HAZELNUT WORKERS IN TURKEY:
Demographic Profiling; Duzce, Ordu, & Sakarya; 2016
Report prepared by the Fair Labor Association (FLA)
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PHOTO CREDITS: Cover photo by Ceyda Oner. Thanks to Lanissa Araz, Sarah Faith, and Ceyda Oner for photos throughout.
The demographic characteristics of workers engaged in hazelnut harvesting reveal a vulnerable labor force. Moderately more women than men work during the harvest, which is performed overwhelmingly by youth and young adults. While literacy has been near-universally achieved among harvest workers, except for a tiny minority of older workers, educational achievement is concentrated at the high school level, with high school graduation rates that are much lower than the national average. Hazelnut harvest workers overwhelmingly have not received any occupational training outside of school. When employed, they are generally thrust into the hazelnut harvest without job training. While it can be argued that unskilled workers without job training perform satisfactorily in the manual labor tasks required by the hazelnut harvest, this lack of training could become a concern when certain additional tasks are performed by the workers that may be deemed dangerous to their health, such as those involving the use of chemicals and pesticides.

Two distinct groups of workers emerge clearly in the comparison between the Western Duzce-Sakarya region and the Eastern Ordu region. The western region employs exclusively migrant seasonal workers, while the eastern region overwhelmingly employs local non-seasonal workers as well as a small number of migrant seasonal workers. The seasonal workers involved in hazelnut harvesting are drawn predominantly from the Kurdish-speaking urban centers in the southeast of Turkey, while non-seasonal workers are from the local rural surroundings of Ordu and are Turkish-speaking. The seasonal workers from these urban centers do not own land, work exclusively on the hazelnut harvest and are part of the urban poor, whereas non-seasonal workers overwhelmingly own land, work on harvesting multiple crops and are either part of the rural poor or are small rural land owners.

In general, non-seasonal hazelnut harvesting workers have a slightly to moderately better life and working conditions than the seasonal
workers, including slightly better wages and slightly shorter hours. Non-seasonal workers also naturally do not face the long-distance transportation costs from their hometowns to the harvest zones and have better accommodation conditions, especially compared to the cramped temporary living spaces of seasonal workers, which in some cases present safety or health hazards. The living conditions of the small group of seasonal workers in the eastern region are usually even lower than their western region seasonal counterparts. Seasonal workers almost universally only perform the primary task of collecting hazelnuts, whereas non-seasonal workers take on the additional specialized tasks.

The most striking problem with respect to the working conditions of hazelnut harvest workers is extremely long working days coupled with seven-day weeks without a day of rest. This excessive overwork without proper compensation is universal, and affects children and young workers who are basically treated as adults. In fact, this research suggested that children and young workers work for even longer hours than adult workers. The other major violation of regulations against child labor is the widespread employment of children as migrant seasonal workers. Possible handling of dangerous chemicals, and health risks posed by manually carrying heavy loads of harvested hazelnut bags are also a concern for children.

While we can not speak of a structured regime of forced labor, elements of forced labor practices are present in hazelnut harvesting, such as daily wages being paid as a lump sum at the end of harvest season rather than periodically — in some cases after seasonal workers return to their hometowns. Related to this phenomenon is the prevalence of a labor intermediary system that burdens the workers with the requirement to pay commissions. Furthermore, there are no written contracts, and multiple individuals from the same locations or families are often dependent on the same employers, which makes them collectively vulnerable to pressure and actions from these employers.
INTRODUCTION

This report presents a detailed overview of individuals involved in the hazelnut harvest and their households, through descriptive and comparative statistics identifying the difference between local and seasonal-migrant workers, with a special focus on child labor and/or forced labor. These findings improve our understanding of the labor force involved in the hazelnut harvest and will aid project partners in targeted interventions that provide solutions to the problems of workers.

This research was designed with the purpose of developing a general profile of workers in hazelnut harvesting, more specifically of those working in the orchards providing hazelnuts for Nestlé and its two main first-tier suppliers, Balsu and Olam Progida. The orchards were selected randomly from within the supply chain of these companies in villages within the scope of the USDL project “Partnership to Reduce Child Labor and Forced Labor in Imported Agricultural Products: Piloting the USDA Guidelines in the Hazelnut Supply Chain in Turkey.”

METHODOLOGY

FLA researchers administered a questionnaire comprising individual-level and household-level questions in order to assess household structure, income, poverty, working conditions and access to welfare services. At the individual level, researchers asked questions on gender, age, marital status, literacy, and educational and occupational status. At the household level, questions dealt with place of origin, migration background and motives, property ownership, access to social security and social aid, housing, indebtedness and sources of income.

A total of 95 interviews were conducted face-to-face in the orchards with workers employed in the hazelnut harvest. These covered 56 orchards that form the base of the supply chain linking FLA-affiliated first-tier suppliers Balsu and Olam to FLA affiliate Nestlé in Turkey. The surveys yielded information on 702 individuals belonging to the worker households. The field research took place in August 2016 in three provinces in the Black Sea region of Turkey, with Duzce and Sakarya grouped together as the Western Region, and Ordu representing the Eastern Region. Of 702 individuals, 574 were from the Western region while 128 were from the Eastern region.
1. GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF WORKERS AND THEIR HOUSEHOLDS

1.1 Gender, Age Groups and Location Distribution of All Individuals in Worker Households

**GENDER**

Among those surveyed for this report, 56.7 percent of individuals in worker households were female (398), while 42.2 percent were male (296). The discrepancy is a reflection of the larger presence of seasonal workers in the harvest, which tends to have a higher proportion of females. This phenomenon is explored below using descriptive statistics.

**AGE GROUPS**

Among those surveyed for this report, 43 percent of individuals in worker households were under the age of 18, suggesting a young population. This is significantly higher than in Turkey as a whole, where the percentage of persons under 18 years of age is 29.4 percent. Furthermore, 69 percent of individuals in the sample were under the age of 25. Geographically, researchers have found that birth-rates in Turkey rise from the west towards the east, and from the north towards the south. The southeastern region of Turkey is where the Kurdish-speaking population is concentrated. High birth-rates in general are associated with low socio-economic status, low education and gender inequality. These correlations are discussed in subsequent sections of this report.

1  [http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=18622](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=18622)
2  [http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=21514](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=21514)
LOCATION
Individuals in households of workers in the Western Region (Duzce and Sakarya) accounted for 81.8 percent of the sample (574) while individuals in households in the Eastern Region (Ordu) accounted for 18.2 percent (128).

NOTE: It is not known if this is proportional to the total population of workers in the respective regions. There is also the matter of Olam operating in both regions while Balsu only operates in the Western Region, which explains in part the skewed population sizes. This represents a conflict between data collection, which was guided by comparisons between Olam and Balsu, and the instructions for the researchers to concentrate on comparing Western and Eastern Regions.

1.2 Demographics of Working Individuals

GENDER DISTRIBUTION
Among those surveyed, 59.6 percent of working individuals were female (282), and 39.7 percent were male (188). The gender bias towards female workers is caused by the very large sub-group of seasonal workers, in which female workers predominate.

NOTE: This is due to a non-fixable shortcoming in data collection: the directly surveyed individuals were not presented with the questions in the household members section.
AGE DISTRIBUTION
Among all working individuals, the largest sub-group was young workers (ages 15-18), who accounted for 36 percent (171) of working individuals surveyed. Meanwhile, 29 percent (136) of all workers were in the adult age group of 18-25, with higher-age categories forming a trough at 8 percent for age group 25-35, 6 percent for age group 35-45 and 8 percent for age group 45-55. The categories of older workers declined further to 1 percent for ages 55-65 and 2 percent for ages 65 and above. Eight percent of workers were under the age of 15, which categorically constitutes child labor.

LOCATION DISTRIBUTION
Among those surveyed, 81.6 percent (386) of all working individuals were located in the Western Region of Duzce and Sakarya, while 18.4 percent (87) were in the Eastern Region of Ordu.

MARITAL STATUS
Among those surveyed, 75.7 percent of all working individuals reported that they had never married, 20.3 percent were officially married, and 1.5 percent were married unofficially (typically religious marriage). This marital status distribution is compatible with a population highly skewed toward young age groups.
LITERACY
The literacy rate across all working individuals surveyed was 88.2 percent (417), with 10.4 percent (49) of individuals unable to read or write. Illiteracy within this sample is higher than the Turkish average of 5.6 percent (1.8 percent for males, 9.2 percent for females). This finding is in line with previously presented data showing high birth rates, and indicates low socio-economic status and education.

GENDER WITHIN LITERACY
Among the literate, 56 percent were female and 43 percent were male. Among the illiterate, however, 84 percent were female, while 16 percent are male.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
Educational attainment of surveyed working individuals is clustered at the high-school level (32 percent), reflecting the age distribution of seasonal workers. Fourteen percent of surveyed workers had dropped out of formal education prior to completing high school education (5 percent were primary school dropouts, 4 percent middle school dropouts and 5 percent high school dropouts). Eleven percent had never been to school. Only 12

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5 http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=21519
percent of individuals aged 18 and older held high school diplomas (not shown in the figure below). This rate is very low compared to the national average, which is 76.7 percent.

**GENDER WITHIN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT**

The gender distribution within educational attainment categories generally follow the overall 60-40 female-to-male distribution of workers. The one important exception is the category of illiteracy analyzed above. The higher education categories have too few cases to draw conclusions.

**VOCATIONAL TRAINING**

Only a tiny minority of workers reported to have received vocational training outside of formal education (5.3 percent, 25 individuals). Computer use, hairdressing, and English-
language training were among those forms of vocational training cited.

**TASKS PERFORMED**
Of the surveyed workers, 96 percent reported that they performed the primary task of collecting hazelnuts in the orchards, while 10 percent performed care and maintenance tasks, 8 percent performed pest control and fertilizer-related tasks, 11 percent carried bags filled with hazelnuts, and 1 percent performed cooking tasks. The percentages add up to more than 100 percent due to some individuals carrying out multiple tasks. Of these tasks, the pest control and fertilizer application category is a target for qualitative investigation with regard to worker safety due to handling of chemicals. The bag-carrying category is likewise a concern for worker safety due to potential manual lifting of heavy loads, especially for workers under the age of 18.
1.3 Subjective Household Income Assessment

Among the surveyed individuals who participated in the household income assessment, only 8.4 percent (8) assessed their household income as “enough to get by if we refrain from expensive purchases”, while 72.6 percent (69) assessed their household income as “barely enough to get by” and 18.9 percent (18) assessed their household income as “not enough to meet basic needs like food and rent.”

2. WORKING CHILDREN AND YOUNG WORKERS

2.1 Demographics of Working Household Members According to Age

WORKING CHILDREN AND YOUNG WORKERS
Among working household members, 43.6 percent (200) were adult seasonal workers, 35.5 percent (163) were seasonal workers aged 15 to 18, and 6.5 percent were seasonal workers under the age of 15. Among all working household members, 11.8 percent were non-seasonal adult workers, 1.7 percent (8) were non-seasonal young workers (aged 15 to 18), and 0.9 percent (4) were non-seasonal child laborers under the age of 15.

GENDER WITHIN AGE GROUPS
The female bias in seasonal workers is weaker for seasonal child laborers (55.8 percent for ages 15-18) compared to adults (66 percent). The reverse is true for non-seasonal workers: 62.5 percent for ages 15-18 compared to 53.7 percent for adults.
CIVIL STATUS
Two respondents between the ages of 15 and 18 were reported as married. One of these reported to be officially married and the other unofficially married.

LITERACY WITHIN AGE GROUPS
Practically no illiteracy was reported in working household member children and youth. There seems to have been significant progress in Turkey on this count when contrasted with the 15 percent (8) illiteracy rate among non-seasonal working adult household members and the 20 percent (40) illiteracy rate among seasonal working adult household members.
EDUCATION WITHIN AGE GROUPS
Among seasonal workers under the age of 15, 57 percent (17) were reported as being in primary school, and 40 percent had advanced further in their education. Three percent were reported to have dropped out of primary school. In sum, all of the seasonal workers under 15 had attended school at some level. For non-seasonal workers under the age of 15, 25 percent were primary school students and 25 percent had advanced further, while 50 percent had attended school. The age of 15 is typically the age for beginning high school.

Turning to young workers, 66 percent (108) of seasonal workers aged 15 to 18 attended high school against 50 percent for non-seasonal workers. Twenty-five percent of non-seasonal young workers had already graduated from high school with half of those (12.5 percent of total) proceeding to higher education. In contrast, only 1 percent of seasonal workers aged 15 to 18 had completed high school. Thirteen percent of seasonal workers aged 15 to 18 had dropped out at various earlier points and 1 percent had never attended school. Virtually all non-seasonal young workers had been to school and zero had dropped out.
INDIVIDUALS CONTINUING TO ATTEND SCHOOL
For seasonal worker households, continued school attendance was at 87 percent for children under the age of 15. This dropped down to 70 percent for young workers aged 15-18 and 25.5 percent for adults. For non-seasonal worker households, all working children (child workers below age 15) and young workers (ages 15-18) continued attending school, dropping down to 11 percent for adults.

TASKS PERFORMED
All working children and young workers in seasonal worker households performed the primary task of collecting hazelnuts. For non-seasonal households, the rate was 90 percent for working children and 98 percent...
for young workers. Seasonal young workers performed additional tasks (e.g., 38 percent performed care and maintenance activities, 25 percent worked in pest control and fertilizing, 25 percent carried bags and 25 percent performed other tasks) while seasonal working children did not perform any additional tasks. Young workers in non-seasonal household performed additional tasks (3 percent did care and maintenance, 2 percent pest control and fertilizing, and 7 percent carrying bags). Three percent of non-seasonal working children performed care and maintenance tasks and another 3 percent performed other tasks. The percentages add up to more than 100 due to some individuals carrying out multiple tasks.

Graph 21: TASKS PERFORMED, SEASONAL AND NON-SEASONAL HOUSEHOLDS, BY AGE

2.2 Directly Surveyed Individuals

LINK WITH EMPLOYER
Labor intermediaries act as an unofficial employment agent in informal, labor-intensive sectors. The labor intermediary system requires commissions from the wages of workers; its is considered to be an exploitative institution, and is common in agricultural migrant labor sourced from high unemployment areas in Turkey. The labor intermediary system is as prevalent for young workers (59 percent) as it is for adult workers (61 percent).

The findings on individuals who were directly surveyed can be generalized to all workers in their households since all household workers are generally hired by the same labor intermediary and work for the same hazelnut garden owners.
YEARS ON SAME ORCHARD
Yearly employment turnover for non-adult workers (82 percent) was higher than for adults (62 percent). Twelve percent of non-adult workers worked at the same orchard multiple years in a row while 24 percent of adults did so.

WAGE TYPE
One-hundred percent of non-adults working on hazelnut harvesting had their compensation calculated on the basis of a daily wage, while 84.5 percent of adults were paid on this same basis. Note that being paid on the basis of a daily wage does not mean that the workers collected their wages at the end of each day. As is discussed below, pay is normally received at the end of the harvest.
DAILY WAGE AMOUNT
Of all non-adult workers, 88 percent were paid at the lower daily wage bracket of 50 TL to 55 TL, a much higher share compared to adults being paid in the same lower wage bracket (51 percent). Only 6 percent of non-adult workers were paid at the higher 60 TL to 65 TL daily wage bracket, all of whom were local, non-seasonal workers.

PAYDAY
Of all non-adult workers, 94 percent received their wages as a lump sum at the end of the harvest season, while 6 percent had to wait even longer to be paid upon return to their hometown (likely by a labor intermediary).

HOURS OF WORK PER DAY
Of all non-adult workers, 88 percent reported being subject to working more than 11 hours per day, while 12 percent reported working nine to 11 hours per day. Thus, non-adult workers universally reported exceeding the legal eight-hour per day limit. Moreover, non-adult workers reported working longer hours than adults.

DAYS OF WORK PER WEEK
Non-adult workers universally (100 percent) reported working seven-day weeks, while
95.8 percent of adults reported this same work intensity. Combined with the data on the length of the working day above, non-adult workers typically worked more than 77-hour weeks, which is practically twice the legal limit of 40 hours of work per week. This is unfettered abuse of non-adult workers.

**NUMBER OF BREAKS PER DAY**

According to respondents, non-adult workers took more breaks per day than adults (in part because non-adults worked longer working longer hours than adults). Lunch breaks were universally taken by non-adult and adult workers.

**LUNCH PROVIDER**

Of all non-adult workers, 94 percent reported that they provided their own lunch meal. Once again their situation is worse than their adult counterparts, 85 percent of whom provided lunch themselves.
WHO PAYS FOR LUNCH?
Of all non-adult workers, 94 percent reported that they pay for their own lunch. Again, the incidence of non-adult workers paying for their lunch is higher than the 85 percent of adults who do so.

MEANS OF DAILY COMMUTE TO ORCHARD
Of all non-adult workers, 82 percent reported that they commute daily to the orchard by tractor tow, while 6 percent walk.

WHO PAYS FOR DAILY COMMUTE TO ORCHARD
Of all non-adult workers, 76 percent reported that orchard owners pay for their daily commute to the orchard, while 6 percent cover the cost themselves of commuting to the orchard. For adult workers, orchard owners paid for commuting for 62 percent of workers, and 25.4 percent paid for transportation themselves.

3. COMPARISON OF SEASONAL AND NON-SEASONAL WORKERS

LOCATION
The Western Region (Duzce-Sakarya) employed migrant seasonal workers exclusively for harvest activities. In the Eastern Region (Ordu) local non-seasonal workers predominated.

GENDER DISTRIBUTION
In the Western Region, female seasonal workers represented 61 percent of workers compared with 38 percent male seasonal workers. In contrast, seasonal work in the Eastern Region was equally distributed according to gender. Non-seasonal work in the Eastern Region was only slightly biased towards females (53 percent vs. 47 percent).

AGE DISTRIBUTION
The labor force consisting exclusively of seasonal workers in the Western Region was
clustered in the younger age groups of 15-18 years (41 percent) and 18-25 years (32 percent). 7 percent were under the age of 15, and 41 percent were aged 15-18. In comparison, seasonal workers on the Eastern Region were more evenly spread out across age groups: 24 percent were in age group 15-18, 19 percent in 18-25, 14 percent in 25-35, 14 percent in 35-45 and 19 percent in 45-55. Ten percent were under the age of 15. Non-seasonal workers in the Eastern Region demonstrated characteristics of family work that are unparalleled by seasonal workers in either region, with 5 percent of them under the age of 11 years working and 16 percent over the age of 55. Such employment of workers at both extremes of the age distribution of workers is likely to be due to lower hazelnut yields in the Eastern Region.
LITERACY

Illiteracy was highest among the seasonal workers of the Eastern Region (29 percent). In contrast, only 9 percent of seasonal workers in the Western Region were illiterate. Among the non-seasonal workers in the Eastern Region, illiteracy was 12 percent. The high rate of illiteracy among the seasonal workers of the Eastern Region is likely because they originate predominantly from rural areas near Ordu, where illiteracy is high. Meanwhile, workers in the Western Region are predominantly from far away urban areas, with much lower illiteracy rates. This phenomenon is explored later in this report.

EDUCATION

Non-seasonal workers (engaged exclusively in the Eastern Region) were clustered at the primary school graduate level (33 percent; 22 workers). When we take into account that Eastern Region workers are in general older, the clustering at primary school graduate level may be due to the five-year compulsory education model that they studied under. The five-year model was replaced by an eight-year compulsory education model in 1997. Nearly half of the non-seasonal workers received education beyond the fifth grade: 12 percent (8) graduated from middle school, 14 percent (9) from high school, 8 percent (5) graduated from university.

8 The 8-year compulsory education model was again replaced by a 4+4+4 year model in 2012. This change is too recent to have had an effect on the subjects of this research.
enrolled in higher education and 3 percent (2) graduated from higher education. In contrast, the seasonal workers of the Eastern Region are clustered in two categories: workers never having been to school (38 percent or 8 - half of whom are illiterate) and high school students (29 percent or 6); 14 percent were high school graduates, and virtually none have been enrolled in higher education. The exclusively seasonal workers of the Western Region were also clustered at the high school student level (36 percent; 138 workers), 6 percent were in higher education and 1 percent graduated from higher education.

**TASKS PERFORMED**

The primary task of collecting hazelnuts was performed by 98 percent of non-seasonal workers in the Eastern Region, 90 percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region and 96 percent of seasonal workers in the Western Region. The seasonal workers in the Western Region were almost exclusively relegated to this task, except for 1 percent who did pest control and fertilizer tasks, 3 percent who carried bags and 1 percent who cooked. In the Eastern Region, seasonal and non-seasonal workers routinely performed additional tasks, with the incidence of non-harvesting tasks being somewhat higher for the non-seasonal workers. It appears that additional tasks are reserved for locals as opposed to migrants. Percentages add up to more than 100 due to some individuals performing multiple tasks.
4. COMPARISON OF EASTERN (ORDU) VS. WESTERN (DUZCE AND SAKARYA) REGIONS

4.1 Home City and Language

HOME CITY
While all seasonal workers originate from the southeastern parts of Turkey, a difference between the two regions is revealed in the home cities of the migrant seasonal workers. Eastern Region migrant seasonal workers originate entirely from two regions, Sanliurfa (83 percent) and Antep (17 percent). Western Region migrant seasonal workers, however, come from eight different regions, most significantly Mardin (39 percent), Sirkak (25 percent), Sanliurfa (13 percent) and Diyarbakir (12 percent). Also of note is that 1 percent of Western Region seasonal workers originate from Tell Abyad in Northern Syria.

NATIVE LANGUAGE
Kurdish was reported to be the native language for 83 percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region and of 61 percent of workers in the Western Region. Also of note is that 7 percent of seasonal workers in the Western Region reported Arabic as their native language.
SECOND LANGUAGE
Turkish was the most common second language for 67 percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region and 66 percent of seasonal workers in the Western Region. 28 percent of seasonal workers in the Western Region cited Kurdish as their second language. Combined with the previous findings, this indicates that 89 percent of seasonal workers in the Western Region spoke Kurdish.

4.2 Socio-economic Structure of the Family

URBAN V. RURAL RESIDENCE
Seasonal workers in both regions originated from urban centers at similar rates (67 percent for Eastern Region, 72 percent for Western Region). The non-seasonal workers of the Eastern Region, however, originated predominantly from the local countryside at the rate of 82 percent.

HOME OWNERSHIP
Eighty-six percent of non-seasonal workers in the Eastern Region and 84 percent of seasonal workers in the Western Region reported owning their homes. However, 50 percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region indicated that they rented their homes.
9 percent of Eastern Region non-seasonal workers reported owning homes in shared arrangements with other families. Rents cited by surveyed individuals varied between 100 TL and 700 TL per month.

**LAND OWNERSHIP**

Land ownership closely mirrors the seasonal/non-seasonal pattern. Non-seasonal workers in the Eastern Region owned land at the rate of 91 percent, compared to 17 percent for seasonal workers in the same Region, and 13 percent for seasonal workers in the Eastern Region.
LAND SIZE (IN 1000 M2 - TURKISH ACRES)
Even when seasonal workers do own land, the size of their plots of is much smaller than for non-seasonal workers. All respondents stating that they owned land reported that they actively cultivated their lands. The preferred crops raised on this land were reported to be hazelnuts, wheat, corn and potatoes.

SOCIAL SECURITY
Of all non-seasonal workers in the Eastern Region, 95 percent were registered in some form of social security system: 68 percent are in the SGK (Government Social Security Institution) system, 5 percent through the government pension fund, and 18 percent in the GSS (General Social Security) system through the Green Card system (no payments) and another 5 percent as part of self-funded GSS (monthly payments). Only 5 percent of non-seasonal workers of the Eastern Region were unregistered. This sharply contrasts with the 50 percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region who were unregistered. The other 50 percent in this group were insured by the GSS Green Card system, the type of government insurance provided to individuals with very low or no regular income. The GSS Green Card system was the most common form of insurance for seasonal workers of the Western Region at 54 percent, followed by 14 percent in the SGK system and 3 percent in the government pension fund system. 18 percent of seasonal workers of the Western Region were unregistered in social security systems.

SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF HOUSEHOLD FINANCIAL STATUS
Seasonal workers from the Eastern Region made the worst subjective self-assessment of their household financial status, with 50 percent of them reporting they did not make enough money to cover their basic needs. Only 19 percent of Western Region seasonal workers and 9 percent of Eastern Region non-seasonal workers shared this sentiment.

DEBT
Being in debt was pervasive for seasonal workers in the Eastern Region (83 percent),
who are once again worst off on this count compared to their counterparts in the Western Region. 58 percent of seasonal workers of the Western Region, and 68 percent of non-seasonal workers in the Eastern Region also reported that they were indebted.

LENDERS
The primary lenders for seasonal workers in the Eastern Region were friends and relatives (66 percent) followed by banks (20 percent) and state institutions (20 percent); figures add up to more than 100 percent because respondents could choose more than one response. Similarly, seasonal workers in the Western Region primarily borrowed from their friends and relatives (34 percent), followed by banks (15 percent) and state institutions (7 percent). Non-seasonal workers in the Eastern Region were more prone towards owing banks (45 percent), followed by friends and relatives (23 percent).
**ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF INCOME**

Most Eastern Region workers reported that they had additional sources of income other than hazelnut harvesting (83 percent for seasonal workers and 73 percent for non-seasonal workers), while most Western Region seasonal workers (67 percent) indicated that they had no additional sources.

### 4.3 Seasonal Migration

**Graph 51: FREQUENCY OF WORK ON HAZELNUTS FOR SEASONAL WORKERS, BY REGION**

- **Seasonal (Ordu)**: 100.0%
- **Seasonal (Duzce-Sakarya)**: 44.8%
- **No**: 52.2%

**Graph 52: ATTACHMENT OF WORKERS TO HAZELNUT HARVESTING (NUMBER OF YEARS)**

- **83.3%**
- **3.6%**
- **16.7%**
- **4.5%**
- **1.5%**
- **3.0%**

**DOES THE INDIVIDUAL WORK ON HAZELNUTS EVERY YEAR?**

One-hundred percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region repeat hazelnut work every year, as opposed to 45 percent of Western Region seasonal workers.

**CONSECUTIVE YEARS DOING HAZELNUT WORK**

Most seasonal workers in both Regions reported that they worked in the hazelnut harvest consecutively for up to 5 years (83 percent in East, 84 percent in West). The
remaining 17 percent in the Eastern Region reported that they worked between 5 to 10 years consecutively, after which they moved on. 16 percent of Western Region seasonal workers however reported that they continued to work in the hazelnut harvest (7 percent for 6-10 years, 4 percent for 11-20 years, 1 percent for up to 30 years).

HAS INDIVIDUAL WORKED FOR SAME ORCHARD OWNER?
Seventeen percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region reported that they worked for the same orchard owner year after year, while the rate is about twice as high (33 percent) for Western Region seasonal workers.

DOES INDIVIDUAL RETURN HOME WITHIN THE YEAR?
While 100 percent of Eastern Region workers returned to their home during the year, as did also about 91 percent of Western Region workers, 7 percent of Western Region workers reported not returning home within the year. This may be an indicator of forced labor, and its possible link to the recent escalation of violent conflict in southeastern Turkey should be researched.

HAS INDIVIDUAL RECEIVED TRAINING?
Eighteen percent of Western Region seasonal workers reported that they received training with regard to the hazelnut harvest, as opposed to none of the Eastern Region seasonal workers.
DID INDIVIDUAL WORK ON OTHER CROPS?
One-hundred percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region reported that work on crops other than hazelnuts during the year, while 57 percent of seasonal workers in the Western Region stated that they worked in the hazelnut harvest exclusively.

HOW MANY MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD PARTICIPATE IN SEASONAL WORK?
Multiple individuals in the same household tend to join seasonal work in both regions. The groups of workers are larger in the Western Region, with 21 percent joining in groups of 11 to 15, and 6 percent joining in groups of 16 to 20. The dependency of a multitude of persons on a single employer may can be taken as a sign of forced labor.
VEHICLES USED FOR TRANSPORTATION
Western Region seasonal workers used minibuses (73 percent) and buses (27 percent) for transportation to the orchards where they do their work and none used automobiles. 33 percent of the Eastern Region workers, in contrast, used automobiles for transportation to work. This reflects differences in migrant/local composition of workers between the two Regions (migrant workers do not use automobiles for these long distances).

WHO PAYS FOR TRANSPORTATION?
One-hundred percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region self-finance their transportation, while only 76 percent of seasonal workers in the Western Region reported doing the same.

4.4 Working and Living Conditions
LINK TO EMPLOYER
The labor intermediary system is widespread among seasonal workers. Of all seasonal workers in the Western Region, 67 percent related with their employer through a labor intermediary rather than through a direct relationship, while 83 percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region did so. 32 percent of non-seasonal workers of the Eastern Region were also subject to labor intermediaries.

DO THE INDIVIDUAL WORKERS KNOW THE GARDEN OWNER?
Correlating with the previous data on prevalence of the labor intermediary system, seasonal workers were much more likely not to know who was their employer (67 percent in the East, 57 percent in the West) compared to non-seasonal workers (14 percent).

YEARS ON SAME ORCHARD
Eastern Region seasonal workers reported that they only worked one harvest season on a particular orchard, whereas 19 percent of Western Region seasonal workers reported that they worked 2 to 6 years on the same orchard. 41 percent of non-seasonal workers of the Eastern Region reported that they worked on the same orchard for many years, likely because they are the owners themselves.

WAGE TYPE
One-hundred percent of seasonal workers reported that they received compensation in the form of daily wages, as opposed to 50 percent of non-seasonal Eastern Region workers reporting the same.
workers. Note that daily wages does not mean daily payment of wages; payday information is discussed further below.

**DAILY WAGE AMOUNT**
According to respondents, Western Region seasonal daily wages were lower than Eastern Region seasonal daily wages. Thus, 78 percent of Western Region workers received daily wages in the 50 TL to 55 TL range, compared to 67 percent of Eastern Region seasonal workers. 33 percent of Eastern Region seasonal workers and 45 percent of Eastern Region non-seasonal workers received daily wages between 60 TL and 65 TL.

**JOB CONTRACTS**
Job contracts are rare across the board in hazelnut harvesting in Turkey. In the Eastern Region, seasonal workers responded indicated that about 17 percent of workers had contracts; it was much lower for non-seasonal workers and workers in the Western region. Lack of work contracts is a risk indicator for forced labor, as it opens the door to deceptive recruitment.

**EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN?**
Unequal pay for women and children was reported by 17 percent of seasonal workers of the Eastern Region, 7 percent of seasonal workers in the Western Region and 5 percent of non-seasonal workers of the Eastern Region.
WHEN WAS PAYMENT MADE?
The vast majority of workers reported receiving their accumulated daily wages as a lump sum at the end of the harvest season. More problematically, 17 percent of Eastern Region seasonal workers, 3 percent of Western Region seasonal workers and 5 percent of non-seasonal Eastern Region workers stated that they only receive their wages upon return to their hometown, likely through a labor intermediary. This withholding of wages is an indicator of risk of forced labor.

DO INDIVIDUAL WORKERS RECEIVE AN ADVANCE?
Twelve percent of Western Region seasonal workers reported that they received advances against their wages, almost universally from a labor intermediary. This raises the question of interest payments to the labor intermediary, and could be an indicator of involuntariness of recruitment.

HOURS OF WORK PER DAY
Seasonal workers in the Western Region reported working longest hours. 100 percent of Western Region seasonal workers reported working above 11 hours per day, while Eastern Region seasonal workers reported working 9 to 11 hour days. Only 14 percent of non-seasonal Eastern Region workers reported working a normal 5 to 8 hour days; 45 percent of them reported working 9 to 11 hour days, and 41 percent of them working beyond...
11 hours per day Work hours beyond the legal regular hours limit is rampant.

**DAYS OF WORK PER WEEK**
Respondents indicated that 7-day work weeks were nearly universal. Only 9 percent of non-seasonal Eastern Region workers worked 5-day weeks. Combined with work days that were longer than the legal regular work hour limits leads to the conclusion that excessive working time was rampant in hazelnut harvesting.

**BREAKS PER DAY**
Western Region seasonal workers took more breaks per day compared to Eastern Region non-seasonal workers. This is likely related to the longer hours worked by these workers.
**LUNCH PROVIDER**
All seasonal workers paid for and provided their own lunches, while the orchard owner provided lunch for 55 percent of Eastern Region non-seasonal workers.

**DAILY COMMUTE TO ORCHARD**
Ninety-six percent of Western Region seasonal workers traveled to the orchards where they worked on a trailer towed by a tractor. This form of transportation can be considered as dangerous. Forty-one percent of non-seasonal Eastern Region workers similarly were towed, while 18 percent reached the work areas on foot. Sixty-seven percent of Eastern Region seasonal workers similarly traveled to the orchards on foot.

**WHO PAYS FOR DAILY COMMUTE TO ORCHARD**
The daily commuting expenses to the orchard were paid by the orchard owner for 73 percent of Western Region seasonal workers, against 33 percent for Eastern Region seasonal workers. 32 percent of Eastern Region non-seasonal workers paid for transportation themselves, against 6 percent of Western Region seasonal workers.
**SHELTER TYPE**

Nearly all workers (99 percent) in the Western Region were sheltered in buildings (houses). Meanwhile, 33 percent of Eastern Region seasonal workers were sheltered in tents. 95 percent of Eastern Region non-seasonal workers were sheltered in buildings, while 5 percent were sheltered in tents.

**PERSONS PER SHELTER**

Western Region seasonal workers are sheltered in much larger groups than Eastern Region workers. Thus, 33 percent of Western Region seasonal workers were sheltered in groups of 11 to 15, 40 percent in groups between 16 to 20, and 15 percent in groups of more than 20.

**SHELTER AREA PER PERSON (M2)**

Shelters used by seasonal workers were much more crowded compared to non-seasonal workers. Thus, 24 percent of Western Region seasonal workers and 17 percent of Eastern Region seasonal workers had 1 to 2 square meters of living space per person. These conditions utterly failed to meet minimum standards of 3.5 square meters per person. All seasonal workers had under 10 square meters of space per person, while 6 percent of non-seasonal workers in the Eastern Region had 10 square meters of space and 94 percent had more than 10 square meters.
**DRINKING WATER SOURCE**

Ninety-one percent of non-seasonal Eastern Region workers relied on municipal running water as their source of drinking water. In the Western Region however, 48 percent of seasonal workers relied on municipal running water as drinking water source, while another 48 percent used public founts. 1 percent of them obtained drinking water from streams and rivers, which can be considered dangerous. Sixty-seven percent Eastern Region seasonal workers used municipal water, while 33 percent used public founts. Ninety-one percent of non-seasonal Eastern Region workers used municipal water, and another 9 percent obtained their drinking water from wells which is a questionable source in terms of healthiness.
BATHING FACILITY
Eighty-eight percent of Western Region seasonal workers reported that they bathe in common bathrooms, 6 percent had private bathrooms, and 4 percent used family bathrooms located next to the tents where they lived. 50 percent of Eastern Region seasonal workers had private bathrooms while 17 percent used family bathrooms next to tents. Among Eastern Region non-seasonal workers, half had private bathrooms and 45 percent used common bathrooms.

DAYS BETWEEN BATHING CHILDREN
Once again, 11 percent of Western Region seasonal workers reported that they were prone to go 3 days or more between bathing their children.
TOILETS
Ninety percent of Western Region seasonal workers stated that they used common toilets, and an additional 3 percent of them that they used the family toilet located next to tents. About a third of Eastern Region workers used common toilets while another third had access to private toilets.

PERSONAL PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT
Specialized protective work suits are infrequently used by all hazelnut harvest workers. Fourteen percent of non-seasonal Eastern Region workers and 17 percent of seasonal Eastern Region workers reported that they wear specialized work outfits, as opposed to 3 percent of Western Region seasonal workers.

Seventy-eight percent of Western Region workers reported wearing hats to protect themselves from the sun and summer heat, as opposed to 64 percent of non-seasonal workers and 50 percent of seasonal workers in the Eastern Region.
Seventy-eight percent of Western Region workers reported that they wore work gloves while harvesting, compared to 50 percent for non-seasonal workers and 33 percent for seasonal workers in the Eastern Region.

Only 4 percent of Western Region workers reported that they were masks during harvesting tasks.

None of the workers reported that they used protective eyewear while carrying out harvesting tasks.
DISABLED HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

Eighteen percent of non-seasonal and 17 percent of seasonal Eastern Region workers reported that at least one member of their households had a disability. For Western Region workers, they reported at least one member of their households having a disability in only 1 percent of households.

DAYCARE CENTERS FOR PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN IN WORK TOWN

Twelve percent of workers in the Western Region reported the presence of daycare centers in their work areas, as opposed to 17 percent of seasonal Eastern Region workers.