school accounted for 13% of all children, the percentage increases up to 90% among 19-25 year olds. Furthermore, there is a difference in every age group between genders when evaluating dropouts. The difference that is 12 points for the 5-11 age group, decreases to 8 points for 12 to 15 year olds however, increasing to 17 points in the 16-18 age group. While the percentage of girls dropping out of school is 95% for the 19-25 year old age group, it is 86% for boys. This portrait shows that inequality between the genders starts at the youngest age group and continues until the university age.



"I left school in the second term because I would have to leave anyway, so I said this is enough."

14 year old girl,
Şanlıurfa

"Well, one gets scared of school."

18 year-old girl
who never went to
school,
Şanlıurfa

"My 6 year-old daughter just enrolled in school.

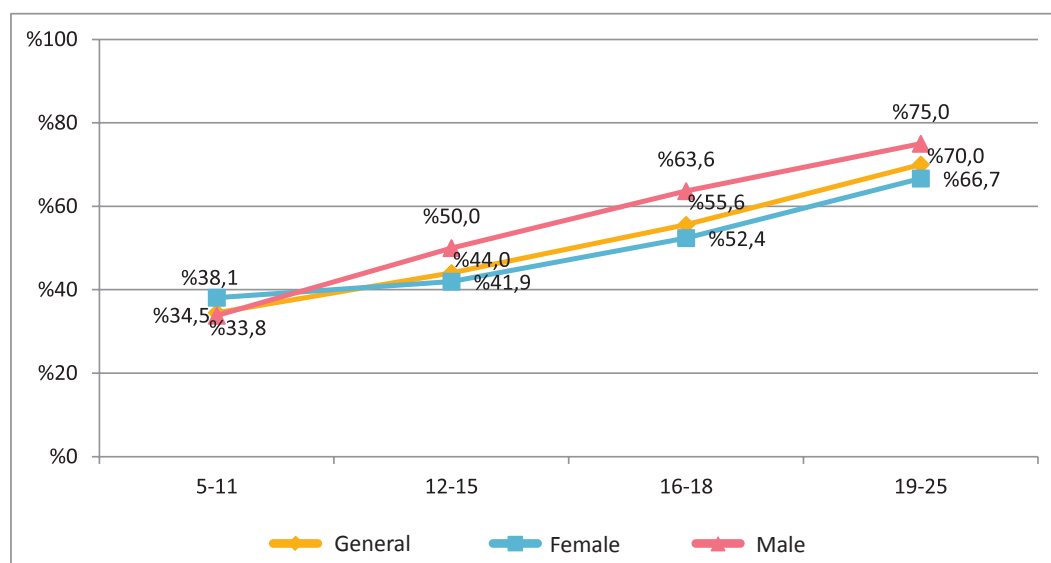
I sometimes watch television and see that everyone is saying send your daughters to school but how?"

Woman in Şanlıurfa

"Well, our job is with cotton. Yours is with pen, ours is cotton."

14 year old girl,
Şanlıurfa

Figure 37. Regular School Attendance by Gender



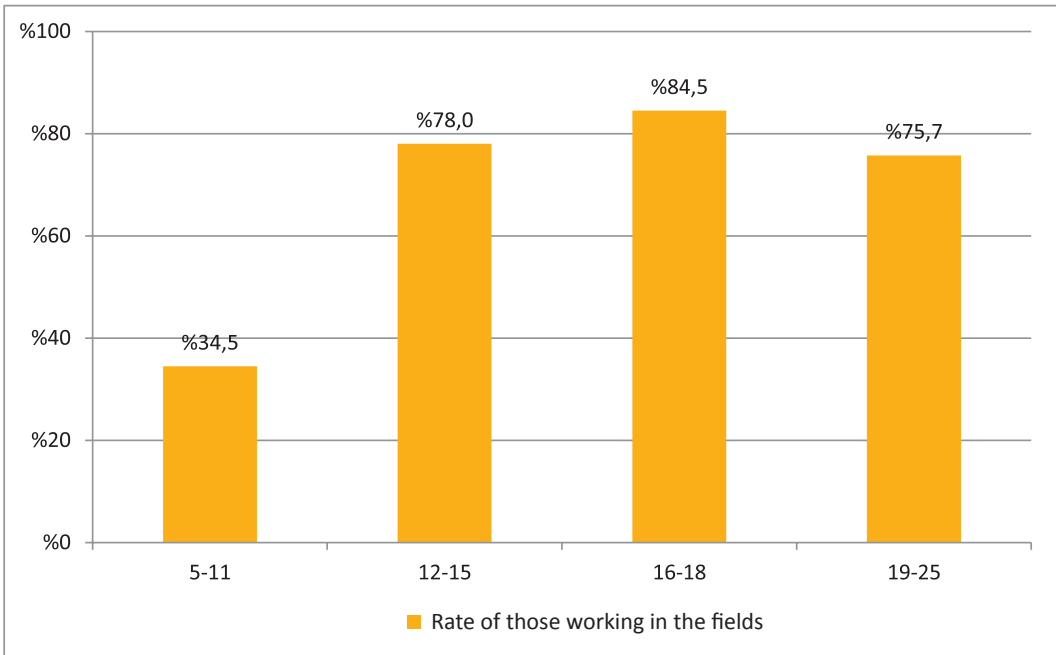
Many children interviewed residing with their families do not regularly attend school. Of all those that go to school in the 5-11 year old age group, only 35% attend school regularly. This percentage increases to 44% for the 12-15 year old age group, while one in every two children between 16 and 18 years old is able to attend school regularly.



REYHAN is a 13 year-old girl. Since she was born, she has been migrating with her family who are seasonal agricultural workers and has never been back to her hometown of Viranşehir in Şanlıurfa. Reyhan suffered a seizure at the age of 10. She started primary school but couldn't go regularly. Her father said, "The children were all going to school but I had to take them out. I couldn't stay in Şanlıurfa. If I did, I'd have no income, no wages to feed the children and send them to school." Because Reyhan and her siblings are unable to attend school regularly, the family cannot get any support from the government. Reyhan now works on a farm with her brothers, sisters and her father. Her sister Adile is 11 years old. Adile stays more at the campsite and looks after the younger children. She takes care of her sister's 1-year-old daughter and her own 4-year-old brother. If her sister needs to travel elsewhere for work, then Adile goes to the farm as well. According to Reyhan and Adile, the toughest challenge in Adana is the weather being very hot and humid. The biggest difficulty of sugar beet hoeing is working under the sun and leaning forward the whole day. Reyhan and Adile go to work in the fields instead of attending the education activities next to the camp area set up in the Uzunisa village in Ordu. Only their younger brothers Ferit and Barış benefit from this opportunity. After the girls work in the fields for 11 hours, they have to carry water, prepare the food, make the bread, wash the dishes, and do the laundry. Just like everybody else, Reyhan's whole family of 15 stays in a 24 square meter tent. Reyhan and Adile don't remember how to read and write as well as they first learned it.

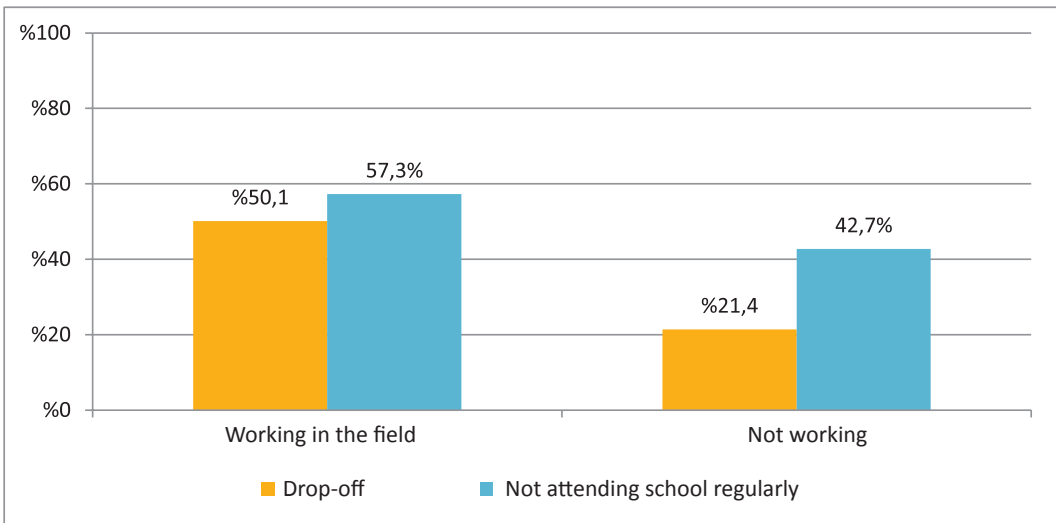
Status of Working Children:

Figure 38. Children Working on Farms



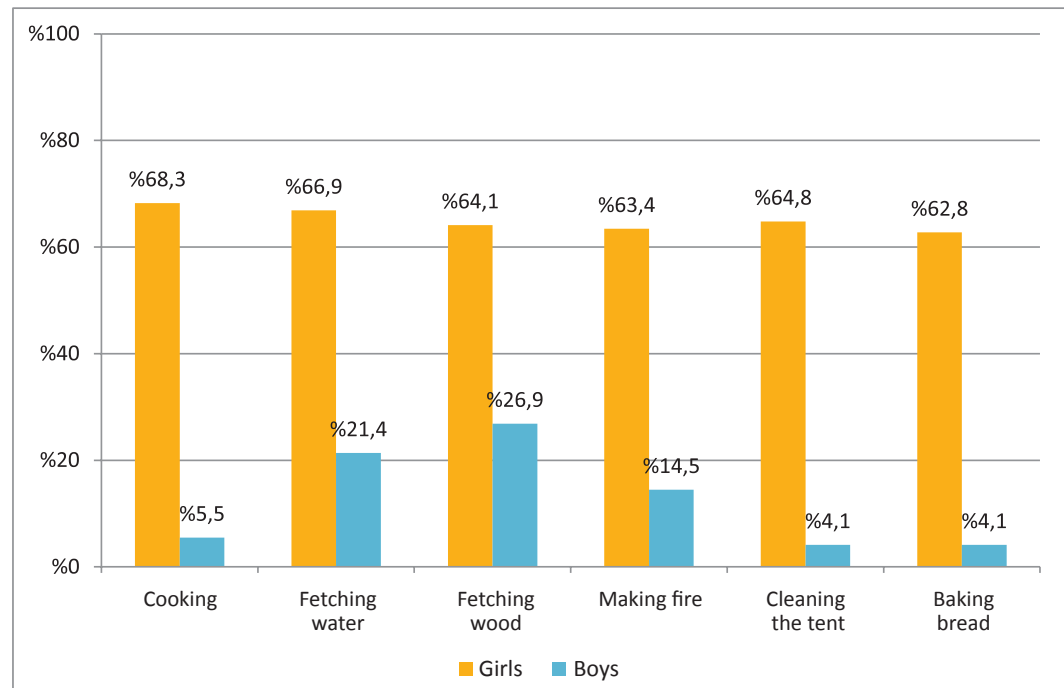
A high majority of the children that travel around with their families work on farms. While 35% of children between the ages of 5 and 11 years work on farms, this percentage increases to 78% for the 12-15 year old age group and to 85% for the 16-19 age group. After 19 years of age, there is a slight decrease in the percentage with 76% of those in the 19-25 year old age group working on the farms. Considering the fact that over half the population of agricultural workers is below the age of 18 years, such high rates indicate alarming numbers of children employed in seasonal agriculture. According to survey results, there is no difference in the rates of boys and girls working on farms, indicating that child labor is independent of gender.

Figure 39. School Attendance



The education of children that migrate with their families is interrupted, irrespective of whether or not they work on farms. As the data shows, children who work on farms have higher rates of drop-out and irregular attendance in school. 50% of children (under the age of 18) that work on farms have dropped out of school whereas 21% of children who don't do seasonal agricultural work have had to drop out from school. Of those that continue their formal education, 57% of working children attend school irregularly. Among children that travel around with their families but don't work in the fields, 43% of them are inconsistent in their school attendance. The mere fact that they are mobile, accompanying their families is the reason for the bad quality of the education they receive even though they have not dropped out completely.

Figure 40. Work Load of Children



Children of seasonal agricultural worker families have high volume of work in terms of household chores. This burden is especially harsh on girls. Nearly 70% of all girls are expected to perform various chores including cooking, carrying water and wood, lighting fires for the stoves, cleaning the tents, and baking the bread. The chores of boys on the other hand are minimal when compared to the girls. As the main household chore, 27% of boys are expected to fetch the wood followed by 21% of boys fetching water for drinking, cooking and cleaning. While there is no difference in genders when it comes to working in the fields, the heavy duties of girls at home cause them to work “double shifts”. In terms of workload at home, girls are by far the more disadvantaged group, clearly signaling to imbalanced gender roles.

“When I’m not working in the field, my mom always orders me to set up for breakfast, make tea, clean the tent, look after my siblings. I work both in the field and at home, helping my mom, doing the laundry.”

Young girl, Aksaray





One of the most crucial problems in seasonal agriculture is the poverty cycle. Child workers and children that attend the seasonal labor migration with their families lack education opportunities forcing them to continue their lives without any kind of security. Survey results indicate that while children especially at younger ages are registered in school, they are unable to consistently attend classes. They leave school before the end of the school year and return to school months after it starts. Of those that drop out, by law, this must be justified with either death or chronic health problems, immigration abroad, and age limit. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör defines this situation as “disguised lack of attendance to school.”⁴⁸

The Circular on Education of Seasonal Agricultural Worker Children dated April 2011 offers several options for children and their families that migrate throughout the year. Among these recommendations are for children to be placed in boarding schools in their home of origin, to benefit from primary schools in the respective locations and regions to which they migrate, and to make use of mobile education facilities and teachers in the areas that they temporarily settle. If the various constraints to making such services available could be overcome, some children of working families would be in a position to complete their education and seize the opportunity to create a different future for themselves.

⁴⁸ Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör, “(Lack of) Education Outlook of Children in Seasonal Agricultural Migration, Perspectives: Political Analysis and Comments from Turkey”, No: 6.13: 38-41, Heinrich BöllStiftung, p. 40.

Data regarding children in this report are in line with previous research findings. All prevailing research and data indicate the urgent need to intervene in this critical issue. While the scope and magnitude of risk and poverty faced in the field changes depending on agricultural products, labor requirements and other local conditions, almost all seasonal agricultural worker families face hardship and unsanitary conditions. Seasonal agricultural labor and living conditions of seasonal workers threaten particularly the health, safety and overall development of children. The current survey showed that child labor is heavily used throughout the entire seasonal labor sector in a variety of roles and circumstances. Even if children do not work directly on the fields, they are adversely affected by the conditions and implications of the migration journey they are forced to take with their families.



Turkey has stated that seasonal agricultural labor, as performed by children, is one of the worst forms of child labor and has pledged through the International Labor Organization (ILO) that it will work to eliminate it. In this regard, monitoring, inspection and preventive systems should be established urgently and applied efficiently. The unhealthy living environment, lack of bathroom facilities and unhygienic conditions, unsafe travelling, as well as social insecurity, instability and lack of control over working conditions put at risk the lives of all children born into or living off of seasonal agriculture. A solid and sustainable action plan that ensures maximum benefits for the children of seasonal agricultural families must be implemented immediately.



KADRIYE is 14 years old and in the 6th grade. She's from Şanlıurfa, Viranşehir and wants to become a doctor. Kadriye and her older sister stay with their brothers during the school year. Even when they go to school, they risk failing to pass their class. As Kadriye explains, "We leave Şanlıurfa 10 to 15 days before the end of school and return 10 to 15 days after the beginning of school. We couldn't take half of our exams. But we'll have to leave again because we have no other choice." Kadriye smashed her eyebrow on an iron bar and escaped a serious injury. The wound was stitched up and after 10 days the stitches had to be removed; however, her family could not take her to the doctor as they live far away from the city center and had to wait for the labor contractor to come and take her with his car. The assessment team later found out that they went to the hospital in the end. The seasonal migration journey for Kadriye and her family is very hard as 10 members of the family stay all together in the same tent. After Adana, Kadriye and her older sister joined their family. After sugar beet hoeing in Nevşehir, they went to the chickpea and bean harvest. Then, their journey took them to Malatya for the apricot harvest and from there, they were supposed to go to Ordu for the hazelnut harvest but because of frost, they had to change their route. Before they went on to the cotton harvest, they stayed in Konya for the sunflower harvest. When they returned to Şanlıurfa, Kadriye was planning on going to school instead of continuing in the fields and fortunately she was successful. Kadriye's family used to live in the village and were sharecroppers, which entitled them to receive half of the crops they grew and meant they gave half to the landowner. But they are no longer sharecroppers and had to migrate to the city. Kadriye's sisters, Özge (20) and Nesrin (22) have never been to school, and both are illiterate. Kadriye's sister Özge summarizes the situation: "I would love to learn how to read and write but there are many things to do in the tent after we come back from the fields; there is no time left to study. How can you learn anything when you are working from 6 in the morning to 8 at night under this sun?" Her other sister Nesrin says: "We are somewhere for 5 days and somewhere else for another 5 days. We spend our days moving around. Hoeing is tough. Children do it, my mom does it. Everyone tries to contribute. I wish I cleaned the toilets instead of doing this." She further explains that they get sun stroke under the sun doing hoeing.





4. Conclusion

In order to break the patterns associated with seasonal agricultural labor, it is crucial to address education, discrimination, job safety and social security for those employed in seasonal agriculture. This will help tackle issues related to hard births, i.e. children born during the migration periods on the fields, as well as the debt cycle, among others.

The harsh living and working conditions of seasonal agricultural workers are grim and take their toll on the well-being of all family members, including the unborn. Particularly under strain are pregnant and lactating women, as well as infants and young children due to women's poor health and lack of early childhood development practices and facilities, not to mention interruption of formal education for school-aged children. Even though some of the stories shared by seasonal workers, coupled by observations in the field, signaled to relatively "better" conditions for some crops in certain cities, quantitative data continues to prove the contrary. Seasonal agricultural laborers and their families are one of the most vulnerable groups in Turkey.

One main contributor to the dire circumstances identified during the field research point to the lack of legal regulations and the inadequate application of the regulations in place. There are almost no labor inspections foreseen in the Code of Obligations no. 6098 and Occupational Health and Safety Code no. 6331. Therefore, employers do not feel inclined or responsible for providing transportation, shelter, clean water supply and washing facilities, forcing seasonal workers to tender for themselves. Perhaps more critical than living environment are the working conditions. Remunerations differ and the same wages are not paid for same jobs. While certain local applications changed after the Circular in 2010, certain obligations were still undefined and positive developments did not continue. Many child labor monitoring units are non-functional and it is utterly crucial for these units to be fully functional in order to take concrete steps towards preventing and eliminating child labor.

Mechanisms that can detect problems related to seasonal agricultural labor and policies that offer urgent solutions are reviewed by recent research conducted by the Research Commission of the Turkish Parliament, of which the members were elected on 13 January 2015. During the study, landowner farmers and agricultural associations were consulted, confirming the challenges faced by small farmers within the seasonal agriculture market. This report tries to state the current situation and condition of seasonal, mobile agricultural labor; however, as noted throughout the report, these conditions are not independent of the supply chain and the general outlook of agriculture and labor market.

In one of the field visits in December 2014, Support to Life visited the olive harvest in Ayvalık district of Balıkesir on the Aegean coast. The research team came across a 30 year old male worker who was laid off after six years of work at the Soma mine⁴⁹. Now working in Ayvalık

⁴⁹ On 13 May 2014, the fire at the coal mine in Soma, Manisa caused the death of 301 miners.



in the olive harvest, the male worker pointed out how similar his experiences were between working in the mine and doing seasonal agriculture:

“I had a shift on the day the explosion at the mine happened. But, just chance, I was ill that day and didn’t go to work... The number of shifts decreased after the disaster, resulting in the need for fewer workers. Because there was less work to do, the mining company laid off 2,800 people. So after 6 years of working at the mine, I came here to be a “sırıkcı”⁵⁰. Until this month, there was uncertainty at the mine, that’s why we kept on renting the house. Now they’ve dismissed us and it is still not certain whether they will give us any indemnity payments. We registered to İŞKUR (Turkish Employment Agency) for unemployment pay. The mines in and around Soma do not have vacancies for the 2,800 workers that were laid off. I don’t know what we will do.

I’m here for a month now and worked only for 20 days. I couldn’t work for 10 days because of the rain. Ivrindi is a rural place. There aren’t any other job opportunities around. That is why I had gone to Soma with my family. Everyone else is working in seasonal agriculture. People have to earn money so they do some daily work on small farms for 3-4 months, then they return to their homes. They feed cattle but this doesn’t help either. Moreover, if they plant wheat, they suffer loss with the gasoline costs, pesticides, and so on...”

⁵⁰ Sırıkcı: Agricultural workers who climb ladders to hit the olive trees with sticks for the olives to fall to the ground and to be collected.

5. Policy Recommendations

Education and Social Protection

In areas where children take part in seasonal agricultural labor migration, the Ministry of Education should fulfill its existing responsibilities regarding student registration and school attendance and follow up and inspect the process to ensure students are registered at schools and continue their education.

With regard to school attendance of children, the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Family and Social Policies should fulfill their responsibilities, take preventive measures, carry out inspections and ensure that necessary sanctions are imposed. In cities where seasonal agricultural labor is high, educators and teachers should be given training regarding the problems faced by children taking part in seasonal agricultural labor.

In order to ensure school attendance of children involved in the migration process, projects aimed at reinforcing bonds between the child and school should be initiated.

For situations where families engaged in seasonal agriculture do not prefer to take their children with them, under the guidance and responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Family and Social Policies, temporary boarding schools should be provided that will also meet the accommodation, food, shelter, health and social needs of the children.

Ministry of Education should also provide support in the form of summer school programs, weekend school programs and additional courses in order to compensate for the education loss faced by these children.

In addition, the issue of child labor in seasonal agricultural labor should be taken into consideration within the context of family-child relations. Informative sessions aimed at increasing family awareness related to child development, domestic violence and abuse should be developed and implemented by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. Families in poverty should be given social support to ensure their children continue their education.

Shelter, Food, Health and Transportation

In cooperation with public health centers, nutritional programs that support child development should be developed and implemented with a view to support local development, and families should be trained in the areas of child development and nutrition.

Seasonal agricultural labor families should have easy access to health services. Developmental problems of pre-school children in particular should be identified and vaccination and health scanning programs should be implemented on a regular basis.

Projects aimed at improvement of the gathering areas of seasonal agricultural workers, also supported by the private sector, should be developed, with standards for appropriate shelter. Minimum facilities and services such as clean water, restroom and bathroom facilities, electricity supply, waste management, childcare and social service centers should be provided.

As part of the migration process, different modes of transportation pose risks for the health and safety of children and their families. Precautions to ensure safe transportation in line with related legislation should be implemented.

Legislation and Inspection

The issue of seasonal agricultural labor should be managed by a commission to be set up under the Prime Ministry, comprising members from the related Ministries. The commission should demonstrate firm commitment in terms of developing and implementing solutions and policies regarding the issue.

Uncertainty in the related legislation should be clarified. The responsible parties, particularly with regard to the gathering areas of seasonal agricultural workers, should be clearly indicated in laws pertaining to municipalities.

Standards for good agricultural and social practices need to be promoted by the related Ministries. This can be facilitated by civil society organizations lobbying producers, buyers and exporters to set standards for child labor and to certify as such. As complementary to this, contract-based farming can be encouraged to improve working standards for agricultural workers.

Inspection should be put in place to prevent informal employment with no social security.

Provisions that prevent child labor and provide legal penalties for that should be enforced and inspections should be carried out in this regard. All public authorities should fulfill their responsibilities in the enforcement of related legislation.

Participation of non-governmental organizations in monitoring seasonal agricultural labor should be ensured. More practically, civil society representatives can be included in Monitoring Boards of local and central government offices.

Traffic controls should be more frequent to ensure the travel safety of seasonal agricultural workers. Especially in cities where seasonal agricultural labor traffic is high, both the gendarmerie and police should be informed about the issue and more frequent checks aimed at transportation safety should be put in place.

Raising Awareness

Campaigns aimed at increasing public awareness about child labor should be developed and implemented to highlight the scope and scale of child labor in seasonal agriculture, industry and service sectors. The public and private sector needs to be called to take action for the prevention and elimination of child labor in Turkey.

Setting standards for good social practices, and raising awareness among farmers to adopt these practices will help keep under-aged children away from the fields, while improving the working conditions of adult workers.

Awareness campaigns on child labor aimed at sensitizing producers, local civil society organizations, and local public authorities should be initiated and continued in a systematic manner, to encourage local actors to take action.

The private sector that consumes agricultural products should contribute to efforts aimed at elimination of child labor and must be pushed to adopt good social practices, along with others in their supply chain.

Livelihood Support

In seasonal agricultural labor, in order to prevent children to be detached from their home-towns, new livelihood opportunities should be created. With such projects aimed at creating new employment opportunities, the main focus should be on creating employment especially for women.

In urban settings, conditions that allow women to work at home and collectively should be created and projects in this area should be supported. Development agencies can play an active role in this area.

In order to promote employment of women, local and central authorities should provide facilities like day-care centers or kindergartens.



Annex 1. What is WASH?⁵¹

Everyone has the right to access water and sanitation. This right has been defined in international legal documents and it is required that adequate, safe, acceptable and physically and financially accessible drinking water and sanitation facilities be provided to individuals and their families. Adequate amounts of safe water are crucial for minimizing water related illnesses and ensuring personal or family hygiene.

The right for clean water and sanitation is an inevitable part of human rights that include health, accommodation and sufficient food rights. This right is a guarantee for sustaining human life. States and other official bodies are obliged to provide the right to water supply and sanitation to their citizens. For example, attacking water installations and irrigation systems during armed clashes; damaging or cancelling such facilities or harming such systems has been forbidden.

WASH – Water Supply, Sanitation and Hygiene support is a practical explanation of the common principles of the humanitarian action based on the common belief and commitment of humanitarian aid organizations and the Humanitarian Relief Agreement. The principles reflecting the principle of humanness and international law norms basically cover the right to receive humanitarian aid for protection and safety and for basic needs.

The main goals of WASH programs are to minimize the risk of diseases caught by fecal-oral transmissions (i.e. food and beverages contamination with excrement) and to minimize encounters with possible diseases. In order to achieve this, the below-mentioned conditions should be provided:

- Good hygiene practices
- Supply of safe drinking water
- Minimization of environmental health risks
- Conditions for ensuring healthy, right and safe living



⁵¹ Information under the heading “What is WASH?” have been translated and compiled from the Introduction sector of Sphere Handbook. See: (Online) <http://www.spherehandbook.org/en/introduction-2/>, Access date: 22.12.2014.

In order to respect and honor human rights, minimum standards should be established at temporary accommodation camps. The target of Project for Improving Occupational and Social Lives of Seasonal, Mobile Agricultural Workers (METİP) based on the Circular of the Prime Ministry dated 24.03.2010 and numbered 2010/6 was to improve current conditions of seasonal, mobile agricultural workers who migrate from their own cities to other cities with their families in terms of transportation, accommodation, education, health, safety, social relations, occupational and social security rights. The camps established to meet the requirement for accommodation within the scope of the project have been examined during our survey with regards to WASH standards. Further, the standards at camps to which workers settled willingly have been evaluated according to minimum standards.

Certain Quantitative Values according to WASH Standards

WATER

- The minimum water consumption required for drinking, cooking and personal hygiene per person on daily basis is 15 liters.
- If the water source is a tap, then it should be used by no more than 250 people, if it is a hand pump then the limit is 500 people and if it is an open well than it can be used at most by 400 people.
- The distance of the water sources to the shelters should be at most 500 meters.
- The queuing time in front of the water source should be at most 15 minutes.
- Access to the water source should be available for 8 hours on daily basis.
- A family should have two clean water storage materials with a minimum capacity of between 10-20 liters.
- There should be at least one sink for each person.

EXCREMENT

- One toilet should be used at most by 20 people.
- The toilets should be at maximum 50 meters from the shelters.
- The toilet pit should be at minimum 30 meters from an underground water resource and the bottom point of the pit should be at least 1.5 meters above the bottom of the underground water level.

WASTE

- For each household, there should be at least a 100 liter waste container.
- The distance of the waste container to the shelters should be at least 100 meters.
- Containers should be emptied at least twice each week.

NON-FOOD REQUIREMENTS

- The shelters should be at least 2 meters above the ground.
- The closed living space per person should be at minimum 3.5 square meters to ensure clean air circulation.
- A minimum of 250 grams of bathing soap, 200 grams of washing powder, 75 ml/100 grams of toothpaste, toothbrush, 250 ml of shampoo, 250 ml of lotion for babies per person and one razor, one nail clippers, one hair brush per household are required.



Along with questionnaires and in-depth interviews carried out for the survey of occupational and living conditions of seasonal agricultural workers conducted by Support to Life within the scope of Awareness Program for Child Labor in Seasonal Mobile Agricultural Labor, the water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) conditions were also evaluated. During 10 field visits seven different components were examined and it was found that WASH conditions were very similar to each other. Tankers brought either by the labor brokers or the landowner usually provided water and there was no information on the safety of the water. Therefore, many cases of diarrhea were reported. It was determined that none of the hygiene materials were available on the farms. Serious difficulties were observed in meeting toilet and bathing requirements. Families usually dug pits and surrounded the hole by tent canvas to make their own toilets and sometimes use the surrounding fields for their toilet needs. For bathing, they again sometimes build outdoor bathing tents and sometimes they took baths inside their tents. There are many flies and mosquitoes around the tents. Non-food items are carried from household to household and provided by the workers, their quantity and quality varied.

In short, the situation in camps and scattered settlements certainly does not meet the minimum WASH standards. Some of the camps included in this survey are camps established within the scope of METİP. However, it was determined that these camps cannot provide minimum service and facilities required and even if they have been established, toilet and bathing facilities at camps are mostly unusable. Since no METİP funds have been granted to Provincial Special Administrations, the METİP settlement areas have deteriorated when compared to previous years. The fact that one of the settlements that covered most of the minimum standards was a deserted jail is very troublesome.

PROVINCE		AFYON (7-9 July)	
DISTRICT/VILLAGE			
General Information	TYPE	CAMP	DESERTED JAIL
	NUMBEROFTENTS	(APPROXIMATELY) 50-60	
	POPULATION	(APPROXIMATELY) 500	(APPROXIMATELY) 100
Water, Hygiene, Sanitation	Hygiene	There are no hygienic facilities. There are no baths at the camp. Sometimes workers have to take showers in their tents. Some of the workers noted that they can only take baths once every two weeks. There are 2 taps for washing hands but they are not enough.	There is access to bathing soap, washing powder, shampoo, brushes, clippers and razors. Access to the water is through one tap and it as observed that this was not enough. People take good care of their personal hygiene and look cleaner in general when compared to other camps. They wash their hands regularly. They hang their clothes outside at the empty courtyard.
	Water	Water looks clean. Water source is within the camp. It is open for access for 8 hours during the day and is easily accessible. There are 2 taps for about 500 people. Sometimes long queues are formed in front of the taps when workers come back from the field. Sometimes there are water cuts.	Accessibility is not bad, it covers the minimum requirements. Workers are happy with water. The water looks clean and everyone says it tastes good. They use the same water as the locals. There is the required amount of water for drinking, cooking and personal hygiene per person. The water source is approximately 50 meters away from the shelters. The location of the water source is secure. There are no queues and it is open to access every day.
	Excrement	It is more than 50 meters away from the water source and there are 2-3 toilets. Their distance from the shelters is suitable. Due to the lack of toilets, tent toilets have been established but their number is not adequate either. The location of the toilets is not at the safe distance. There is no privacy for women. There are no facilities to wash hands and no flushes. There is no toilet papers or other materials. There is no mechanism to discharge toilet waste. There is one toilet per approximately 500 people.	There are two toilets per approximately 100 people. They are more than 50 meters away from the water source. They can be easily cleaned. There is no mechanism to discharge toilet waste. There is no privacy for women.
	Disease Carriers	There are too many flies, mosquitoes and insects. There are no protection systems. Food is kept in tents.	Mosquitoes are a big problem, they bite. There are no precautions taken. Food is maintained at specially preserved units.
	Wastes	There are no waste containers, waste is buried under the ground.	There is one public container less than 100 meters away from the shelters. There is also another unit where waste is collected along with the container.
Shelters, Settlement and Non-Food Requirements	Shelters and Settlement	The heights of the tents are suitable. The area of tents are around 4x3 square meters and the closed living space per person is not adequate. There is a common area for sleeping, bathing, putting on clothes, taking care of children, preserving food, goods, cooking and eating. There is no privacy.	The deserted jail is used as a settlement. Each family has a room. The height of the ceiling is adequate. There are separate living spaces for sleeping, eating, washing clothes, preserving foods, etc.
	Non-food requirements	They have cookers, pans, knives, forks, spoons, plates, glasses, and all similar eating materials. There are no furnaces or maintainable artificial energy source. No energy saving lighting systems or solar panels. There are no fridges. There are no heating or ventilation facilities.	There are the basic non-food materials such as clothes, personal hygiene, general household goods and tent materials. They have kitchen goods such as pots, knives, forks, spoons, plates and jugs. Electricity is illegally connected. There is no furnace; they light fires, which present a threat. There is no fridge, heating or ventilation.
Health		They have the possibility to see a doctor in case of illness. The doctor and the hospital are about 4 to 5 kilometers away. Private cars are used to see the doctor.	

PROVINCE		ORDU (12-13 August)
DISTRICT/VILLAGE		UZUNISA
General Information	TYPE	CAMP
	NUMBER OF TENTS	(APPROXIMATELY) 50-60
	POPULATION	(APPROXIMATELY) 500
Water, Hygiene, Sanitation	Hygiene	There are basic hygienic facilities: suitable buildings, 12 baths for women, 6 for men. There are taps for washing hands both within and outside of the camp. There is a sink and washing area. The taps in the camp are not adequate. People have to carry water from outside of the camp.
	Water	There are two water taps within and five water taps outside of the camp. The nearest water source is closer than 500 meters. There are no queues. There is 7/24 access. The water looks clean, people are happy. The water amount required for drinking, cooking and personal hygiene is available. There are water tankers.
	Excrement	There are 12 toilets for women and 12 for men, which are cleaned on regular basis. The tents are 30 to 40 meters away from the tents. Toilets are in good condition. There is privacy. There is one toilet for less than every 20 person. The women's toilet is close to the men's toilets and is a problem for women's privacy and access to the toilets. There are flushes and fountains for filling up cans.
	Disease Carriers	There are mosquitoes and could be potential disease carriers but they don't exist at irritating levels. However, there is no protection. Food is kept inside tents.
	Wastes	There are few waste containers outside the camping area. There are no water pools in front of the tents, on the roads and around water facilities.
Shelters, Settlement and Non-Food Requirements	Shelters and Settlement	The heights of the tents are suitable, around 2 meters, however, the capacity of the tents is inadequate. The area of the tents is around 4x3 square meters and the closed living space per person is not adequate. There is a common area for sleeping, bathing, putting on clothes, taking care of children, preserving food, goods, cooking and eating. There is no privacy.
	Non-food requirements	The food is cooked outside on the fire since there is no furnace. There are street lamps inside camp area but no electricity at the tents. There are no energy saving lighting systems/solar panels. There are no fridges, heating and ventilation systems.
Health		They have the possibility to see a doctor in case of illness. The doctor and the hospital are at the city center, 15 kilometers away from the camp area. There is a pharmacy 500 meters from the camp area. They reach health services via their own cars. They can use public transport but it takes too long.

