



HAZELNUTS IN TURKEY:

Community Profiling Research: Final Report

Report prepared by the Fair Labor Association (FLA)

*Partnership to Eliminate Child Labor and Forced Labor in Imported Agricultural Products:
Piloting the USDA Guidelines in the Hazelnut Supply Chain in Turkey*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- FLA: Fair Labor Association
- GAP BKİ: Southeast Anatolia Regional Development Administration
- GTHB: Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock
- HEM: Public Education Center
- ILO: International Labour Organization
- İŞKUR: Turkish Employment Agency
- MEB: Ministry of National Education
- METİP: Project for Improvement of Working and Social Lives of Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Workers
- TÜİK: Turkish Statistical Institute
- TZOB: Union of Turkish Agricultural Chambers
- TBMM: Turkish Grand National Assembly



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Partnership to Prevent Child and Forced Labor in Imported Agricultural Products: Piloting the USDA Guidelines in Turkey’s Hazelnut Supply Chain, funded by the U.S. Department of Labor–Bureau of International Labor Affairs (USDOL-ILAB), was implemented by the Fair Labor Association (FLA) in cooperation with Nestlé and its two main hazelnut suppliers in Turkey, Balsu and Olam-Progida. The project seeks to pilot USDA Guidelines¹ in the hazelnut supply chain of the partner companies by strengthening their internal child- and forced-labor monitoring and remediation systems.

Within the framework of this project, researchers profiled communities encompassed by the project to generate basic understanding of the communities, to assess each community’s needs and resources, and to inform the project’s 2017 remediation plan. This report presents the findings in a fashion that would make it easy for field-level actors to gain a clear picture of target communities’ needs and resources.

The report is divided into two parts. The first presents a general field review followed by a detailed examination of seasonal worker needs in the Şanlıurfa-Eyyübiye district, with special focus on issues such as health care, social security, employment relations, education, and child labor. The section also presents an analysis of potential and existing resources for Şanlıurfa province, and illustrates the views of public-sector actors on their roles and responsibilities.

The second part of the report focuses on the selected communities in Black Sea locations: the Sakarya-Karasu, Düzce-Akçakoca and

Ordu-Kabataş districts. After presenting a general profile of selected communities and community members (garden owners/producers), this section details their views on their relations with seasonal workers and agricultural intermediaries, on living and working conditions during harvest, and on child labor. These accounts are compared with Şanlıurfa field findings whenever appropriate to present a complete picture. The second part concludes with a discussion about public actors’ stances on key issues and resources available in the region to meet defined needs. Detailed community maps for eight selected villages are provided in the Annex to help with preparations for possible interventions.

Finally, the report provides recommendations from communities and target groups to project partners to aid them in refreshing strategies and identifying actions.

OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

The main objectives of community profiling research are to determine gaps in the existing programs of project partners with the aim of reducing and preventing child labor; to identify the needs of local actors developing strategies to mitigate child labor and enhance employment relations; to identify existing and potential resources in communities; to determine the capacities of local actors and available opportunities at the local level; and to receive feedback from local stakeholders on potential intervention strategies.

With these objectives in mind, researchers conducted focus groups with seasonal workers and labor intermediaries in Şanlıurfa and garden owners/producers in the Black Sea region. Factors such as gender, age and, in the case of garden owners, acreage were taken

into consideration while determining detailed group profiles and breakdowns. Focus groups in Şanlıurfa were supplemented with family interviews.

In addition, researchers conducted in-depth interviews with selected local public-sector actors and community leaders such as teachers and village headmen/mukhtars to assess available capacity, needs and resources. The researchers also accompanied village headmen/mukhtars on tours of eight villages in the Black Sea region to create community maps. These data were augmented with information from secondary sources.

FINDINGS

Many actors involved in hazelnut harvesting—migratory workers, garden owners/producers, agricultural intermediaries, local public institutions, community leaders—contribute to the complex web of relations between Şanlıurfa and Black Sea communities falling within the scope of this study.

Taking the Şanlıurfa seasonal community as a point of entry, this report argues that these workers inherit issues and problems that shape the trajectory of their lives from birth. Poverty, debt cycles and lack of vocational skills (other than agricultural), as well as limited vocational opportunities, income-generating activities, and access to education, combine to create a vicious cycle. Each generation of workers inherits the same hardships, including poor living and working conditions and deprivation of basic needs. Workers are unregistered and



uninsured. Child labor emerges as a natural byproduct of this life—an economic necessity, to use the workers’ own description.

Considering the state of this community, this report recommends that actors in hazelnut harvesting conduct a detailed vocational needs and capacity assessment in Şanlıurfa (with a special focus

on opportunities for women) and support vocational education programs for children aged 13-17. This support should include the creation of public dormitories and provision of scholarships. However, priority should be given to addressing basic needs such as access to health care, electricity, clean water, and toilets. Establishment of child-friendly spaces and summer schools should also be considered.

Local community leaders and organizations highlighted the conditions of workers in regard to employment relations and child labor. Research findings strongly indicate a clear awareness of problems at the local level in both in Şanlıurfa and Black Sea provinces. Nevertheless, improvement of seasonal workers’ conditions and the prevention of child labor are not on these actors’ immediate agendas. Because they are not in full command of their institutional roles and responsibilities, they remain passive, citing a lack of institutional knowledge, capacity and resources.² Coordination and collaboration

1 U.S. Department of Agriculture Guidelines for Eliminating Child and Forced Labor in Agricultural Supply Chains

2 Some of the interviewed stakeholders were newly appointed in their positions. Mass appointments and dismissals regularly take place in the public sector in the aftermath of 15th of July coup attempt.



between communities in the Şanlıurfa and Black Sea provinces is disconnected and limited.

There are immediate steps that can be taken to energize public actors and engage them in the key issues. Good starting points would be to define roles and responsibilities; encourage the application of existing rules and regulations as well as the collaboration among concerned parties; and establish databases for communities at risk.

Researchers observed that some public actors in the Black Sea region feel suspicious about projects (such as this one) targeting seasonal workers. This makes cooperation and collaboration more difficult. In their view, these projects do not seek to improve conditions of a disadvantaged group, but rather aim to reduce already low hazelnut prices.³

Some hazelnut producers share this concern. During focus-group discussions, producers often said they sympathize with workers but need to consider their own pressing economic needs. Hazelnut farming is a key source of income for most farming families, and they claim that hazelnut price reductions and increases in daily wages would be financially destabilizing. It is apparent that producers do not perceive themselves as actors who can create positive change with regard to employment and living conditions for workers,

or in the prevention of child labor. They are benevolent and in principle favor positive change, but point out that the hazelnut harvest is too short to implement sustainable solutions.

This report identifies a need to raise hazelnut producers' awareness about child labor and the need to improve workers' conditions. It is of critical importance to remind them that they are not passive actors in these matters and to engage them in projects and interventions that require active cooperation.

It should be noted that, for the most part, agricultural intermediaries interact with workers on behalf of the producers during the harvest and this bolsters producers' sense of passivity. Agricultural intermediaries are key actors in a complex web of relationships. They provide "insurance" for both workers and producers, guaranteeing that the needs and expectations of both parties will be met during their short period of interaction. However, most intermediaries are unregistered and operate outside of government control. As a result, controversial aspects of their profession, such as taking 10 percent commissions from workers' wages, remain unchecked. Research clearly shows that intermediaries cannot be overlooked in developing strategies and policies. It is advisable to involve them in activities and interventions as actors of influence and encourage their participation in every way possible.

³ Project staff note that this perception is subjective and speculative. Still, stakeholders stated that they believe global brands try to use child labor in hazelnut production as a leverage to lower hazelnut prices, by globally creating bad publicity about the Turkish hazelnut sector. Per this logic, to compete with bad publicity and other countries willing to challenge Turkey's leading position in hazelnut production, local actors feel pressured to lower prices. Low hazelnut prices due to bad weather also hit producers hard in recent years and the Turkish government had to intervene in April 2017 (just before Constitutional Referendum) to support the market for the first time in eight years. Hazelnuts have been highly politicized as a commodity and conspiracy theories emerge under these circumstances. (Source: <https://www.ft.com/content/96b33994-34ca-11e7-bce4-9023f8c0fd2e>; Last access: 9th of August, 2017)



1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Project Description

The Partnership to Prevent Child and Forced Labor in Imported Agricultural Products: Piloting the USDA Guidelines in Turkey's Hazelnut Supply Chain, funded by U.S. Department of Labor-Bureau of International Labor Affairs (USDOL-ILAB), is implemented by the Fair Labor Association (FLA) in cooperation with Nestlé and its two main hazelnut suppliers in Turkey, Balsu and Olam-Progida. The project seeks to address child and forced labor in the hazelnut supply chain of partner companies by piloting USDA Guidelines (U.S. Department of Agriculture Guidelines for Eliminating Child and Forced Labor in Agricultural Supply Chains⁴) and strengthening their internal monitoring and remediation systems.

The USDA Guidelines consist of a set of practices for independent third-party monitoring and verification of the production, processing and distribution of agricultural products and commodities with the goal of

⁴ <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2011/04/12/2011-8587/consultative-group-to-eliminate-the-use-of-child-labor-and-forced-labor-in-imported-agricultural>

reducing the likelihood of forced labor and child labor.

The overall objective of the project is to pilot a comprehensive, sustainable program that implements all elements of the USDA Guidelines.

As a part of this project's baseline assessment, the FLA conducted a community profiling exercise to map grassroots civil-society organizations and other formal and informal actors (such as government entities or individuals) that work on child-labor prevention and good-employment practices in the project locations. The profile that can be used to mobilize local community actors in the Şanlıurfa-Eyyübiye district; the Sakarya-Karasu district (Küçükkarasu, Küçükboğaz, Kuzuluk villages); the Düzce-Akçakoca district (Beyören, Balatlı villages); and the Ordu-Kabataş district (Kuzuköy, Alankent, Ardıç villages).

The findings of this research will be used by project partners to develop their 2017 intervention and remediation strategies. Planned remediations will target both seasonal workers and hazelnut producers separately.



1.2. Objectives and Scope

The main objectives of the community profiling research were to:

- **Provide information to the project partners** that will aid in the establishment of effective remedial activities in the hazelnut sourcing areas (in the provinces of Düzce, Sakarya, and Ordu);
- **Provide information to identify possible intervention areas** where companies and local stakeholders can work together to mitigate the child labor risks in regions like Şanlıurfa, where migrant workers originate;
- **Explore and understand the potential actors/institutions/methods** that can be mobilized in combating and remediating child labor and forced labor, if applicable in the hazelnut sector.

The findings of the community profiling are expected to inform the project’s remediation strategies for 2017.

More specifically, the gathered data were summarized and analyzed:

- **to determine gaps in the existing programs** (activities and interventions) and explore how addressing these gaps can lead to reduction and prevention of child labor;
- **to identify needs of local actors** in order to implement effective and sustainable child-labor mitigation and employment-relation strategies;
- **to identify existing and potential resources** and determine the strengths (capacity of action of local actors and available opportunities to enhance child-labor mitigation;
- **to gauge the interest of community members** in project activities;
- **to solicit feedback from local stakeholders** on potential intervention strategies to be tested in their communities.

In line with research objectives, the general framework of the issues/areas explored via community profiling were:

- **Social and economic characteristics of the community:**
 - *Demographic characteristics*, such as population and growth trends; age distribution; gender composition, average household size; average household income (as compared to surrounding areas); concentrations of special groups, such as minority or low-income populations, elderly persons, religious or ethnic groups, and persons with disabilities.
 - *Economic characteristics*, such as unemployment rates and trends; income levels; work-force characteristics; dominant business sector; major employers and industries; common livelihood activities (differentiated by social and economic group).
 - *Relevant housing characteristics*, such as the extent and availability of low-income housing in the affected community; and type of occupancy in the study area.
- **Community issues and attitudes:** social, economic and political norms of the community; impact of norms on hazelnut pricing; effects of norms along the hazelnut supply-chain practices and relationships.
- **Community cohesion:** residents’ involvement in local social life; community support; formal and informal networks.
- **Local institutions and infrastructure:**
 - *Local government units*; public-private partnerships; civil-society organizations; municipalities; development agencies; relevant business establishments.
 - *Local community facilities and services*, such as schools, camps and other residential facilities; youth clubs; religious institutions; informal educational institutions; credit facilities; childcare facilities; training institutes, vocational training centers and agricultural extension services; markets; medical services, transportation, water supply, etc.
 - *Accessibility and affordability of local institutions/facilities/services*; degree of formality of the institutions; rules, regulations and customs.

1.3. Methodology

1.3.1. Research Locations

Primary data were gathered in four provinces: Şanlıurfa-Eyyübiye district, Sakarya-Karasu district (Küçükkarasu, Küçükboğaz, Kuzuluk villages), Düzce-Akçakoca district (Beyören, Balatlı villages), Ordu-Kabataş district (Kuzuköy, Alankent, Ardiç villages). Şanlıurfa is the province of origin for seasonal migrant workers; Ordu, Düzce and Sakarya are harvest areas where workers migrate during summer months.

Locations and villages for fieldwork in the Black Sea region were selected by partner companies Balsu and Olam-Progida, as they were central points in their hazelnut supply chains. Şanlıurfa’s Eyyübiye district was selected by the research team to document workers’ profiles and migration routes (a high number of seasonal workers reside in this district).

1.3.2. Research Methods

The study used participatory research methods such as focus groups, family interviews, in-depth interviews and transect walks. See table below for an overview.

RESEARCH METHODS				
INSTRUMENT	URFA	ORDU	DÜZCE	SAKARYA
Focus group discussions (FGDs)	5 FGDs with worker families and 1 FGD with intermediaries	3 FGDs with hazelnut garden owners/ producers	3 FGDs with hazelnut garden owners/ producers	3 FGDs with hazelnut garden owners/ producers
Family interviews	5 family interviews with selected female FGD participants and their families	—	—	—
Transect walk with village headmen	1 transect walk with Hayati Harrani neighborhood headman	3 transect walks with village headman in each selected location (Kuzuköy, Alankent, Ardiç villages)	2 transect walks with village headman in each selected location (Beyören and Balatlı villages)	3 transect walks with village headman in each selected location (Küçükkarasu, Küçükboğaz, Kuzuluk villages)
One-on-one interviews	Interviews with governors, deputy governors, provincial directorates of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies; district directorates of National Education; provincial directorates of Turkish Employment Agency; provincial public health directorates; GAP regional development administration; Seasonal Agricultural Workers Monitoring Board (only in Şanlıurfa); mayors, provincial directorates of food, agriculture and livestock; agricultural chambers; chambers of commerce/commodity exchange; village headman/mukhtars; imams and teachers			

A total of 14 focus group discussions were conducted with the participation of 115 community members. In total, project staff conducted nine transect walks and 49 in-depth interviews in four different research locations. See Annex I for city and target audience based breakdown and details of primary data collection modules.

Secondary sources have also been used to enrich the primary data. Secondary data consist of information obtained from reports by public institutions, organizations and relevant NGOs; statistics (Turkish Statistical Institute); legal regulations; and resource mapping results.

2. RESEARCH FINDINGS: ŞANLIURFA FIELD

2.1. Şanlıurfa Field Profile

PROVINCIAL AND DISTRICT PROFILES

The hazelnut harvest lasts about two months. Workers mainly from Şanlıurfa province work seasonally in Sakarya, Düzce, Ordu and other provinces.

According to regional socioeconomic development data for Turkey for 2011, Şanlıurfa was 73 among 81 provinces. Population, education and employment data are supplied below. Note that Eyyübiye, a district of Şanlıurfa, has a larger population than 31 provinces in Turkey; Eyyübiye’s youth population is larger than the Turkish average, exacerbating problems related to education and employment.

The following data was collected on seasonal migrant workers in Şanlıurfa province:

- **Most migratory agricultural workers live in Eyyübiye district.** According to a report of the Eyyübiye District National Education Directorate Monitoring Committee of Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Workers, approximately 40 percent of the district’s population of 400,000 are seasonal

TABLE 1: SELECTED STATISTICAL DATA ON ŞANLIURFA PROVINCE

Workforce participation rate (2014 data)	38.7%
Real employment rate	32.4%
Unemployment rate	16.3%

TABLE 2: SELECTED STATISTICAL DATA ON EYYÜBIYE DISTRICT

Number of neighborhoods	37 central, 117 rural (154 total)
Population (2016 data)	372,134
Male/female ratio	50.44%/49.56%
Ratio of under-30 population to general population (2014 data)	71.5% <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 31.4% in the 0-9 age group• 24.2% in the 10-19 age group• 15.9% in the 20-29 age group
Population projection for 2023	468,201
Average household size (number of persons)	6.61
Illiteracy rate (includes literate people with no diploma from any educational institution) for persons over 15 (according to 2013 TÜİK data)	40.5% general population/ 60% female only





workers. Seasonal workers spend four to eight months of the year outside Şanlıurfa (in nearly 50 provinces across Turkey).

- Also according to the above-cited report, **8,801 children identified with seasonal-worker families were school age** (kindergarten through high school); 1,269 of them continued their terms in Şanlıurfa, most switched to schools in other provinces or tried to finish their terms early.

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE: HAYATI HARRANI

Most seasonal agricultural labor in Şanlıurfa originates in the Hayati Harrani neighborhood, the focal point of the Urfa field research. Attempts were made to obtain information about neighborhood resources through an in-depth interview with the mukhtar.⁵

⁵ As noted below, the mukhtar did not consider the subject within the framework of legal responsibilities and authorities, and treats it as a normal situation specific to this neighborhood and province. Also, it should be emphasized that the mukhtars do not have any authority and responsibility in relation with child labor and that even if they did, there is no way to advise families not to take their children to work. As a result, the contribution of the mukhtar to this research has been limited in terms of mapping available resources.

Agricultural labor and specifically child labor are common in Hayati Harrani; 70 percent of the population are agricultural workers and 80 percent of these work are seasonal (30,000 individuals). The neighborhood empties out at the beginning of April. In fact, for the last three to four years, seasonal workers have been renting their houses to Syrian refugees for extra income. It should be noted that Syrian refugees are not always viewed in a positive light, as some feel they reduce wages and take jobs from residents.

There are no employment hubs or large-scale enterprises in Hayati Harrani. Until recently, no institutions or organizations have approached the neighborhood or residents with projects or initiatives related to agricultural labor or the prevention of child labor. Some claim that, in any case, there would be no space — no office or storefront — to accommodate such a project. In the past, for example, citizens lobbied for a nursery, playground and park to be built on a 4,000 square-meter vacant plot, but the Ministry of Health confiscated the land.

2.2. Need-based Assessment of Living and Working Conditions in Şanlıurfa and Harvest Regions

2.2.1. Health, Social Security, and Employment

PARTICIPANT PROFILE:

The majority of adults interviewed for this study indicated that they had no significant income other than that derived from agricultural labor. Some workers stated that they work temporarily in construction or repair. Seasonal agricultural labor is seen by adult participants as their “fate.”

Among the families interviewed, men are responsible for finances and expenses as fathers and heads of households. Main expenses include food, electricity, wood or coal (for cooking and heating), water and telephone.

Only one of the male workers interviewed in Şanlıurfa said he was part of BAĞ-KUR (a social-security organization for artisans and the self-employed). Most adult males said they are covered by GSS (General Health Insurance) but no other members of their families receive social security. Meanwhile, seven of the adult women interviewed said they were covered by GSS, while the remaining three were covered

by SSK (social insurance) through their spouses. None of the women was self-insured.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:

Most workers are unregistered and lack access to social insurance. Thus, they are also excluded from the social-security system and do not qualify for benefits under the law (Occupational Health and Safety No. 6331)⁶.

The beginning and end of seasonal agricultural work varies from family to family (see Table 3 below for more detail on crops, locations, and timing). The working season can range from four to nine months depending on the crop, labor demand, and economic needs of the families.

⁶ Law No. 6331 dated 2012 theoretically covers all workplaces even if only one employee is registered, and serves to hold employers accountable for occupational health and safety. However, unregistered work is very common in the agriculture sector in Turkey. Additionally, in practice the law has been enforced only for low-risk work places so far and it is expected to be enforced for medium- and high-risk work places only in 2020. It should be also noted that the law does neither require employment of a workplace doctor nor an occupational health and safety expert in low risk agriculture work places.

TABLE 3: LABOR-FORCE MOBILITY OF SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN ŞANLIURFA PROVINCE (FOCUS GROUP RESULTS)									
CROP	DESTINATION PROVINCES	MONTHS							
		FEBRUARY	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER
Greenhouse	Adana								
Sugar beet	Konya, Kayseri								
Cumin	Ankara								
Apricot	Malatya								
Hazelnut	Sakarya-Düzce-Samsun-Ordu								
Sunflower	Kayseri								
Cotton	Şanlıurfa								

In general, participants in FGDs emphasized that their incomes are not enough to cover their expenses, and therefore they cannot afford many of their basic needs. They state that, under these circumstances, children must work. Women have more difficulty finding work than men do, as there are no jobs in the service sector in Şanlıurfa. Thus, they are obliged to accept agricultural labor to help meet family expenses.

The period between November and February is considered “the dead season” for agricultural workers, to use their own term; during this period, families have hardly any income. Many resort to borrowing money, mostly from agricultural intermediaries⁷ under conditions determined between the two parties.

Participants said they face basic problems in accessing health care and social-security benefits. They claimed that every agricultural worker desires social insurance coverage and

⁷ Please note that the terms ‘agricultural intermediaries’ and ‘labor intermediaries’ are used interchangeably throughout the text.



access to lifetime social-security benefits; however, they recognized that the short duration and lack of continuity of seasonal agriculture work limits their participation. Male workers also noted that, even if they were registered in the system, they would have a hard time paying premiums, and thus would be forced to apply for a system leave. Women stated that they benefit from health services in emergency situations (as mandated by the Turkish healthcare system), but they have difficulty accessing health services in nonemergency situations.

HARVEST WORKING CONDITIONS

The hazelnut harvest, which takes place in the Black Sea Region, lasts about two months. In order to contribute to the family income, workers, mainly from the Şanlıurfa province, engage in seasonal labor in Sakarya, Düzce, Ordu, and other provinces annually.

The hazelnut harvest is carried out in three ways: workers picking from the branch, workers picking from the ground, and through the use of machinery. See Annex II for a summary of hazelnut harvest techniques.

Transportation: Minibuses are used to transport seasonal workers from Şanlıurfa to the Black Sea provinces. Transportation from housing in the harvest region to hazelnut gardens is on foot or by tractor-trailer. Labor intermediaries cover transportation costs and similar logistical expenses.

Working hours and wages: Hazelnut harvest workers are usually paid daily, with hours and wages determined by the agriculture chambers, district governors and employers. Lump-sum payments have been reported in a few places. Agricultural intermediaries take 10 percent of the daily wage as commission. Working hours are usually 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. with a one-hour lunch and two 15-minute breaks.

The picture is quite different in gardens that employ only local workers. Local workers’ daily wages ranged between 70-90 TL in 2016, the year Turkey set the legal minimum wage at 55 TL. Intermediaries perceive the disparity between migrant and local wages as normal, as local workers know the crop better, work more effectively without harming the trees, and do not bring young children to work (in line with the belief that young children don’t work as efficiently as adults or are otherwise in the way).

Syrian migrants are paid differently. During the Şanlıurfa focus groups, some participants claimed that Syrians would work for 35 TL a day in order to present themselves as a more affordable option.

Accommodations: There is no infrastructure available for worker families in the harvest region. People living in tents get water from tankers or wells. Flashlights serve for lighting, although in some places, agricultural intermediaries obtain electricity from private sources and pay for it. There are no dedicated playgrounds for children in these temporary settlements. There are no health services.

Some workers stay at “hazelnut cottages” provided by farmers in Sakarya and Düzce. These dwellings are sparse huts located in the gardens with relatively primitive facilities. Even though most farmers stated that they provide all basic needs (water, electricity, even gas) during the harvest, workers tell a different story. Utilities are sporadic — there may be no running water when there is electricity — and the cottages themselves are cramped places (one or two rooms) which two large families sometimes share.

Division of labor: The difficulty of the work usually determines the age and sex of the worker. Women and children shake trees, pick nuts from the ground and sort them. Men



shake bigger trees and load and carry bags. In addition, some women reported that they hire a caregiver for their children who also cook for the families. Fees and wages are set for those who look after children outside the workplace.

The main problems faced by workers during the hazelnut harvest may be summarized as follows:

- **long and variable** working hours;
- **different compensation** for different worker groups;
- **poor accommodations and working conditions** (dust, dampness, etc.) that can create health problems;
- **limited access to basic services** due to lack of social insurance.⁸

HEALTH RISKS DURING HARVEST SEASON

Working conditions affect family life in both physical and psychological ways. Agricultural workers point out that hazelnut farming is particularly difficult in mountainous areas, and that poor living and working conditions puts added stress on families living on someone’s farm in a state of dependence, isolated yet under constant surveillance.

⁸ Since they work informally, laborers are not covered by the social security system and are not entitled to benefit from the Law on Occupational Health and Safety No. 6331.

In fact, hazelnut harvesting can be more exhausting for women than men. Women look after the children and must cook and clean in an environment where basic needs are not met. They cannot buy hygienic pads, and even if they could, there is no privacy at work or even in settlements. There are no toilets.

Children are most vulnerable in terms of health issues. Although agricultural workers stated that children do not get sick because of work, they admitted during questioning that children do not eat a healthy diet, suffer from lack of sleep, and become exhausted

from the heat. Some parents fear they might be poisoned from pesticides or empty pesticides containers. Insects, fetid odors, occasional maltreatment by intermediaries and persecution by local children all affect them negatively.

For all the above-mentioned reasons, access to health services during harvest (especially in case of sudden illnesses) is a key issue for workers. Agricultural intermediaries and garden owners should take full responsibility to resolve these problems—workers living in isolated environments are fully dependent on them.

2.2.2. Education and Child Labor

HAYATI HARRANI EDUCATIONAL PROFILE⁹

According to the mukhtar, children living in the neighborhood must work because of their families' economic needs. There are five schools in the neighborhood. When the

9 Stated by the neighborhood's mukhtar.

agricultural season begins, the number of high-school students can drop from 500 to 100.

There is no exact information about the number of children leaving neighborhood schools each year, but the mukhtar suggests it is in the thousands. A few families leave their

children with their relatives when they leave for seasonal work (usually only boys), but this is not seen as a viable solution. There is no public dorm in the neighborhood for children who want to keep attending the school until the end of official term.

The mukhtar has requested resources for the schools in the neighborhood from the Provincial Directorate of National Education and the Ministry of National Education. Outside of the harvest season, classes are very crowded; in some classes, there are 60-70 students. There have been no responses to the requests.

PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS

Study participants, particularly women, strongly felt their lack of education predestined them to seasonal agricultural work. Of 10 females interviewed, two were literate, three attended primary school, and five were illiterate. Only one reported training in any occupation other than agricultural labor (in tailoring).¹⁰ All of the adult participants (men and women) started seasonal agricultural labor in childhood.

The children interviewed as part of the survey had been working in hazelnut harvesting for at least two years. Most of them started at age 9 or 10. The children, together with their parents, participated in harvests one to two months each year.

All children aged 14 years and under currently were attending school, but they often changed schools or left Şanlıurfa to work in agriculture before the semester ended (that is, before June). Typically, they obtain permission from teachers (through their parents) to take examinations early.¹¹

10It has been observed that access to education is a more sensitive issue for women than for men.

11Nevertheless, it can be assumed that this situation negatively affects their school achievement and the efficiency of the educational process.

A GROUP THAT CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE WORKERS — AGRICULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES

The agricultural intermediary system is a fundamental aspect of seasonal labor in Turkey. Though the practice is constantly on the reform agenda, to date no alternatives have been proposed. Researchers conducting this community profiling organized a focus group of agricultural intermediaries in Şanlıurfa province to elicit their views and needs.

Intermediaries — called elçi, dayıbaşı or çavuş—play a supply-demand role in agriculture by meditating relations between employers and workers. The size of groups managed by intermediaries vary from 10 to 70 workers. Intermediaries often form long-term relationships with their workers. They lend money in winter to those who need cash, and this practice in turn commits workers to the next harvest.

It should be noted that intermediaries often are in the same financial situation as seasonal workers. Their families also work during harvest and they claim to struggle with debt as well. For example, in cases where producers do not pay wages to the workers, intermediaries feel responsible to make the payments from their own accounts. Their promise is a guarantee to workers they feel obliged to uphold. The repatriation of a sick worker or communication with his/her family is also a responsibility of intermediaries. In their own words, they operate like father figures, and it often costs them money.

Intermediaries play a key role in support of employers as well. Employers who work closely with an intermediary know that, first of all, they will have the necessary workforce come harvest season. Moreover, they do not have to deal with hundreds of workers individually or make individual agreements about working and living conditions and wages.

The intermediaries determine the number of workers the garden owner needs and the wages owners will pay. They visit the recruitment regions and choose workers for the season; workers so not enter into any relationship with the employer and they do not get social insurance (Sanal 1984).

The intermediary system is governed by regulations and its activities are monitored by the Turkish Employment Agency. However, almost all the agricultural intermediaries interviewed for this report function informally. In separate research study conducted by Gülçubuk, et al., agricultural intermediaries consistently raised the point that workers employed formally require social insurance. Employers prefer not to deal with this. Therefore, agricultural intermediaries remain unregistered in large numbers. (See Annex 3 for information on the regulation on agricultural Intermediaries.)



The number of children between 15 and 17 years of age who continued their studies beyond primary school was small — just two in the young women and men groups. These young people kept studying and joined agricultural work after their semester ended.¹² The young female group had some illiterate individuals and others who left school in the 6th or 7th grade grade (12 or 13 years old, respectively).

KEY TITLES IN EDUCATIONAL ACCESS

Children leaving school before the completion of the semester is a serious problem. Girls in the age group 14 and younger like school more than boys, in part because school is the most comfortable place for girls to socialize outside their homes, a perceived safe place where they can make friends.

It is noteworthy that young people between the ages of 15 and 17, both girls and boys, do not make plans or set goals for the future. They do not believe that their future will change because of education. The opportunity to earn money and contribute to household finances diminishes their desire to continue their education. Teachers’ efforts to change

12 Their parents are out on the road early to travel to harvest areas.

children’s and parents’ notions on this issue were generally fruitless, since families make economic survival their top priority.

Two male participants in the 15-17 year group who continued their education reported that they wanted to go to agricultural labor in order to earn money (in January when the fieldwork was conducted), but they could not do it because the school attendance requirement¹³ prevented them. These young men stayed in Şanlıurfa until the end of the academic year and then joined their families in the harvest regions.

Girls in the 15-17 age group who dropped out after primary school stated that they did so because of family pressure. What is striking is that they emphasized their decisions were based on their own observations of their surroundings and their family’s attitude. They said they did not consult their parents, telling themselves “they will not give permission in the end.” In particular, these girls stated that they had little time to study because of work at home.

Another common theme expressed by 15-17 year olds: parents will support their children in school only when they are successful students. It is difficult for children (especially girls) to stay in school if they are having trouble learning.

Girls in the 15-17 year group said they didn’t consider “distance education” because they didn’t believe education would help them find a job (they also mentioned family and neighborhood pressure to work). It is noteworthy that these girls did not have sufficient information about distance education, and

13 When a student is absent for more than 10 school days, the student automatically fails the grade. Two participants stated that they know that their school drop-out process will speed up once they start to fail classes. Although they claim to prefer working to attending school, they do not want to give up on their education either. They say that holding a high school certificate may help them finding relatively better jobs in the future, even though the odds for this seem very low at the moment.



that their prevailing presumption is the lack of employment for women: men always have more opportunities, including educational options.

In fact, although women and men expressed no difference in their attitudes toward the education of boys and girls, evidence suggested otherwise. Male workers indicated gender did not matter in terms of the education of their children; but it was observed that, whenever possible, boys had preference with regard to schooling. About half of the women workers stated that the education of their daughters was a priority they were willing to make sacrifices to achieve; the problem, they said, was that the final decision belonged to the girls’ fathers.

Although such evidence must be considered anecdotal, it was observed that school attendance, especially among girls, may be influenced by available role models. These models may be relatives or friends, but in either case, they may affect parents thinking about

their children’s chances to study for a profession. However, it has also been observed that parents tend to avoid long-term plans. University may seem like a distant goal in comparison to getting a paying job. Thus, promoting attainment of high school diplomas or vocational certificates seems more realistic and achievable.

Other important factors influencing the decision to continue education are transportation, nutrition and accommodation. The discussions in the male workers’ group pointed to the fact that the free provision of transportation and nutrition has a positive effect on fathers’ decisions to send their children to school. However, accommodation is a problem for children who need to go to school away from their parents. Parents, both mothers and fathers, do not take kindly to the idea that their children, especially girls, must stay in dormitories. A small number of families stated that they leave their children with relatives to continue their schooling during harvest season.



WORKING CHILDREN/CHILD LABOR

There is no discrimination with regard to whether girls or boys should participate in seasonal agricultural labor: it is a given that both should work—every family member must bear some responsibility for income generation.

Indeed, children were forthright about working to contribute to family income. They believe that if they do not work, their families will suffer; work is a requirement for them. Children turn over their wages to their fathers, but fathers sometimes return pocket money to the children or save cash for school expenses.

But children also stated that activities such as music or painting, outside of working hours,¹⁴

and safe spaces such as playgrounds and study areas, would make harvest season more bearable.

The children said they never witnessed a social audit (by a governmental or nongovernmental actor) while they worked in the gardens. They have heard that child labor is prohibited, but their knowledge is sketchy—they have no clear idea about how their work affects or might affect their lives.

¹⁴ Children would like to see such activities outside of working hours since they perceive themselves as workers first. However, they express that they would prefer attending these activities as replacement if the perceived necessity of contributing to family budget were not to exist.

2.3. Findings Specific to Public Institutions

2.3.1. Findings Specific to Public Institutions

2.3.1.1. General Observations

An initial observation with respect to public institutions/organizations is the absence of integrated studies and guidelines on seasonal agricultural labor, particularly child labor. Three basic conclusions can be drawn: (1) capacity of personnel and competence of institutions/organizations are limited; (2) inspections are not conducted timely and effectively;¹⁵ and (3) the duties and responsibilities of ministries cannot be transferred to provinces.

Local governmental decision makers and staff are not fully aware of child-labor issues and do not accept responsibility for monitoring or preventing child labor.

At this time, there is still no “data bank”¹⁶ in Şanlıurfa province, the center of seasonal agricultural labor in Turkey; this hinders

progress toward reform. Field observations indicated no communication between public institutions/organizations and agricultural workers. Despite the importance of agriculture intermediaries, they are allowed to operate outside the system: Local administrations deem the practice outside their authority. There is a need for centralized coordination among stakeholders.

¹⁵ Turkey’s Labor Law doesn’t cover the work in enterprises with fewer than 50 workers. Most cases of child labor occur in areas that technically fall outside the jurisdiction of labor inspectors. Administrative fines may be levied on the employers according to the Misdemeanor Law No. 5326 if child labor is identified through visits by local authorities and law-enforcement officers.

¹⁶ The number of seasonal migrant agricultural workers and intermediaries based in Şanlıurfa, their migration routes, duration of their work in the provinces, and registration status of labour intermediaries could be tracked thanks to this database. İŞKUR special units, consisting of relevant institutions’ members and coordinated by governors, would use this database in collaboration.

Although the bi-annual Provincial Level Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers Monitoring Committee Meetings were held in Şanlıurfa (the last one was held

in November 2016), the participants stated that they recall neither the other participating institutions nor the meeting agendas.

2.3.1.2. Institutions in the Provinces and Services They Provide

Field researchers in Şanlıurfa conducted interviews with all the stakeholder institutions/organizations at the primary level. The main findings from these interviews appear below.

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION, PROVINCIAL AND DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS

- **Working children** in the province can be monitored through the Ministry of Education, although families who cannot or do not send their children to school escape the system’s monitoring.
- **District directorates** have responsibility for the education and training of children and for checking their school attendance. These bodies maintain the most detailed knowledge about local developments; the directorates’ monitoring boards prepare reports every six months.
- **Eyyübiye District Directorate of National Education** (home district of the most seasonal workers) monitors absenteeism and conducts interviews with parents. According to the directorate, children working in the harvesting of hazelnuts and other crops suffer discrimination by teachers and prejudice by peers. The directorate believes it necessary to carry out perception and awareness studies with teachers to help increase attendance among working children.

PUBLIC HEALTH DIRECTORATE

- **The Public Health Directorate** looks at issues only within its own areas of responsibility but seems to have a plan to work with other institutions.

MUNICIPALITY

- **Although Eyyübiye district is home to most seasonal agricultural workers** in Şanlıurfa, Eyyübiye municipality has limited human resources and does not conduct research directly related to child labor. However, if they cooperate with other institutions, they will be able to maximize their resources .



- According to municipal authorities, governorates are more capable of addressing child-labor problems. Possible solutions include the creation of business hubs to spur employment, microcredit programs for families, and vocational training.
- The municipality offers sports and social activities for young people. However, there are no specific programs for disadvantaged groups such as children of seasonal worker families.

GOVERNORATE

- The governorate has made efforts to prevent child labor through the Social Assistance Foundation, but these efforts are inadequate. The basic approach of this institution is to support a model in which only adult males migrate and work, but this approach has proved problematic, as resources are inadequate to cover losses of income generated by other family members.

- The governorate is cooperating with İŞKUR in the prevention of child labor, but information on their joint efforts is unavailable.

MINISTRY OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL POLICIES
PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION

- The Family and Social Policies Provincial Directorate is nestled under the Commission on the Rights of Children. The commission seeks to protect and promote the universal rights of children but does not directly prevent agricultural child labor. The Family and Social Policies Provincial Directorate does not have a database on seasonal agricultural child labor or information on their numbers.
- The Family and Social Policies Provincial Directorate primarily concerns itself with legal issues and legislative measures to prevent child abuse. However, the directorate becomes involved only after child labor or abuse has been detected or

reported (institutional authorities consider child labor as a form of child abuse).

- Temporary cash support is provided the families depending on circumstances and criteria. To this end, Social Assistance Solidarity Foundations conduct the necessary eligibility reviews. There is no up-to-date data on how much seasonal agricultural workers have benefited from this.

İŞKUR

- The Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) stands out as one of the most important stakeholders in the supervision of agricultural workers and especially the activities of agricultural intermediaries. However, it is not directly responsible for preventing child labor, as SGK (Sosyal Güvenlik Kurumu, Turkey’s social security administration) has the main responsibility for this.
- According to the Şanlıurfa Provincial Directorate, there are an estimated 1,500-2,000 agricultural intermediaries in the province. İŞKUR is responsible for the registration of agricultural intermediaries. There are 136 intermediaries registered with the directorate, but only 30 submit regular annual reports; 160 agriculture intermediaries had certificates canceled because they did not update their registration (authorities have not checked whether these intermediaries are still working). If the registration system were fully operational, certified intermediaries would report regularly and advise the authorities about the problems they encounter.
- İŞKUR has stated that it cannot carry out necessary inspections due to lack



of personnel and time; thus it cannot monitor the number of child workers, the registration status of agricultural intermediaries, and the insurance status of workers.

- İŞKUR’s occupation consultants provided training to agricultural intermediaries two years ago, but this training has not been repeated and no studies have been done to gauge its effectiveness. Currently, the institution does not have a systematic training program.
- İŞKUR stated that from time to time it distributes posters and brochures (sent from Ankara) related to child labor in relevant locations. However, they have not carried out a study on the effectiveness of the dissemination of this information.

GAP REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT
ADMINISTRATION

- The GAP Regional Development Administration (BKİ) has no studies, databases or monitoring units directly related to child labor. The most recent trainings and vocational programs for



- children working on the streets were held in 2002. GAP BKİ has no future strategy to prevent child labor.
- The most important initiative of GAP BKİ seems to be its multipurpose community centers (ÇATOM) aimed at seasonal agricultural workers. Vocational courses (hairdressing, tailoring, etc.) are given and a game room for children is available. In the winter months, some agricultural workers attend ÇATOM courses. There is a ÇATOM in Eyyübiye, but the number of participants is limited.

SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS MONITORING BOARD

- It was observed in the interviews that the local monitoring board does not cooperate with their counterparts in other provinces and that this system does not operate actively.

- The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Monitoring Board receives requests for help from agricultural workers on health, education and job-related issues such as basic workplace standards and requirements; child-worker exploitation; wage arbitration; and migrant access to schools. Interviewees emphasized that the children of seasonal agricultural workers should enjoy the same rights given to the children of Syrian refugees (such as compulsory education, assistance, follow-up).
- Additionally interviews with the mukhtar, imam, and teachers in Hayati Harrani in Şanlıurfa reinforced the fact that these actors do not consider themselves formally responsible for child-labor matters, as they only investigate child labor on an individual basis.

2.3.1.3. Overview of Infrastructure Resources



In Eyyübiye, local government oversees the education and health-service infrastructures. There is a municipal youth center in the neighborhood where mostly agricultural workers reside. There is also a multipurpose community center (ÇATOM) provided by the GAP Regional Development Administration. In addition, there are educational institutions and health units.

There is a large population of young people and children in the district, considered a disadvantage by local authorities. There is an urgent need for quality education facilities at various levels and on-the-job learning opportunities to reverse this situation.



3. RESEARCH FINDINGS: BLACK SEA FIELDS

3.1. Working and Living Conditions

Districts in three provinces (Sakarya, Düzce, Ordu) were selected for research in the Black Sea region. Basic data and statics about these districts are presented below.

3.1.1. Sakarya-Karasu Statistics

Sakarya stands out as a province richer than others in terms of agricultural activity (Karasu district likewise enjoys commercial activities besides hazelnut agriculture). Sakarya benefits from tourism enhanced by wide forested areas and water resources (Sakarya River and Acarlar Lake) suitable for fishing.

TABLE 4: SELECTED STATISTICAL DATA ON SAKARYA PROVINCE	
Population (2014 data)	932,706
Male/female ratio	50%/50%
Land mass	235,356 hectares
Land under hazelnut cultivation	72,598 hectares
Hazelnut production in Turkey	12.6%
Ranking in hazelnut agriculture in Turkey	Third in cultivation area Second in production First in productivity
Annual agricultural GDP per capita (2015)	TRY 13,335

TABLE 5: SELECTED STATISTICAL DATA ON KARASU DISTRICT	
Population (2016 data)	61,533
Male/female ratio	50%/50%
Residential area	477 km²
Forested area	12,465 hectares
Total agricultural area (2014)	252,196 decares
Main agricultural products	Hazelnut, maize, sunflower and potato
Nonagricultural income-generating activities	fishing and forestry
Schools	4 kindergartens (1 private) and 31 elementary schools (7 central and 24 in villages and towns); 22 secondary schools (8 central and 14 in villages); 6 high schools (all central), of which 3 are "Anatolian"; plus an occupational training center
Hospitals	TRY 13,335

* Anatolian High Schools refer to public high schools in Turkey that admit their students according to high exam results and performance.

TABLE 6: POPULATION DATA ON KÜÇÜKKARASU, KÜÇÜKBOĞAZ, KUZULUK VILLAGES	
Population of Küçükkarasu village (2016 data)	1,242
Population of Küçükboğaz village (2016 data)	654
Population of Kuzuluk village (2016 data)	3,754

3.1.2. Düzce-Akçakoca Statistics

Hazelnut is the most prominent agricultural product in the province of Düzce. Selected information about the districts and villages of Düzce (Akçakoca district was selected for the survey) follows below.

TABLE 7: SELECTED STATISTICAL DATA ON DÜZCE PROVINCE	
Population (2016 data)	370,371
Male/female ratio	50.16%/49.84%
Agricultural acreage	74,163 hectares
Land under hazelnut cultivation	62,685 hectares

TABLE 8: SELECTED DATA ON BEYÖREN AND BALATLI VILLAGES	
Proximity of Beyören to the district center	7 km
Population of Beyören	687 people in 240 households
Village infrastructure	Asphalt and paving-stone roads; adequate potable water; health center; mosque; primary school with 12 classrooms
Proximity of Balatlı to the district center	8 km
Population of Balatlı	627 people in 164 households
Village infrastructure	Asphalt and paving-stone roads; adequate potable water; health center; mosque; primary school with 4 classrooms (6th-7th-8th grade students attend Beyören elementary school)



TABLE 9: SELECTED STATISTICAL DATA ON AKÇAKOCA DISTRICT	
Administrative structure	43 villages, 1 central municipality; 21 neighborhoods in the villages; 8 neighborhoods within the municipality
Population (2016 data)	37,660
Male/female ratio	49.5%/50.5%
Average household size	3.19
Rural/urban breakdown	35.8% of the population live in villages and rural areas
Agricultural land	22,028 hectares
Land under hazelnut cultivation	21,865 hectares
Annual hazelnut production	17,000–36,000 tons
Income sources other than hazelnut	Tourism, industry, construction, transportation, fishery, beekeeping
Literacy rate	96.5% (73% of illiterate individuals are above 60 years of age)
Classrooms	259 elementary, 119 secondary (378 total)
Elementary schools	8 in the center, 10 in villages (18 total)
Mobile education-training activities	866 students in 39 village schools transported to 9 central schools
Other central secondary schools	1 high school, 1 Anatolian high school, 1 vocational school, 1 Anatolian vocational school, 1 Anatolian technical and industrial school, 1 vocational high school for girls, 1 practical arts school (within the vocational school for girls), 1 Imam Hatip high school, 1 Anatolian hotel management and tourism school, 1 Anatolian teacher school
Students in primary and secondary education	6,227
Teachers in primary and secondary education	465
Schools with kindergarten	20
Children attending kindergarten	608
Teachers in kindergartens	27 permanent, 3 temporary
Higher education units	1 two-year vocational high school and 1 tourism and hotel management high school (affiliated with Düzce University)

3.1.3. Ordu-Kabataş Statistics

Hazelnut is the traditional product in Ordu: the province accounts for 25 percent of Turkey’s hazelnuts, first place in the country’s overall annual production. .

It is noteworthy that the population of Kabataş, the district selected for the survey, and its affiliated villages, whose economic activities other than hazelnut farming are not developed, is aging and decreasing yearly.

TABLE 10: SELECTED DATA ON ORDU	
Population	728,949
Main economic activities	Agriculture (hazelnut and other crops, livestock, beekeeping, fishery, forestry) and trade (comprised mainly of activities related to hazelnut)
Agricultural acreage	255,297 hectares (43% of total land)
Annual hazelnut production	140-180 thousand tons

3.1.4. Profile of Interviewees

Focus groups with large hazelnut garden owners/producers, small hazelnut garden owners/producers, and females who are spouses or relatives of garden owners.¹⁷

The average age of the producers was 51 (across all groups). In Sakarya and Düzce, all producers employ seasonal agricultural workers. Most garden owners said that children of seasonal laborers have worked in their gardens in varying numbers over the past years.

17 Please note that the terms ‘farmers’, ‘garden owners’, ‘producers’, and ‘proprietors’ are used interchangeably throughout the text.

TABLE 11: SELECTED DATA ON KABATAŞ DISTRICT	
Established	1991
Population (2015 data)	10,604
Average household size	3.28
Literacy rate	89%
Total agricultural land	51,991 decares
Land under hazelnut cultivation	46,822 decares
Resources	Community health center, family health centers (is 1 in Alankent), emergency health services station and health house; 2 kindergartens, 6 elementary schools, 6 secondary schools, 3 high schools

TABLE 12: POPULATION DATA ON ALANKENT, ARDIÇ, KUZKÖY	
Population of Alankent	4,424
Population of Ardiç	608
Population of Kuzköy	472

In Ordu, a different picture emerges. In general, producers employ local workers (from Aybastı village) in the hazelnut harvest. Although the number of seasonal agricultural workers has increased in recent years, their number remains small and concentrated in a few gardens. Producers noted that local workers rarely bring children to work with them in the gardens, but some seasonal workers do.

The farmers who employed seasonal agricultural workers in their gardens said they felt they had to let the children of seasonal migrant families work. They stated that seasonal agricultural



Although hazelnut production remains the most important source of income, men stated that they are increasingly seeking other employment because of the decline in revenue from hazelnut harvests in recent years. This gradual decline was a concern expressed by all producers across all regions (the perception is that hazelnut yields are decreasing due to disease and prices falling due to market competition and manipulation by “outside actors.”¹⁸

Men make all decisions regarding income-generating activities and work-related issues. Women remain in the background. There are exceptions: a limited number of women own gardens and manage the harvest. Women producers are more engaged with workers’ families, especially

women and children, and are more cognizant of living and working conditions.

It has been observed that there were no differences among large and small producers in terms of demographics, economic profile, diversity of income sources, working relations, and perceptions and attitudes of child labor—except for the number of workers, dictated by the size of the garden.

¹⁸ Researchers interpreted the term “outside actors,” when used by farmers, to mean international corporations or market manipulators.

worker families insist on working with their children to earn more money since children receive daily wages as well, and they threaten farmers with leaving if they are not allowed. Finding back-up workers on such short notice is not an option according to farmers.

In all three provinces, workers in areas other than harvesting are recruited locally or through families. These income-generating activities include maize farming and livestock production, plus fishing in Karasu and beekeeping in Kabataş).

3.1.5. Relation of Garden Owners/Producers to Hazelnut Farming

All producers interviewed say hazelnut agriculture has been part their lives since birth. Income from hazelnut production makes up 40-100 percent of family income. Ordu and Düzce provinces are particularly tied to hazelnut agriculture, as the statistics above indicate. Sakarya province has more diversified agricultural activities and crops, but hazelnut

plays a key role in most families’ livelihood, according to the secondary data collected. A considerable number of producers interviewed regard hazelnut production as the most important source of livelihood.

In recent years, a combination of disease, market fluctuation, shrinking cultivation, and

the break up of gardens through inheritance have reduced the real income¹⁹ derived from hazelnut production. Different sources of income have begun to emerge.

In addition, producers have observed changes in hazelnut farming that affect long-standing practices; they follow new trends²⁰ even though they cannot implement them for a variety of reasons (e.g., lack of financial resources, inadequate land profile). In their opinion, one of the decisive factors determining the future of hazelnut farming is “mechanical harvesting.”

Sakarya and Düzce (which have more flat agricultural land than Ordu) can expect an

increase in mechanized large-scale farming, which in turn will decrease the need for seasonal labor — potential by as much as 60 percent. Mechanical harvesting will remain limited in Ordu province due to mountainous topography. However, producers believed that over time machines will be adapted to these conditions.

¹⁹ Average agricultural land ownership is around 60 decares per family in Turkey but this average decreases by more than half for hazelnut garden owners. Family members are more likely to sell their own shares or leave their parcels unattended compared to the past. Migration to city centers or other cities is a major factor that contributes to this disintegration process. Family members stated that keeping up this traditional economic activity is no longer worth the effort and time.

²⁰ New trends include different machine-farming techniques. Various models of machines have been developed that collect shelled hazelnuts by shaking the hazelnut trees into their reservoir by a vacuumed suction system. Some models of these machines can be used with an additional shelling apparatus, conducting two processes at the same time.

3.2. Needs Analysis in the Context of Relations Between Harvest Actors and Child Labor

3.2.1. Relations with Seasonal Agricultural Workers

Hazelnut producers mainly bring seasonal workers from Şanlıurfa, Mardin, Batman and Diyarbakır. The workers are employed mostly through agricultural intermediaries. For this reason, producers interact with the workers only after they arrive at their gardens. Even

then, there is no direct communication between the two parties; intermediaries manage their relationships. This practice contrasts with producers’ intense interaction with local workers. One exception to the above: when producers provide accommodation for workers.

3.2.2. Child-labor Perception

According to producers, child labor remains a major problem in the hazelnut harvest, though it has been decreasing in recent years. Producers say they do not want to employ children under age 15, not only because they are morally opposed to child labor, but because they work inefficiently and tire quickly.

In the opinion of hazelnut producers, the ideal employee is between 20 and 45 years

of age. They expressed no gender preference, although some said women work more efficiently and quickly. That said, seasonal laborers want to work with their families (in some rare occasions, they threaten to quit if they can’t do this), and so producers must tolerate child labor.

The relevant point here is that there is no controlling authority in this matter. Only a few districts provide guidelines on child labor. Producers do not feel responsible for

informing or warning workers about child labor and expect public officials to act on such matters.

Producers went on to note that children under 10 are particularly vulnerable to conditions such as humidity, extreme hot or cold, insect infestations, and dust. Producers observed that children working in the gardens often suffer from poor nutrition, insomnia, and lack of educational and social activities.

On the other hand, garden owners regarded child labor as an unfortunate economic necessity. Hazelnut producers do not employ their own children (under 13 years old) in agricultural work. However, children 13 or older may work in family gardens. Some garden owners deem this necessary for children “to experience life by working,” while others want their children to earn pocket money and stay busy in the summer.

THOUGHTS ON PREVENTION OF CHILD LABOR

When asked about ways to prevent child labor, hazelnut producers suggested economic

assistance for families and regulation of intermediaries. The general consensus was that child labor should be addressed at the source—workers’ home regions—to prevent children coming to harvesting areas. If necessary, the state should pay a “compensatory income” to the families. Criminal sanctions should be applied if families still insist on making their children work.

Likewise, producers lament the lack of support for children of seasonal workers in the harvesting provinces. Limited training projects have been implemented for children in Sakarya. Local residents could not recall the names or scope of these projects.

According to producers, principal responsibility for preventing child labor falls on the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, the Provincial Directorates of National Education, district governorates, and chambers of agriculture. However, producers were unable to provide details about involving these public authorities or how they could work together.

3.2.3. Relations with Agricultural Intermediaries

The agricultural intermediary system is the most institutionalized employment system for seasonal agricultural work in Turkey, even if most intermediaries are not registered. All producers employ seasonal agricultural workers engaged through agricultural intermediaries. In the past, some producers tried to work around the system but failed (because they lost communication with the families after the harvest or because workers felt pressured to stay within the system).

Hazelnut producers generally chose agricultural intermediaries with whom they had ongoing relationships. Arrangements are made in the spring, before the harvest begins, with intermediaries contacting producers directly contact or by telephone. Intermediaries find workers through family and neighborhood ties.

Intermediaries are responsible for the productivity and efficiency of seasonal workers as well as for their transportation, accommodation, and services such as water and electricity. They

MAIN ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF AGRICULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES	
MAIN ADVANTAGES OF AGRICULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES, ACCORDING TO PRODUCERS	MAIN DISADVANTAGES OF AGRICULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES, ACCORDING TO PRODUCERS
<ul style="list-style-type: none">✓ guarantee of labor supply✓ guarantee of experienced and disciplined workers✓ efficient and effective management	<ul style="list-style-type: none">✗ guarantee of labor supply✗ guarantee of experienced and disciplined workers✗ efficient and effective management

take workers to health-care centers in cases of emergency and work accidents.

In return for these services, intermediaries take the equivalent of two days wages as a management fee, along with 10 percent of a worker’s daily wage — although this is not legal.

None of the garden proprietors participating in the study asked intermediaries for certificates (in theory, the intermediary system is governed and monitored by the Turkish Employment Agency). Thus, the key legal instrument of the agricultural intermediary system does not function in the field.

3.2.4. Wages and Working Hours

The number of workers a producer employs in the harvest season, which lasts an average of two months, is determined the size of his garden. The average producer employs 15-20 workers for a period of 5-25 days.

The Provincial Wage Determination Commission establishes wages for seasonal agricultural workers: 55 TL/day in 2016. It was also observed that some hazelnut producers paid 60 TL/day when demand was high and they were in dire need of manpower. Local wages (70 TL/day in 2016) are higher than the seasonal workers. Wages may differ slightly

across the provinces (for example, 90-100 TL/dat in Ordu).

Researchers observed that children under 18 were paid 40 TL/day in some gardens in Sakarya province. Pre-set wages did not differ dramatically between men and women. Some producers expressed preference for female workers because they regard them as more efficient.

Generally, a worker is compensated with one daily wage per work day. Only agricultural intermediaries, women responsible for cooking, and porters (those who carry sacks) may be paid at the rate of two daily wages.



3.2.5. Working and Housing Conditions

It was reported that seasonal agricultural workers in Sakarya and Düzce experience better housing conditions than those in Ordu. In the former provinces, workers stay in small houses in the gardens and their electricity, water, and wood for cooking is supplied by the proprietor. In the province of Ordu, most workers stay in tents and lack basic facilities.

Small groups of harvest workers who “self-contract” in Sakarya and Düzce (i.e., do not find employment through agricultural intermediaries) also reside in tents. These workers want to avoid intermediaries’ commissions or wish to work specific jobs.

Regardless of the disparity in these situations, hazelnut producers stated that the most important support they can give agricultural workers, and especially their children, is to provide adequate accommodations and meet their electricity-water-wood needs. They

believe that they fulfill their responsibilities in this respect.

The harvest period is a challenging time for hazelnut producers as well as workers. The producers explained that they labor under the same conditions as the workers and that, when possible, they offer workers tea or fruit during rest periods.

Language differences also deepen lines of separation during the busy harvesting season. Many producers noted that local residents harbor prejudices against seasonal workers, and from time to time seasonal workers experience conflict with locals. Agricultural intermediaries act as a bridge between these two populations, as well as the producers themselves. Some participants in the women’s groups shared that, when they see mistreatment or unproductive work, they want to directly get involved, but because of the language barrier they remain passive.

3.3. Source Identification

3.3.1. Public Institutions

3.3.1.1. General Observations

While stakeholders identify child labor as a major problem, no attempt has been made to find a concrete solution. Public officials were often unaware of their own responsibilities for child labor in agriculture, especially in hazelnut farming. Stakeholders described officials as showing disinterest, misunderstanding, insensitivity, and even avoidance of the issue.

The dimensions of the problem have not been clearly sketched out. There is no central database for agricultural workers. Likewise,

consistent information about gender ratios and the number of working children is unavailable. Researchers noted that there is no controlling authority over seasonal workers; no adequate mechanism to identification or track school-age children; no quantitative data at the local level about children outside the school system; no initiative for cooperation and coordination between public institutions to address child labor. There are few if any initiatives to provide support to civil society for a solution to the child-labor problem.



It was observed that the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security do not have adequate staff devoted to the problem (these are among the key institutions overseeing child labor). Also, the number of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that actively work in the field is limited.²¹

In sum, all institutions, both public and NGOs, described themselves as “supporting” or “subsidiary” organizations with regard to child labor, rather than owning the problem. To paraphrase public officials, it is not their duty to intercede, yet their reluctance cannot be deemed as negligence on their part. They claim that they take initiatives to correct child labor on their own.

Importantly, child labor is dealt within the discourse of “foreign forces desiring to damage hazelnut sector,” and not within the

framework of children’s rights. Moreover, some interviewees exhibited skepticism toward the community profiling itself, as if researchers were a hostile force attempting to create a problem that didn’t exist in hazelnut farming.

That said, it should be noted that most public and nongovernmental organizations in Ordu seemed to be more responsive, competent and involved in child-labor issues. This attitude can be attributed to the fact that hazelnut farming is a key economic activity and source of livelihood in the province. The project that the ILO conducted with NGOs in the province of Ordu three years ago illustrates this attitude.²²

21 NGOs and international agencies that are active in the field of hazelnut in Black Sea region identified as; Genc Hayat Foundation, Support to Life, Pikolo, Foundation for the Support of Women’s Work, Ordu Women Empowerment Association, Development Workshop, Educational Volunteers Foundations, and International Labor Organisation.
22 http://www.ilo.org/ankara/projects/WCMS_373426/lang-en/index.htm

AGRICULTURAL CHAMBERS
AS POTENTIAL KEY PLAYERS IN
THE REGION

Researchers interviewed the heads of selected agricultural chambers of commerce for this project. It was observed that the agricultural chambers are important nongovernmental organizations for agricultural workers and have the potential to become a key stakeholder in the region.

Agricultural chambers are part of the provincial/district wage-determination commissions and all together form the largest organization to represent producers. Officials send circulars detailing restrictions against the employment of children under 15, but these circulars are ignored. Some agricultural chambers have made limited attempts to prevent agricultural intermediaries from excising commissions on workers' wages, but they have not followed up on these initiatives.

In addition to their role in determining workers' wages, the agricultural chambers, along with the district governor's office, the district directorate of national education, and actors from the private sector, are also engaged in limited activities aimed at improving the living conditions— distributing milk and toys to children and sponsoring NGO educational courses.

The president of the Sakarya-Karasu agricultural chamber stated that approximately 5,000 seasonal agricultural workers arrive in the district and 20 percent of them are under age 15. There are some who believe this circumstance is “used by foreign forces” to harm the hazelnut industry. In the interviews with the Akçakoca agricultural chamber, officials also emphasized that the problem of child labor is used to reduce the price of hazelnuts, and that private-sector efforts to improve the situation have been “for appearance's sake only.” Implementing an efficient and sustainable work relationship with these stakeholders depends on building strong trust among the parties.

3.3.1.2. Current Institutions in the Provinces and Services They Provide

The stakeholder and responsible institutions and organizations in seasonal agricultural work identified in Şanlıurfa—especially the Ministry of Health, Ministry of National Education, ASPB, Provincial Organizations of Ministry of Interior, governorates, municipalities, chambers of agriculture, and İŞKUR—are also present in Black Sea provinces. However, as noted previously, these institutions do not have specific or direct roles and responsibilities related to seasonal workers (other than İŞKUR). Accordingly, they claim they have neither services nor resources to devote to the sector.

In addition to the listed institutions, the agricultural district directorates participate in provincial wage-determination commissions and occasionally make informative and cautionary announcements about child labor. Beyond this, the directorates state that they do not conduct activities related to child labor, citing insufficient resources, experts, tools; even if they carried out such activities, they point out, they could not provide any real benefit without coordinating with other institutions.

3.3.1.3. Infrastructure Resources in the Districts

In all three districts selected for this research, education, health and other public services are a function of local government. Producers provide basic needs and housing of the migrant workers. However, observers have pointed out that some hazelnut houses are not as suitable for occupation, and that crowded conditions during the busy harvest period force workers to stay in tent settlements. METİP

initiated a project in Akçakoca to improve living conditions, but the effort was temporary.

It was also noted that some municipalities provide water service and some mukhtars provide electricity. However, there are no cases where existing institutions have systematically devoted infrastructure resources toward seasonal labor housing and needs.

Likewise, no initiatives regarding education for children of seasonal workers were identified. Neither garden owners nor relevant public

institutions prioritize education because much of the hazelnut harvest takes place during summer holiday.

3.3.2. Observations on Available Resources in Villages and Effective Actors

Physical and resource mapping were conducted for eight villages/rural neighborhoods in the Black Sea region with the aim of determining physical resources available for agricultural workers, especially children. It was believed that this research will pinpoint suitable physical and spatial areas for actors to carry out interventions in the field during the 2017 harvest season. These source maps are presented in the appendices of this report. See Annex 1 for mappings.

Mukhtars were the key actors consulted for mappings of villages. While mukhtars do not have significant authority and responsibility in regard to child labor, obliged only to inform producers of the decisions taken by provincial wage commissions and instructions communicated by public administration authorities, they have an established

relationship with seasonal workers. Mukhtars make copies of identity cards of workers and communicate this information to relevant authorities. Some mukhtars noted that this data would be helpful in tracking the number of children living in the gardens. In addition, mukhtars are often the first to greet garden inspection units (and sometimes have advance notice of inspections, helping proprietors avoid fines), and they frequently guide visitors around villages.

Agricultural chambers can also play important roles in village and rural areas. The cooperation of agricultural chambers with NGOs and public institutions in regard to seasonal workers, child labor, and intermediaries would raise awareness among producers and may urge them to take more active roles in promoting workers' welfare.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A range of actors and institutions were interviewed as part of this research to identify needs of local communities and potential resources that can meet these needs, and also to solicit feedback of community members on key issues such as employment relations, seasonal agricultural workers' conditions, child labor and access to education.

According to seasonal agricultural workers, their main issues — continuous access to education for their children, training for employment in sectors other than seasonal agricultural work, and vocational opportunities in Şanlıurfa — have remained unresolved for years. Seasonal workers have been unable to break the cycle of debt and poverty and have come to accept this situation

as permanent. Economic survival demands contributions by each family member, including children. Children internalize this attitude rather young and do not see much value in continuing their education. This is especially true for females.

Considering the community profile that emerged from the research, this report recommends:

- **a thorough reevaluation** of vocational opportunities in Şanlıurfa, with a special focus on occupations suitable for women (seasonal agricultural workers say their children would stay home with their mothers and continue their education if mothers had stable local jobs);
- **strengthening vocational education** for children between the ages of 13 and 17.

The life of seasonal agricultural workers is hard, especially during the harvest period. In terms of working conditions, identified issues include: excessive working hours, wage deductions (10 percent commission deducted by agricultural intermediaries), unsafe transportation, and health and safety related risks. Lack of access to basic needs such as clean water, electricity, suitable accommodations, and sanitation in tent areas is a key problem encountered in often isolated hazelnut gardens. Moreover, clashes with locals can pose frequent challenges to seasonal migrant workers as well.

Research findings demonstrate that a number of immediate measures should be taken by public institutions, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector.:

- **improve infrastructure** (electricity, water, gas, toilets) for workers living in harvest regions;
- **establish child friendly spaces**, play and sports centers, and summer schools in selected areas to support the mental and

physical development of children under the supervision of experts;

- **establish mobile health-care teams;**
- **establish user-friendly, easy-to-access grievance and feedback mechanisms** that would bring workers into direct contact with public authorities and private actors;
- **standardize salaries and working hours;**
- **conduct regular audits of child labor** and overall working conditions by both public authorities²³ and private actors;
- **conduct compulsory health and security inspections** of working and living conditions and equipment in harvest areas.
- **Provide safe transportation** from living areas to gardens.

Hazelnut producers face their own problems and challenges. For most, hazelnut cultivation is their main source of income and they claim that revenue has steadily decreased due to various factors, including projects such as this, which they perceive as a potential negative factor that could interfere with their labor costs. Producers require an adequate workforce for the short harvest period; for this reason, they seek “insurance” from agricultural intermediaries who have proved able to supply reliable and dependable workers.

It is essential to win the support of producers and initiate reforms that will not disadvantage their livelihood. While working with producers, it would be advisable to:

- **conduct regular trainings to raise awareness about child labor** and the need to improve workers’ conditions during the harvest;

²³ According to the National Strategy on Elimination of Child Labor, the Turkish government committed to perform the necessary studies to amend the scope of the Labor Act and the Regulation on the Working Conditions of Agricultural and Forestry Works to apply to workplaces which employ 50 and more employees and the children who work in seasonal agricultural jobs under “Revisions in Legislative Framework and Measures Concerning Enforcement” measures.

- **remind producers of their responsibilities** to other harvest actors;
- **thoroughly introduce them to research projects** such as this one, to ward off suspicions and educate their community about potential benefits.

Agricultural intermediaries are also essential actors in the effort to find solutions to ongoing problems in hazelnut harvesting. They guarantee producers a supply of workers during the crucial harvest period, as well as jobs for workers dependent on harvesting for economic survival; they provide key services for both producers and workers (such as transportation, health care and other basic needs); and they minimize contact between the two parties, reducing friction and conflict. Because of this:

- **Intermediaries must be considered an integral part of the current system** and included in all efforts to improve working conditions in hazelnut harvesting.
- To assure this, every effort should be made to **incorporate them as legal and accountable actors**, and
- Producers, brands, government, or NGO trainers should **raise awareness among intermediaries about child labor** and the need to improve workers’ living and working conditions during the harvest.
- Companies and civil society should engage with agriculture intermediaries to **provide case management and referral activities through intermediaries** when child labor is found.

In the end, however, **public organizations and institutions** hold the solution to improving workers’ conditions and eliminating child labor in the hazelnut harvest sector. All the recommendations listed above require direct involvement of the public sector or at least its support.

During the fieldwork, it was observed that public actors remain passive at best because of grey areas of responsibility, or at worst because they simply ignore the problem. Even if a specific institution or person tries to tackle the problems at hand, lack of capital resources, staff and general institutional constraints may prevent success.

Compounding the problem is a complete lack of coordination between public-sector institutions in Şanlıurfa and the Black Sea region. Lack of coordination even among district public-sector actors is common.

The recently developed “National Strategic Plan to Elimination of Child Labor of Turkey,” which will cover the period of 2017 – 2023 and “Program of Improvement for Seasonal Migrant Workers” for 2017 and beyond will leverage efforts against child labor and for the improvement of seasonal migrant workers’ living and working conditions both at local and at central level.

Public-sector actors should prioritize the following goals:

- **collect and publish necessary data** (e.g., updated statistics about child labor in Turkey and establishment of a database for seasonal agricultural workers);
- **establish clear roles** and responsibilities for all actors;
- **Conduct regular awareness-raising trainings**, experience-sharing meetings and field visits for public actors;
- **appoint a specific actor** responsible for coordinating regional efforts;
- **create institutional road maps** to boost institutional ownership;
- **cooperate more effectively** with private sector and nongovernmental organizations.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX I: Primary Data Collection Modules

Şanlıurfa Field: Communities

Şanlıurfa focus group discussion (field dates: January 2017)

ŞANLIURFA FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION						
PROVINCE/ DISTRICT	NUMBER OF GROUPS	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	GENDER	AGE	PROFILE 1	PROFILE 2
Şanlıurfa- Eyyübiye district	1	8 (4 women and 4 men)	women and men	10 – 14	children of seasonal worker families in hazelnut harvest	INDIVIDUALS who reside in Hayati Harrani neighborhood of Eyyübiye district, a neighborhood in Urfa that home to the largest number of seasonal workers. FAMILIES who work in hazelnut harvest/ agricultural intermediaries who brought workers to harvest during previous two years.
	2	9	women	15 – 17	young worker	
	3	10	women	25 – 45	seasonal agricultural worker	
	4	9	men	15 – 17	young worker	
	5	8	men	25 – 45	seasonal agricultural worker	
	6	10	men	—	agricultural intermediary	

Six focus groups were conducted in Şanlıurfa with the aim of garnering information on various workers' and intermediaries' conditions and assessing their specific needs.

Key topics explored were:

- **ability of workers and labor intermediaries to earn living wages** and their general financial conditions;
- **living and working conditions** during harvest and in workers' home locations;

- **employment relations** among garden owners, workers, agricultural intermediaries and other actors;
- **perceptions among various actors** regarding child labor and education, with a special focus on factors obstructing access to education.

Agricultural intermediaries were interviewed separately due to their special role in the sector — because they are involved in negotiations between workers and employers, they are knowledgeable about both sides of key issues.



ŞANLIURFA FAMILY IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS (field dates: January 2017)

After the focus groups, **in-depth interviews were conducted with five female participants selected from the groups in Şanlıurfa**. The purpose of the interviews, conducted in the homes of participants, was to delve more deeply into certain themes raised in the focus groups and to hear different actors' views on controversial topics such as:

- **employment conditions and opportunities** in Şanlıurfa, especially for women who might otherwise stay home with their children during harvest;

- **specific educational needs of children** and available opportunities in Şanlıurfa, with a special focus on gender differences;
- **cultural attitudes towards women's role** in the family and in public life, and at different stages of their lives;
- **intricacies of families' cost-benefit analysis** (child labor push-and-pull factors) and possible trade-off scenarios to prevent it.

ŞANLIURFA INTERVIEW/TRANSECT WALK WITH MUKHTAR/NEIGHBORHOOD HEADMAN (field dates: January 2017)

An additional field study, a **transect walk**, was conducted in Şanlıurfa with the village headman of Hayati Harrani to identify specific resources in the neighborhood. The interview and walk sought information for:

- **a resource mapping of active and inactive health-services** buildings, schools and education services,

- children's parks, transportation services, water-supply sources, etc. (considering the size of the neighborhood and limited input, interview results are presented in narrative form);
- **an assessment of specific needs** of seasonal agricultural workers during harvest and off season.

Black Sea Field: Communities

BLACK SEA REGION FOCUS GROUPS (field dates: January-March 2017)

Researchers conducted nine focus groups in selected Black Sea project locations to learn hazelnut garden owners' own accounts of employment relations and to determine resources that would address their needs. Owners of small and large (over 20-decare) gardens were interviewed separately to assess potential differences in their

- experiences and approaches to key topics. Also, female producers were interviewed separately to explore gender-based differences in producers' roles and experiences.
- Key topics explored during focus group discussions (FGDs) were:



BLACK SEA REGION: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION						
PROVINCE/ DISTRICT	NUMBER OF GROUPS	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	GENDER	AGE	PROFILE 1	PROFILE 2
Şanlıurfa- Eyyübiye district	1	6	women	30+	proprietor's spouses/relatives	MORE THAN HALF of the workers in hazelnut harvesting for more than two years are migrants from other cities. Within the scope of the project, two to three participants from each of the three villages (Küçük Karasu, Küçük Boğaz, Kuzuluk) in Sakarya were invited in the group.
	2	6	men	30+	proprietor (under 20 decares)	
	3	7	men	30+	proprietor (over 20 decares)	
Düzce/Akçakoca district	1	6	women	30+	proprietor's spouses/relatives	MORE THAN HALF of the workers in hazelnut harvesting for more than two years are migrants from other cities. Within the scope of the project, three participants were invited from each of the two villages (Beyören, Balatlı) in Düzce.
	2	7	men	30+	proprietor (under 20 decares)	
	3	7	men	30+	proprietor (over 20 decares)	
Ordu / Kabataş district	1	6	women	30+	proprietor's spouses/relatives	Individuals conducting hazelnut harvesting for more than two years who employed AT LEAST ONE OR TWO MIGRANT WORKERS from outside the city (Kabataş district welcomes a limited number of seasonal workers). Within the scope of the project, two to three participants were invited from each of the three villages (Kuzuköy, Alankent, Ardiç) in Ordu.
	2	6	men	30+	proprietor (under 20 decares)	
	3	8	men	30+	proprietor (over 20 decares)	

- **nature of farmers' employment relations** with different harvest actors (such as workers and agricultural intermediaries);
- **their perceptions on child labor** and its root causes;
- **potential resources and opportunities to improve conditions** of workers and to facilitate their access to education.
- **their views on conditions of workers** during the harvest;



TRANSECT WALKS WITH MUKHTARS/VILLAGE HEADMAN (field dates: January-March 2017)

Beyond the FGDs, **eight transect walks with the mukhtars of each village/neighborhood** were conducted to identify specific resources in the communities. The interviews and walks sought information for:

- **resource mappings of active and inactive health-services** buildings, schools and education services,

children’s parks, transportation services, water-supply sources, etc. (the maps are available as appendices to this report);

- **assessments of the nature and dynamics of the relations** between village locals and seasonal workers.

Şanlıurfa and Black Sea Fields: Institutions and Community Leaders

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH OFFICIALS AT PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS AND NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND WITH COMMUNITY LEADERS (field dates: January-March 2017)

In each of the provinces, researchers conducted interviews with governors and deputy governors; provincial directorates of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies; district directorates of National Education; provincial directorates of Turkish Employment Agency; provincial public-health directorates; GAP Regional Development Administration; Seasonal Agricultural Workers Monitoring Board; mayors; provincial directorates of food, agriculture and livestock; agricultural chambers; chambers of commerce/commodity exchanges; village headman/mukhtars; and imams and teachers. The interviews were intended to glean information to evaluate the viewpoints of institutional and community leaders on key topics of this research and to assess their capacity and resources. When it was deemed

necessary, officials of district organizations were also interviewed, including district education directorates and district agriculture directorates.

Key topics explored during these interviews were:

- **perception of and experience** with subjects such as child labor (root causes and preventive measures) and improvement of workers’ conditions;
- **defined responsibilities** and available resources;
- **specific institutional needs** and gaps;
- **Potential for collaboration** with other institutions for sustainable solutions.

ANNEX 2: Harvesting Techniques

Hazelnuts are harvested in three ways: picking from trees, gathering from the ground, or mechanically. Brief descriptions of these techniques follow.

Harvesting from branches

Widely used in the eastern Black Sea region and other mountainous areas, harvesting from branches refers to workers picking ripe unshelled hazelnuts one by one and placing them in baskets; the baskets are then transported to a central gathering location and put in sacks. Workers skilled in this technique are careful to avoid twigs and buds and must be cautious not to damage the branches themselves.

Harvesting from ground

In this harvesting approach, hazelnuts are picked when fully ripe, which is why yield and quality is perfect (and branches and twigs are not harmed, assuring next year’s

product). Workers bring hazelnuts to the ground by shaking the branches or, in recent years, with shaking machines. Hazelnuts that remain on the branches are dropped with the help of long sticks. The hazelnuts are then picked from the ground and placed into baskets and eventually sacked. It is important to gather hazelnuts quickly, for if left on the ground, mold forms.

Mechanical harvesting

Due to land conditions, high costs and the small scale of most farmers, mechanization harvesting is not much used. Various models vacuum hazelnuts shaken from trees into reservoirs using a vacuum system. Some models also employ a shelling apparatus, combining two processing steps. Some producers hold the view that machine harvesting will become more widespread over the next years by medium- and large-scale enterprises on flat land.

ANNEX 3: Basic Provisions of Agricultural Intermediation Regulation

According to the **Agricultural Intermediation Regulation of the Turkish Employment Agency** published in the Official Gazette in May 2010, “natural or legal persons authorized by the Agency to carry out the duty of finding work and employment in agriculture” shall be deemed to be intermediaries. In other words, intermediaries must obtain permission documents from the agency to practice their trade.

According to **Article 5** of the regulation, intermediaries are prohibited from collecting commissions from workers; fees must be paid by the employer.

According to **Article 6** of the regulation, intermediaries must be Turkish citizens, be 18 years of age or older, and to be at least a primary-school graduate.

According to **Article 7** of the regulation, intermediary permission documents are valid for three years and must be renewed at end of this period after further review.

According to the **Article 11** of the regulation, authorized natural or legal persons who wish to function as intermediaries must:

- a) provide the agency with copies of contracts they make with employers and workers within 10 working days from the execution date;
- b) eschew fees and charges other than those shown in contracts approved by the agency;

- c) provide laborers with necessary information about the scope of work, wages and other matters before work begins;
- d) make the necessary applications at the local municipal administrative offices to ensure that the workers are housed in acceptable accommodations;
- e) supervise workers and monitor employers in order to ensure secure movement between the accommodations and workplace;
- f) ensure that employers pay workers according to the agreed-upon schedule (daily, weekly, monthly, per piece, lump sum, etc.);
- g) ensure that daily gross earnings of workers are equal to the minimum wage stated in Article 39 of Labor Law No. 4857.

According to **Article 13** of the regulation, intermediaries must report annually to the agency.

According to **Article 14** of the regulation, certificates of intermediaries will be canceled if:

- a) the intermediary has falsified qualifications specified in Article 6;
- b) the intermediary transfers his certification to another person in violation of Article 10;
- c) the intermediary fails to provide reports as stipulated by Article 13 and/or provides incorrect information in the reports;
- d) the intermediary has received recruitment fees.



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