Child Labour in Turkey from a Global Perspective: A Case Study of Working Children in Istanbul

by

Evrim Altıntaş

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate School of Social Sciences
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of

Master of Arts

in

International Relations

Koç University

September 2006

Koç University

Graduate School of Social Sciences

This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

Evrim Altıntaş

and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by the final
examining committee have been made.

Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Ziya Öniş (Advisor)

Prof. Dr. Ahmet İçduygu

Assist. Prof. Deniz Yükseker

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for any award or any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. It is affirmed by the candidate that, to the best of his (or her) knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed Evrim Altıntaş

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on child labour in Turkey, particularly in Istanbul, by situating this phenomenon in the scholarly debates about child labour as a context-dependent and multifaceted global social reality. The thesis, drawing upon secondary sources and empirical fieldwork, explores the incidence of child labour in Turkey and investigates its underlying reasons and socio-economic background. The study is premised on three main objectives: *First*, it explores the phenomenon of child labour in Turkey from a broad scholarly perspective based on both theoretical and empirical approaches. *Second*, the thesis claims that neither a purely cultural approach nor a narrow economic explanation is sufficient to provide a comprehensive understanding of the incidence of child labour. *Third,* the study criticises existing policy proposals for eradicating child labour for disregarding the structural reasons behind this phenomenon.

The thesis is based on a field study conducted in Istanbul using non-participant observation and in-depth interviews with the stakeholders of the issue and with children who work in closed environments and in the streets. The major finding of the field study is that the incidence of child labour in Turkey is based on diverse socio-economic and cultural factors. Children work under hazardous conditions both in closed environments and in the streets. The main protection mechanisms for working children are informal social networks rather than an institutional and legal framework. Both at home and in the workplace, working children are victimized by unequal power relations based on gender and generation, and due to social tolerance towards corporal punishment. But at the same time, the feminization of the labour force and conversion of children into family breadwinners indicate that traditional family values are challenged by the necessities of the market economy.

Keywords:

Child labour, childhood, working children, apprenticeship, Turkey.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma Türkiye'de çocuk emeği olgusunu İstanbul ölçeğinde çok boyutlu ve bağlama dayalı bir sosyal gerçeklik olarak irdelemektedir. İkincil kaynaklara ve ampirik alan çalışmasına dayanılarak, Türkiye'de çocuk emeği olgusu irdelenmiş ve sorunun altında yatan temel nedenler ile konunun sosyo-ekonomik arka planı araştırılmıştır. Çalışma üç temel amaç çevresinde şekillenmiştir: *Birinci olarak* çocuk emeği sorunu Türkiye bağlamında geniş bir akademik perspektiften kuramsal ve ampirik açılardan incelenmiştir. *İkinci olarak*, yalnızca kültürel temelli yaklaşımların ve dar iktisadi açıklamaların çocuk emeği olgusunu anlama ve anlamlandırmada yetersiz olduğu iddia edilmektedir. *Üçüncü olarak*, çalışma, çocuk emeği sorunun yapısal nedenlerini göz ardı eden mevcut politikaları eleştirmektedir.

Tez İstanbul'da yapılan bir alan çalışmasına dayanmaktadır Araştırmada gözlem ve derinlemesine görüşme tekniği kullanılmış, bu bağlamda kapalı mekanlarda ve sokakta çalışan çocuklar ve konunun diğer aktörleri ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Araştırma temel olarak Türkiye'de çocuk emeği olgusunun çeşitli sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel faktörlere dayandığını ortaya koymuştur. Çocuklar hem kapalı mekanlarda hem de sokakta tehlikeli şartlarda çalışmaktadır. Çalışan çocukların temel korunma mekanizması, yasal ve kurumsal çerçeveden ziyade, toplumsal ağlara dayanmaktadır. Çocuklar gerek evde gerekse iş yerlerinde cinsiyet ve yaş ayrımına dayanan eşitsiz güç ilişkileri ve dayağın toplumsal olarak kabul görmesi nedeniyle mağdur olmaktadır. Bununla beraber, iş gücünde kadın emeğinin artan rolü ve çocukların ailelerin geçimini üstlenmesi piyasa ekonomisinin geleneksel değerleri zorladığını göstermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler:

Çocuk emeği, çocukluk, çalışan çocuklar, çıraklık, Türkiye

To Göktay,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who gave me the possibility to complete this thesis. First of all my most sincere thanks are to Deniz Yükseker for her detailed review, constructive criticism and excellent advice during the preparation of this thesis. I decided to study child labour with her encouragement, and since the initial stages of this research she has put an extraordinary effort and has showed a great interest in every step of this study. I would like to give my special thanks to Ziya Öniş whose interest, stimulating suggestions and precious support helped me throughout the preparation of this thesis. I warmly thank Ahmet İçduygu, for his valuable advice and constructive comments; and for being such a nice and helpful person. I also owe gratitude to Murat Somer who was very understanding and tolerant in hard times.

My sincere thanks are to the entire staff of Beyoğlu Child Centre, particularly Abdullah Karatay, Özgür Başpınar and Onur Uçar; to Şahhanım Kanat, the president of Başak Culture and Art Foundation; and also to Sema Tapan and Bevin Dinç for the generous assistance they offered in building contact with the interviewees and for sharing their insightful opinions on the issue. I am deeply indebted to all the interviewees for sharing their personal stories and life experiences with me.

I am thankful to TUBITAK for providing me financial help throughout my studies.

I would also like to gratefully acknowledge the support of some very special individuals. Banu was of great help in difficult times. Elif has always been a very understanding and supportive room mate, whose cakes, coffees and sense of humour were very helpful in long study nights. I am also grateful to Burcu, my dearest friend, for being on the side of me in every road I take. I feel very lucky to have such good friends.

This thesis is dedicated to Göktay who taught me what really mattered in life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS

BCC	Beyoğlu Child Centre
CLU	Child Labour Unit
CSCS	Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers
DFID	Department for International Development
DFT	Development Foundation of Turkey
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
ERSC	European Social Charter
GNA	[Turkish] Grand National Assembly
HAK-İŞ	Hak İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (The Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions)
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IPEC	International Programme on Elimination of Child Labour
ILO	International Labour Organization
MEKSA	Mesleki Eğitim ve Küçük Sanayii Destekleme Vakfı (Foundation of Vocational Training and Small Industries)
MLLS	Ministry of Labour and Social Security
MONE	Ministry of Education

NSC	National Steering Committee
PKK	Kurdish Workers' Party
SES	Socio Economic Segment
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
SIS	State Institute of Statistics
TBPPF	Time-Bound Policy and Programme Framework
TESK	Türkiye Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Handicrafts)
TISK	Türkiye İşverenler Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations)
TÜRK-İŞ	Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions)
TÜRKSTAT	Turkish Statistical Institute
TFSW	Teenage Female Sex Workers
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children' Fund
VEC	Vocational Education Centre
VOC	Value of Children

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Had “the child workers of the world united” with a population of 211 million, the country of working children, would be the fourth most populous country of the world, following the US. The inhabitants would be aged 5 to 14; and little less than one fifth of all children in this age group would be dwelling in this country. 61 percent of the population would come from Asia, 22 percent from Sub-Saharan Africa, 8 percent from Latin America and Caribbean, and 1 percent from developed economies (ILO, 2002).

Having its highest population during the industrial revolution, the country would have a long and bloody history, and have similar characteristics with underdeveloped countries of today in many respects: it would be enormously poor and would have unexpectedly high illiteracy rates. Girls would be performing domestic tasks; boys would be working at the outdoors. The soldiers would be essentially males, while the sectors of porn and prostitution would be dominated by girls. A small number of lucky inhabitants, coming mostly from developed countries, would be responsible for baby sitting or the delivery of milk, while some others would be working in mines or in farms as bonded labour.

Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing, wholesale and retail trade, restaurants, hotels and manufacturing would be among the predominant sectors. The

country's hand made carpets, products of "nimble fingers", would be particularly fashionable in European and North American markets.

Because of its extremely low labour costs, developed countries of the world, claiming that traded goods produced by child labour are products of unfair trade, would try to enforce policies that ban imports from the country.

The scholarly and policy debates regarding the fate of the country would have escalated in the last two decades: how to get rid of child labour, how to benefit from it, whether to eliminate it completely or just to reorganize it to make it more tolerable. Everywhere in the world, non-governmental organizations, activists, employers, workers, psychologists, economists, sociologists, international organizations and policy makers would be continuously arguing about what to do with the country of working children. The children would hardly be invited to the debates.

1.1 The Statement of the Problem

One in every ten children between the ages of 5 and 9 and one quarter of all children between the ages of 10 and 14 is at work (ILO, 2002). It is estimated that, of the 186 million child labourers between the ages of 5 and 14, and 111 million of them are in hazardous work. In other words, 111 million children currently work under conditions which expose them to physical, psychological or sexual abuse. 8.4 million of them are employed in worst forms of child labour such as slavery, debt-bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, armed conflict and illicit activities. Child labour, an extensive and serious problem for centuries, still persists all around the world and Turkey is not an exception.

Although all estimates and studies indicate the existence of a significant problem in Turkey, available resources fall short of providing a concrete picture of

this problem. First of all existing data do not provide a comprehensive account of the incidence of child labour in Turkey. On the one hand extensiveness of child labour makes it visible and observable. On the other hand, by definition child labour is associated with informality and illegality which in turn hampers the collection of reliable data. Consequently although we observe various forms of child labour in Turkey in market oriented activities as well as in domestic chores, the studies on the issue are very limited both in number and in scope.

Secondly, despite the existence of small-scale research, mostly funded by the International Labour Organization (ILO), there is still a need for nation-wide up to date data. The only available nation-wide surveys were conducted in the years 1994 and 1999 by the State Institute of Statistics. Thus the 1999 Child Labour Survey (CLS) still provides the most recent records regarding the issue.

According to the 1999 CLS (SIS, 1999), 4.2 percent of all the children in Turkey are employed in economic activity, while 24.2 percent are involved in domestic chores. The *agricultural sector* is traditionally the major employer of child labour, followed by *industry*. More than half of the working children in Turkey are in the agricultural sector, while one fifth of them work in the industry as apprentices (SIS, 1999). The remaining working children are in *trade* and *services*, each of which employs one in every ten working children. The extensiveness of child workers in *clothing* manufacturing workshopsis particularly noteworthy. In addition to market oriented activities, *domestic child labour* is also widely used. As a recent form of child labour, we also observe growing number of *children working in the streets* who are involved in selling stuff such as verses from the Koran, tissue paper or chewing gum. Lastly, some journalistic and scholarly evidence also indicates the existence of

children in *worst forms of child labour* such as illicit activities and prostitution. In brief, child labour as a social problem exists in a multitude of forms in Turkey.

A historical glance reveals that since the end of the nineteenth century, national legislative efforts were undertaken to manage, organize and eliminate child labour. Beginning with the second half of the twentieth century, the issue has become the subject matter of various international treaties and conventions. ILO adopted the Convention on Minimum Age for Working in 1973 and the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour in 1999. Since 1989, the Convention on the Rights of Children, as a legally binding instrument, has been ratified by 192 countries, with the exception of the US and Somalia. Although there is a worldwide consensus on the elimination of hazardous child labour, it still prevails as a global problem.

It is against this background that this thesis attempts to contribute to the understanding of urban child labour in Turkey. Although the greatest number of children is employed in the agricultural sector, this thesis attempts to shed light on urban child labour in Istanbul, particularly focusing on children working in industrial zones, in the clothing manufacturing sector and in the streets. The major target group of the study is children who are fifteen years old or younger.

The Turkish conjuncture of the last decade within which urban child labour existed, was shaped and dominated by neo-liberal restructuring of the post-1980 era and financial crises of 1994, 2000 and 2001.[1] On the political grounds, Kurdish conflict and membership to the European Union were the two major cornerstones. Political unrest in the Eastern region combined with poverty stemmed from unemployment, created a flow of migration to the major metropolitan cities,

[1] There is a wide range of studies that shed light on the socio-economic and political transformation of Turkey within the last two decades. For an analysis of the neo-liberal transformation, see Yeldan (2006); for the Kurdish conflict, see Kirişçi and Winrow (1997), for Turkey-EU relations, see Çarkoğlu and Rubin (2003).

particularly to Istanbul. It is within this context the study (i) analyses the incidence of child labour from a broad scholarly perspective; (ii) investigates the basic reasons and motives behind it; and (iii) attempts to assess existing policies targeting child labour.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

This thesis is based on the premise that the phenomenon of child labour is a context dependent and multifaceted social reality. In this regard, instead of being an isolated problem, the incidence of child labour is a *reflection/indication* of a set of complex and deep-rooted socio-economic problems and conflicts. Therefore, policies targeting the incidence of child labour would fail to eliminate the problem unless they take the historical and socio-economic background of the issue into account. Child labour is a global problem that exhibits local differences. Accordingly, this study concentrates on the incidence of child labour and investigates its underlying reasons on the global level before focusing on the Turkish case.

The study has three main objectives: *First*, it attempts to understand child labour in the Turkish context and investigates the socio-economic background in which the incidence of child labour evolves. In order to accomplish this objective I conducted fieldwork in Istanbul, based mainly on non-participant observation and in-depth interviews with working children, their parents and social workers. The study revolves around the following major research questions: (i) What types of child labour exist in Turkey?; (ii) What are the underlying reasons of child labour in Turkey? (iii) To what extent can we explain children's working, particularly the ones working in the streets, in terms of parental abuse?; (iv) What is the sociological and cultural

background of child labour? (v) Under which conditions do children work?; (vi) What are the major handicaps in the enforcement and implementation of relevant laws?

I seek to answer these questions through a survey of secondary sources and a critical discussion of the findings of my field study, and I attempt to present that the following arguments are valid for the Turkish case also.

Secondly, the thesis points out that neither a pure cultural approach nor a narrowly based economic explanation is sufficient to provide a comprehensive understanding of the incidence of child labour. The main tendency in displaying the causes of child labour has been to grasp it on the basis of poverty. This economy-centred understanding should be accepted with reservation. When the roots of the phenomenon are traced further, various additional factors involving cultural, sociological and legal dimensions are encountered such as the positive social attitude towards children's work or the precarious working conditions of families. Therefore the thesis deals with the phenomenon of child labour in a broader context encompassing its socio-economic and historical aspects.

One of the widely discussed policy responses against child labour is the enforcement of trade sanctions on the countries that export goods produced using child labour.[2] As a *third* aim, the thesis attempts to criticize such punitive legal instruments. Trade sanction policies fail to eliminate the problem because of their misperception of the phenomenon. Moreover in some cases, ignoring the context and the conditions within which child labour emerged, such policies can even have

[2] In 1993 US Senator Tom Harkin introduced the Child Labour Deterrence Act, which is known as "Harkin's Bill." It constitutes the most well known attempt for imposing trade sanctions. For a detailed discussion of Harkin's Bill, see Chapter Three.
Despite wide range of opposition against using trade instruments to fight against child labour such policies are still on the agenda. One of its most recent examples is a bill by Hakkı Ülkü, deputy of İzmir, to the Grand National Assembly in March 2006. The bill proposes forbidding exports of goods produced using child labour.

perverse effects.[3] Child labour should be seen as a structural problem which requires structural solutions. Trade sanctions which might hamper countries' economic growth can aggravate poverty which is the major cause of child employment.

On theoretical grounds the study explores the incidence of child labour from a broad perspective by critically engaging the conceptual framework and historical background of "child labour" and "childhood" in detail. I argue that the understanding/concept of child labour cannot be detached from an understanding/concept of childhood. To the extent that we define childhood as a distinct life stage that should be dedicated to games, learning and self development, we are opposed to children's work that would hamper their psychological and social development. It is one of the aims of the thesis to express the relation between the concepts of childhood and child labour. Unfortunately, the scholarly literatures on childhood and child labour often do not speak to each other. In this thesis, I seek to form a conceptual bridge between the two.

The study offers important insights into the incidence of urban child labour in Turkey in two major respects. First, it provides a rich qualitative analysis on children working in different sectors and provides a room for comparison. The dominant trend in the literature is to focus on a single sector in a particular study. Differing from most previous studies, this thesis encompasses children working in both closed environments and in the streets. Secondly, an important contribution of this study is that it looks into child labour in the garment manufacturing sector, which is a subject that has so far largely been ignored in the scholarly literature. There are only a few

[3] In the case of Harkin's Bill for instance, the results in Bangladesh were catastrophic. As a result of the panic created by the restrictions, 50,000 working children were dismissed from work immediately. With no extra source of income, schooling option or qualifications, many of those children ended up working in more hazardous and unsafe situations where they were subjected to even worse forms of exploitation. For a detailed discussion on the effect of Harkin's Bill on working children in Bangladesh, see Chapter Three.

studies which touch upon the issue, and there is no research that is particularly centred on children working in the clothing sector, although child labour appears to be widely used in this industry.

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

There are rich scholarly literatures on the historical development of childhood and on contemporary forms of child labour. Although these two issues have each been the focus area of many studies, they were dealt with separately. The major purpose of the second chapter is to construct a conceptual link between the two literatures and to present a historical and conceptual background of child labour. In the first section of the Chapter Two, major theories of childhood are presented: The first perspective is based on biological constructs of childhood and emphasizes "historical continuity". A second perspective argues for "historical change/construction" rather than "historical continuity" in understanding childhood. This claim is also supported by the accounts on the history of child labour. As the next section demonstrates, the history of child labour indicates how the perceptions towards child labour, and the understanding of childhood continued to be transformed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The last part of the chapter introduces the conceptual framework of child labour in detail.

The third chapter begins with a presentation of global statistics on child labour, underlining the extensiveness and pervasiveness of the problem. It is followed by a detailed analysis of the various reasons of child labour and policy responses to it. It is the aim of this section to show that child labour stems from many diverse and interrelated factors. In this regard, I attempt to show that the phenomenon cannot be accounted for on purely cultural or economic terms. In the next section I discuss the

existing policy responses against child labour, and in line with the major argument of the thesis, I criticize policies that approach the phenomenon of child labour in a manner detached from its socio-economic and historical context.

Chapter Four delves into the incidence of child labour in Turkey. Following the arguments posited in the previous chapters, the chapter begins with an account of "childhood" and the "value of a child" in Turkey. The projects and programmes of the ILO are described. Next, the findings of the 1994 and 1999 CLS are presented. In accordance with the previous chapter, the survey results verify both cultural and economic motives behind child labour. The next section provides the legal framework of child labour in Turkey. I argue here that, although legislation in Turkey is in harmony with international legal standards, under the current socio-economic conditions the laws are not easy to implement. The remaining sections of the chapter elaborate the major forms of child labour in Turkey, uncovering their reasons and historical roots.

In Chapter Five, I analyse the empirical data derived from a four-month fieldwork based on non-participant observation and in-depth interviews with working children and social workers. The analysis and discussion focus on the conditions, socio-economic characteristics and problems of working children in Turkey. One of the major findings of the research is the strong relation between the incidence of child labour and other social processes such as migration, urban poverty and unequal power relations within the family stemming from gender- and generation-based discrimination. The fieldwork also revealed that children work under exploitative conditions for very long hours, in return for meagre incomes, and so, they constitute a reserve of cheap labour for employers. In this regard, I address the major handicaps in the enforcement of the laws; and argue that the gap between the current legal structure

and the socio-economic and cultural environment of the country leads to a failure in the proper implementation of existing laws.

In the conclusion I summarise the study and discuss the findings of my research.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONCEPTS OF "CHILDHOOD" AND "CHILD LABOUR"

2.1 Introduction

The ethical objection to children's working is related with the modern Western understanding of childhood. To the extent that we define childhood as a privileged and distinct life stage which should be dedicated to education and playing, we oppose child labour on ethical grounds. In this respect only the tasks that would not hamper the development of children are regarded as socially and legally acceptable. However as shown in this chapter, the "universality" and "historical continuity" of the understanding of childhood is very questionable.

There are two major perspectives on the issue. According to the first one, "childhood is an invention of the modern world" and in this regard we should underline the "historical construction/change of childhood" (for instance, Ariés, 1973). From a second perspective, there are biological and psychological universals that point out historical persistence in the understanding of childhood (for instance, Pollock (1983)).The first section of the chapter provides a discussion and analysis of these two views.

The second section traces the historical roots of child labour back to the industrial revolution, an epoch when the most extensive use of child labour in the

industrialized countries was recorded. Here, I discuss the underlying causes of the increase and decline in child labour in the Western world. I analyze the phenomenon of child labour in its historical context with reference to socio-economic, political and technological developments and changes and present the parallel changes in the understanding of child labour and childhood.

The following section examines the concept of child labour versus child work. Is there a type of work which can be beneficial/appropriate for children? If so, what is the criterion to distinguish "acceptable child work" from "unacceptable child labour"? Revolving around these two questions, I present the conceptual debate on this issue.

In the last section, I summarize and discuss the arguments and content of the chapter.

2.2 The Historical Development of the Concept of Childhood

"We know nothing about childhood", declared Rousseau in the preface of his book, Emilé (1762). After 250 years, his declaration needs only a slight modification to conserve its validity: We know nothing about childhood that is not subject to dispute.

The very first question that social scientists discuss is to what extent childhood is a social or biological construct. Postman states, contrary to infancy, childhood is not a biological category but a social construct (1995: 7). Pollock (1983), on the other hand stresses the biological and psychological factors.

The best known and the most influential theory of childhood was presented by Phillipe Ariés, who was the first to challenge the perception of children as naturally produced universal category, a biological fact. In his book, *Centuries of Childhood*,

first published in the 1962, Ariés presented his radical perception of childhood as a historically constructed social category:

> In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist; this is not to suggest that children were neglected, forsaken or despised. The idea of childhood is not to be confused with affection for children: it corresponds to an awareness of the particular nature of childhood, that particular nature which distinguishes the child from the adult, even the young adult. In medieval society this awareness was lacking (1973: 125).

Childhood, therefore, was an invention of modern society. In medieval age as soon as a child could live without the constant attention of her mother, and that corresponded to the age of seven, she belonged to the world of adults. In modern society however, the age of seven marked the end of infancy and the begging of childhood, which was a special state of transition around which the whole structure of the family revolved (Clarke, 2003: 4). Ariés asserted that this "discovery" of childhood began in thirteenth century and it did not fully develop until sixteenth and seventieth century, when by the time school and family succeeded to keep child out of an adult world.

To justify his claim Ariés presented his studies on medieval paintings and iconography. He introduced pictorial evidence in which children were depicted as small versions of adults. The only difference between a figure of an adult and a child was its size. In other words, medieval art portrayed children as "miniature adults". Ariés (31) derived the conclusion that:

> Medieval art until about the twelfth century did not know childhood or did not attempt to portray it. It is hard to believe that this neglect was due to incompetence or incapacity; it seems more probable that there was no place for childhood in the medieval world.

Another indication of absence of the idea of childhood in medieval period was the children's clothing. While both boys and girls wore similar kind of baby clothes during their infancy, at about age of seven the dresses of children were converted into

smaller versions of the adult clothes. According to Ariés, "the dress period shows to what extent, in the circumstances of real life, childhood was distinguished from manhood" (48). Therefore Ariés interpreted the "miniature adult style clothing of childhood" as another evidence of indifference of medieval period to the special characteristics of childhood.

In addition to clothing style and paintings, Ariés looked at the history of games and pastimes, medieval writings on age and development; and he studied the way moralists and others write about the idea of childhood innocence (Clarke, 2003: 4). Using these sources he formed "a chronology of the idea of childhood": First gradual change in the depiction of children was noticed at beginning of thirteenth century: in paintings we began to see drawings of naked child. This first recognition and interest in childhood eventually led to *the coddling period* which fully emerged in the sixteenth century and when "the innocence and sweetness of a child" was emphasized, the children were idolized and valued as a source of amusement (Corsaro, 1997: 50). It was from the end of the sixteenth century when the adoption of a special childhood costume became generalized throughout the upper classes. Since "every social nuance had its corresponding sign in clothing" this marked a very important date in the formation of childhood (Ariés, 1973: 55). From the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, *the moralistic period* took place. The immaturity of the childhood period was underlined and therefore, emphasis of the era was on training and discipline. The emergence of "childhood" as a distinct thinking and life stage was realized in seventieth century (İnal, 1999: 66). However it was not until the mid twentieth century that educators and self-described child savers succeeded in universalizing the middle-class norm of an extended protected childhood (Mintz, 2004: 135).

Family and school were the two most important institutions contributing to the discovery of childhood. Beginning from the fifteenth century bourgeoisie family started to construct its own "middle class childhood ideology" (İnal, 1999), which was very similar to the understanding of childhood today. Accordingly childhood began to be seen as a distinct life stage that should be spent in education. While in medieval period education corresponded to a form of apprenticeship, after the fifteenth century school emerged as the major institution of education and socialization. The role of discovery of printing is also stressed by Postman (1995). Printing, by increasing the importance of literacy and school education; contributed to the emergence of the idea of both childhood and adulthood.

The theory of Ariés, stressing the social/historical construction of childhood, established one of the two distinct trends of thought. Some theorists (for example, deMause, 1976/95; Shorter, 1976 and Stone, 1977 to quote three) pushed the ideas of Ariés so far as to propose grand stage theories of family (Corsaro, 1997: 52), which saw the family as an institution that progressed throughout the time. Modern family, which is based on love and affection and which meets the needs of its members, especially children, used to be an institution that is simply based on practical needs and economic necessity in the medieval period (Clarke, 2004: 5). Shorter (1977) for instance, argued that "good mothering" was an invention of modernization; because of high infant mortality; infants under age two were not treated with emotional sensitivity and care. Stone (1977) claimed that until the seventeenth century relations within the family were remote and emotionally detached and that the Puritans held the negative perception of the child as being sinful (Clarke, 2004: 6).

"The Psychogenic theory of history" of deMause, while supporting childhood is historically constructed and rejecting that it is a constant biological fact, took a

different starting point from Ariés and consequently came to a radically different conclusion. According to him, "the central force for change in history was neither technology nor economics, but the 'psychogenic' changes in personality occurring because of successive generations of parent-child interactions" (1995: 3).

deMause, therefore, rejected the idea of the "invention" of childhood. Instead he asserted that civilization and development of humanitarian attitudes of parents were the main factors that led to the gradual evolvement of childhood. Accordingly, he also rejected Ariés' belief in the happiness of the traditional child. Since he was able to enjoy his freedom to take part in the adult world and mix with other classes and groups, traditional child of Ariés was happier than the modern one who is entrapped by the family circle and deprived from his earlier freedoms. Completely opposing this argument, deMause stated "the further back in history one goes, the lower level of child care, and the more likely children are to be killed, abandoned, beaten, terrorized, and sexually abused" (1995: 3).

Both the "Ariés thesis" and the works of various theorists including Stone, Shorter and deMause, were challenged by subsequent research. The most well known representative of the opposing perspective is Linda Pollock. In her book, Forgotten Children, first published in 1983, she basically opposed the three points that were uncritically accepted by most historians (Zelizer, 1985). First, she rejected the absence of a concept of childhood until the seventieth century; and claimed that Ariés was completely wrong while asserting it was an "invention" of the modern period. Second, she was equally critical of the argument that children were treated brutally with cruelty and emotional indifference until the eighteenth century. Lastly, she opposed the perception of the informal and unemotional parent-child relation in the past. Positioning herself contrary to Ariés and the others, Pollock was an ardent supporter

of the "historical continuity" and "remarkable persistence" in parent-child relations and understanding of childhood.

Her methodological criticism was the most powerful of all. She accused some researchers using limited and even selective evidence. She underlined the tendency of historians (especially Ariés) to rely on problematic secondary data such as paintings and fictional literature. Contrary to Ariés' claim, for instance, there are some prominent artists who portrayed children as children: *Infante Prospero* or *Las Meninas* of Velazquez (1599-1660), one of the great Baroque artists of Spain or *Madonna col Bambino* of Italian artist, Crivelli (1430-1495) can be given as examples. Furthermore the pictorial evidence of Ariés rests on a simplistic theory that art directly mirrors the ways of social life (Lavalette, 1994: 140). This assumption becomes even more problematic when one considers the fact that paintings as evidence are prone to class bias, because it was the ruling/upper class' children who were mostly depicted in those days.

Pollock restricted herself to the sources she thought are closest to children's reality and she utilized several hundred diaries, autobiographies and newspapers accounts of trials and arrests (Sommerville, 1987: 801). She concluded that there was an idea of childhood before the seventieth century, and brutal treatment of childhood was an exception rather that a common norm and parent-child relations had always been caring and affectionate. Putting emphasis on biological and psychological universals and giving social variables a secondary place in her analysis, she replaced the "historical change" thesis with "historical continuity".

Pollock established a milestone in the literature of child history but not without challenges. First and foremost she has been criticized for her tendency to overrate historical continuity (Zelizer, 1985: 78). She has done this by detaching childhood

from the socio-economic and political context. Resting on biological universals, she underestimated the influence of religion, gender or economic conditions. Contrary to Pollock, it can be argued that both the understanding of *childhood* and consequently *children* have been significantly affected by major socio economic developments. "Childhood, like the family, or marriage, or adolescence or old age, is lived in a cultural and economic context; its character and ideology cannot be assumed" (Davin, 1999: 2). More convincing arguments should have been provided in order to detach childhood from the socio-economic context. The theory of Pollock cannot explain how the understanding of childhood remained the same; while everything else surrounding childhood has been transformed. While Pollock criticized other historians for their failure to explain the sources of change, she shied away from any systematic interpretation of the persistence in parent-child relations. Her application to biological and psychological universals such as "widespread mistreatment of children reduces the survival of offspring, therefore it is unlikely to occur" is especially unpersuasive (Zelizer, 1985: 78).

Accepted cultural diversities within the same period also refute Pollock's thesis. Social rites and customs play an important role in differentiating adults and children. In some cultures, for instance, a girl is classified as adult only when she is married. Different societies have different thresholds for defining childhood; and therefore what we have across societies is a "social notion of childhood, not calendar based childhood" (Hasnat, 1995: 423). This variation of childhood from culture to culture within the same time period disproves Pollock's isolated/universal approach.

In addition to theoretical challenges, Pollock has also been criticised for her empirical evidence. Most importantly her diary evidence and related accounts belonged to the eighteenth century, when Ariés would have expected positive

treatment towards children anyway (Stearns, 1985). Another important weakness of the study was lack of systematic analysis of lower class autobiographies (Gillis, 1985).

In this classical debate of "continuity versus change", positioned in the middle, Lavalette claims that "polarisation of positions has been detrimental to the whole debate", and "what is required is a synthesis of the insights produced from writers from differing perspectives" (1994: 138). Although polarizations are not necessarily "detrimental"; it can be rightly asserted that childhood integrates both "biological and social processes" (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998:1).

More recent studies differ from those of classics in one important aspect: they listen to children's voice. In other words, not only perspectives towards children but also perspectives *of* children are gaining importance. Previously "adult cognition, morality, and emotions were the gold standards against which children's ways of thinking, feeling, responding, and being in the world are measured" (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998: 13). The fact that childhood is always perceived in relation to adulthood was either ignored or not expressed. Instead of just presenting adult views and perceptions, the recent period witnessed attempts to reveal the child as a social actor, (Hobbs et al., 1999). Children's own diaries, statements, autobiographies are taken seriously. Anna Davin (1996), for instance, in her exploration on how childhood was changing among London working class, benefited from children's own statements and records intensively while trying to understand children's own experiences. As indicated by Scheper-Hughes and Sargent (1998), a child-centred approach contains elements for a radical paradigm shift just like the woman-centred approach of feminists, though it is not clear to what extent this new paradigm will be dominant in other social sciences disciplines yet.

A glance at the literature on childhood reveals the fact that there are extensive and fruitful theoretical studies on the issue. Without ignoring the biological universals entirely, it can be argued that the understanding of childhood has been subjected to changes historically and socially. As shown in the following section, similar to the understanding of childhood, understanding of child labour is also shaped and affected by the surrounding socio-economic and technological conditions. In this regard it is interesting that even the studies that support the theory of historical construction of childhood have been somehow ignorant of the child labour aspect.

2.3 The Historical Development of Child Labour

"The history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken." Llyod deMause opens his classical study with this widely criticised statement (1995: 1). Had he said "the history of child *labour* is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken", no one would oppose him.

Although the history of child labour is as old as childhood, scholars usually turn back to the Industrial Revolution epoch when child labour became most visible. Whether the Industrial Revolution was a curse or blessing for working children is subject to different arguments. For some social historians the Industrial Revolution exacerbated child labour and resulted in the extensive use of children within factory production, while some "optimists", such as Ivy Pinchbeck, assert that the working conditions of children in the factories of the Industrial Revolution were no more severe than the conditions of the proto-capitalist period. The only difference was the visibility of working children in the Industrial Revolution period (Lavalette, 1995; Hobbs et al., 1999).

During the agrarian pre-capitalist period most agricultural tasks required a physical capability beyond a child's capacity. Still children were supposed to work, usually in the form of helping their parents, when there was a need for extra labour. The demands for labour fluctuated depending on seasonal variations, and so did the working period of children.

One of the most important differences between the pre-capitalist period and the Industrial Revolution epoch was the change in the "possessor and director" of child labour. "Control over the pace and organization of work was wrested away from craft workers, embedded in the relentless drive of machines, and enforced, often with extreme brutality, by overseers, managers, and foremen" (Hobbs et al., 1999: 126). In the agrarian era children worked under parental supervision and parents had an absolute control over work and leisure activities of their children. As stated by Lavalette, contrary to the contemporary period, in many cases it was not easy to draw a clear distinction between work and leisure in modern terms. Working activities merged with leisure activities, such as small game hunting or fishing. Children's work was socially endorsed and "there was a gradual integration and socialization into the full work role of adults" (Lavalette, 1995: 181).

Nevertheless it would be misleading to assume that the industrialization process had identical effects for anyone, let alone children. In fact it brought about paradoxical childhood experiences:

> For the middle class, growing affluence allowed parents to provide their children a sheltered childhood, free from work responsibilities and devoted to education and play. For working-class, immigrant and farm children, the growth of industry and the expansion of commercial agriculture increased parents' dependence on child labour. As a result, two divergent conceptions of childhood emerged. One conception, the useful childhood, was based on the premise that all family members, including children, should contribute to a family's support. … The other conception was a protected childhood, sheltered from the stresses and demands of the adult world (Mintz, 2004: 152).

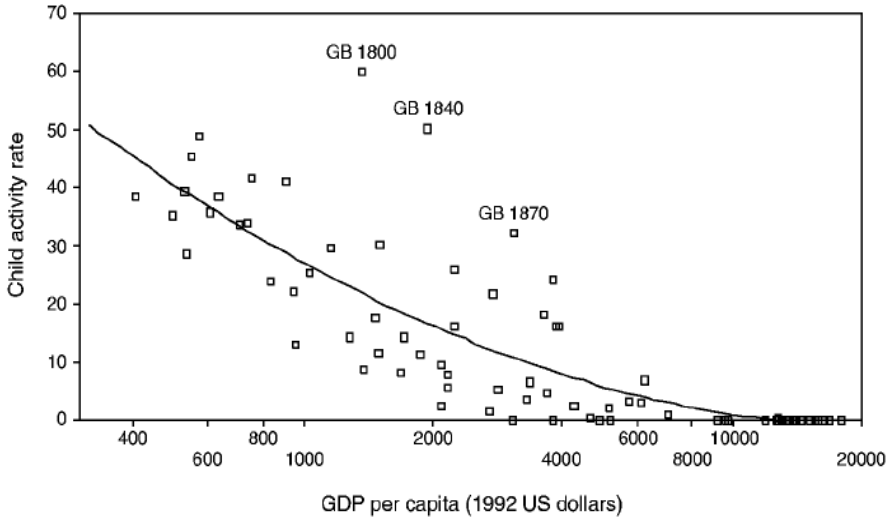
The socio-economic transformation that is brought by industrialization had enormous and contradictory effects both on childhood and child labour.

Although the data is inadequate, even the earliest censuses were too late, and the statistics suffer from undercounting; still the number of working children during the Industrial Revolution period was enormous. According to Mofford, for instance, by 1880 more than one million children under sixteen, or one out of every six, comprised part of the American labour force; and in 1910, 2 million children between 10 and 15 were employed in factories, farms and mines (Mofford, 1997: 8, 12). Goldin and Sokoloff (1982) estimate that, in the Northeastern United States, in 1832, 40 percent of the manufacturing labour force were women and children. "In French children under the age of 16 made up 12.1 percent of the labour force in between 1839-43; and in Belgium in 1843, 19.5 percent of the workforce was children (Humphries, 2003a). In Britain, "children and young people made up to two-thirds of all workers in many textile mills in 1833; they regularly represented more than a quarter of the workforce in mines in 1842. At the beginning of the nineteenth century more than 10 percent of 5-9 year old children and more than 75 percent of 10-14 year olds were in the labour force in Britain (Horell and Humphries, 1995). The incidence of child labour peaked during 1820s and 1830s and did not start to decline until the 1850s. It was not a coincidence that the earliest recorded strike led by children took place in 1828 in Patterson, New Jersey, when a factory changed its employees' dinner hour (Mofford, 1997: 46).

The similarities between the conditions of Industrial Revolution period, and of present developing countries, such as the great number of working children, dismal working conditions, and the absence of labour standards impelled scholars to draw simple parallels with developing countries of today and industrializing nations of

yesterday. As seen in Figure 2.1 which provides a comparison of today's child activity rate (child labour level) with nineteenth century Britain where the worst excesses of child labour were observed, such simple parallels deserve caution.

Figure 2.1 Child Activity Rate and GDP per Capita



Note: 1870 data are for boys only.

Source: (Krueger (1997), historical observations based on Craft (1985), Horrell and Humphries (1995) and Humphries (2003b) quoted in Humphries (2003a).

There is a considerable gap between the level of child labour in nineteenth century Great Britain and in today's poorest countries. This brings the questions of why child labour was so high during the industrialization era and what were the reasons behind its decline afterwards.

Historians provide different answers for both. One of the most widely used explanatory variables is technology. As stated above, during the pre-capitalist period most of the task in the agricultural sector was beyond a child's physical capacity. Improved technology and mechanization allowed children to contribute to the production process by reducing the necessity of physical capacity. Paradoxically, in some cases lack of technology also drew children to work. For example, expansion of child labour in coal mining can be attributed to the increased output in the absence of

transportation technology (Humphries, 2003a). It was also not an exception to see specifically children-friendly designed machines and mechanisms.

Demand side factors were also significant. Mass production, made possible by industrialization, created a huge demand for unskilled labour. This did not, however result in increased wages. On the contrary, as a result of weak (if any) organized labour, increased technology, intense competition, lack of any labour standards combined with the commercialization of agriculture, the wages of the working class hit bottom. As all family members were obliged to earn a living to compensate the income deterioration; significant amount of the demand for unskilled labour was met by working children. Consequently this led to a vicious cycle:

> Soon, it became easier for children than for their parents to find jobs, since children could be hired for less. Children took jobs away from men who needed higher wages to support families. Child labour kept everyone's wages down and created a cycle of poverty in which families depended on their children's pay checks to survive (Mofford, 1997: 7).

While deteriorated life standards of working class provided the supply of child labour, ameliorated life standards of the middle class generated the demand for it. Affluent classes were in need of domestic servants in their (now bigger) houses. This paradoxical situation is still relevant, especially in developing countries. Just like in the case of women, the emancipation of middle class children resulted with the exploitation of their lower class peers. In other words, the understanding of childhood as a privileged state and the recognition of children's rights such as domestic care and freedom from housework was realized by depriving other children, employed as child-maids, from their right not to work.

Last source of demand came from the sector of commercialized agriculture, where the competition became more relentless and the cost pressure more severe. The labour of children was more valuable than ever.

In addition to economic circumstances, legal and social conditions were very appropriate for child employment. There was a wide social consensus among all segments and classes of society favouring child labour; because of the economic need of suppliers and the financial interests of demanders. Poor families were dependent on their children's income; employers were enjoying low cost docile workers and the state, considering child labour as a kind of a national asset that should be exploited for the country's financial prosperity, remained as silent supporter. The society and the state held traditional attitudes that perceive work as a kind of moral training and preparation for children. In the nineteenth century, child labour was often commended as necessary for building character and discipline and valuable for industrial competition (Basu and Tzannatos, 2003: 151). In this regard, the statement of US Senator Charles S. Thomas, as late as 1925, is very indicative:

> The real problem in America is not *child labour*, but *child idleness*. You cannot convince me that it hurts a child, aged over four, either physically or morally to make him work. Where one child has been injured from work, 10,000 have gone to the devil because of lack of occupation (Mofford, 1997: 44).

Under these circumstances, not surprisingly, major attempts to legislate child labour or to regulate working conditions failed. Besides, existing laws and regulations were completely ineffective as a result of lack of implementation and inspection. In the US for instance, not until 1941 would the Supreme Court finally approve the legislation regulating child labour (Mofford, 1997: 59).

The idea of childhood as a special, privileged stage in human development is, we now know, of fairly recent currency (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998: 26). Therefore in early industrialized countries the development of the idea of childhood lagged behind the economic and technological developments. In other words, in early industrialized countries the demand for cheap, unskilled labour emerged before the

consolidation and the spread of the idea of childhood. Hence employers' interests gained priority over children's rights.

While the early stages of industrialization generated a greedy appetite for child labour after the second half of the nineteenth century, the demand for child labour started to decline as a result of a series of factors. Paradoxically, the very technology that poured children into factories started to release them in the second half of the nineteenth century. As advanced technology required skilled labour instead of "nimble fingers", for the employers that apply the latest technology, child labour became unproductive and unprofitable. This had a double effect on child labour. First, high technology replaced unskilled low paid children with skilled male adults. Children returned back home while fathers came back to factories. Second, employers who had technology that made child labour obsolete started to campaign against the incidence of child labour for both financial and philanthropic reasons. An interesting example of "mixed motives, good results" is Britain's Factory Act of 1833 which regulated the employment of children in the textile industry and imposed some limitations such as prohibition of employment of those aged under nine. Marvel (1977) posits the Act of 1833, as an example of mixed motives: In contrast to ones who claim that the act was a result of an humanitarian sensitivity or a strategic policy to mollify the popular outrage over factory conditions, Marvel maintains that the act "was intended by the leading textile manufacturers to restrict output, thus raising textile prices and increasing quasi-rents to those manufacturers whose operations were at least affected by the bill's provisions" (380). Although it is hard to differentiate the real motives, it is an undisputable fact that, working children suddenly found (some of the) employers on their side.

Another member of this interesting alliance was trade unions. The vicious cycle of child labour resulted in decreased wages and increased unemployment of adults simultaneously. As organized labour in the industrialized countries got stronger its campaigns against child labour and awful working conditions started to make a difference. Gradually, wages increased up to the amount that was enough for a male worker to support his family. Children, as well as women, started return to back home.

In addition to economic conditions, legal and social environment was transformed. Which one has preceded the other, and whether legislation or technological/economic developments were the main cause behind the decline in child labour is disputed. From one perspective, while at the beginning of the twentieth century technological and economic conditions already existed for the laws to be enforced and implemented, it is also obvious that neither technology nor economic conditions were able to release children from work by themselves. However, there seems to be a growing consensus on the idea that it was the economic/technological factors (i.e. decline in the demand for child labour) that triggered this transformation. The legislation (i.e. minimum age requirement) was not the cause but the consequence of the developments in economic and technological spheres. Whenever the demand of child labour decreased, the resistance of the business sector was weakened, and so anti-child labour campaigners succeeded in enforcing relevant acts.

For example, in her study of the relation between decline in child labour between 1880 and 1930, and the state child labour laws in the US, Moehling claims that minimum age limits had relatively little effect on the occupation choices of children and these restriction contributed little to the long run decline in child labour (1999: 72). Nardinelli (1980) comes to a similar conclusion in his research of the Factory Act of 1833 in Britain. As he indicates, it was not the legislation but the fall in

demand of child labour as a result of the technological changes and rise in real wages that caused the decline in child labour. He shows that by 1833 the demand for child labour had already started to decrease, and "the legislation did not slow the replacement of adults by children; it accelerated the replacement of adults by women" (1980: 754). In later studies Nardinelli reemphasized his argument and showed that historically child labour incidence began to fall well before countries in Western Europe adopted national laws banning child labour (Bachman, 2000: 35).

Chang provides a list of anti-child labour acts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and indicate that today's industrialized countries eliminated child labour very steadily. According to him industrialized countries enforced relevant regulations, only after they were ready to do so economically and technologically.

Table 2.1 Introduction of Child Labour Regulations in the Now Developed Countries

	First Attempt at Regulation (mostly ineffective)	First 'Serious' Regulation	Relatively Comprehensive and Well-enforced Regulation
Austria	1787	1842?	?
UK	1802	1833	1878
Prussia	1839	1853-4	1878
France	1841	?	?
USA	1842	1904-14	1938
Sweden	1846	1881	1900
Saxony	1861	?	?
Denmark	1873	1925	?
Spain	1873	1900	?
Holland	1874	?	?
Switzerland	1877	?	?
Belgium	1878	1909	1914?
Norway	1892	?	?
Italy	1902	?	?
Portugal	1913	?	?

Source: Chang (2002)

It is widely held that compulsory schooling is a more effective legislative way of eradicating child labour than direct prohibition of child labour. Lleras-Muney (2002) used 1960 census data and found that compulsory schooling and child labour laws increased educational attainment between 1915 and 1930 in the US. In her speech during the third annual meeting of the National Child Labour Committee in 1906, Florence Kelly, chief factory inspector for Illinois, stated that in 1904 after the child labour law of Illinois had taken effect, the enrolment in the Chicago Schools of children of compulsory education tripled. In a single week 1000 children were carried out of the stockyards and 2200 children were carried out of the mines in another week. (Mofford, 1997: 36).

Lastly, in accordance with establishment of the idea of childhood, there was a transformation in the attitude of the states. Now children were regarded as “long term

national assets" that should not be depleted in the early years. Children became the "future and insurance of the nation".

With the rise of real wages, there has been a transformation in the allocation of roles within the family with respect to gender and age. In this new allocation, children were supposed to be students dependent on their fathers' paid and mothers' unpaid labour. From an economic point this can also be attributed to the increase in the benefit of education and to the decrease in the benefit of work. As skilled labour became more valuable, school education acquired an enhanced importance while the income of the child became marginalized compared to her father's high income. "Children have become relatively worthless economically to their parents, but priceless in terms of their psychological worth" (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998: 12).[4] With the beginning of the twentieth century, working children of the working class were joining their ranks up to "protected childhood" next to their bourgeois counterparts. The idea of the modern family was establishing itself.

Yet, optimism, like everything else, has its limits. Not every child went back home and not every child that went back home stopped working. While the poorest of the poor children continued to work, girls were usually supposed to perform domestic chores. Additionally urban versus rural differences, both in terms of schooling opportunities and implementation of laws should not be underestimated. Consequently what the late twentieth century witnessed was not the entire eradication of child labour; but the exportation of the problem to the developing and underdeveloped countries; mainly to Sub Saharan Africa and Asia.

[4] This is relevant in the Turkish context also. According to Value of Children surveys of Kagitcibasi, conducted in 1974 and 2003, greater affluence of parents resulted with increased psychological value of a child and with a corresponding decrease in its utilitarian/ economic value (Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005). For a more detailed discussion, see section 4.2 "Childhood" and the Historical Roots of Child Labour in Turkey

2.4 "Child Labour" versus "Child Work"

Policy makers and scholars have been arguing about this seemingly straightforward question since when the issue regained its importance and publicity in the 1980s. The difficulty in reaching an agreement on an answer lies in the fact that the definition of child labour determines both the scope of the problem and the necessary policies against it. Hence one's understanding of child labour carries the social, political and moral values and objectives in itself.

The basic conceptual disagreement has been whether there is a difference between child *labour* and child *work.* Differentiating child labour and child work presupposes that not all work is harmful to children; on the contrary some kind of work can be beneficial in terms of helping to develop moral character, increasing self-esteem and instilling responsibility (ILO, 2003). Accordingly, the International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Children's Funds (UNICEF) and a growing body of scholars make a distinction between child labour and child work. The former represents "harmful/unacceptable/inappropriate" work, while the latter is "beneficial/acceptable/appropriate". In the US, only a minority of children grow up without having part time jobs such as delivering newspapers or babysitting. Such kind of out of school work is seen as useful socialising experiences that teach children to take responsibility and promote their development. It is also stated that a work that is "socially acceptable" or "endorsed culturally" seems to be less harmful. Additionally if a child feels she is learning from work, the work itself becomes less likely to be harmful and even possibly beneficial. As stated in Bachman (2000b), some recent studies also suggest that the benefit or harm of a certain kind of work and children's ability to work varies from child to child.

While it is not possible to overlook the difference between newspaper delivery and prostitution; it is also not very easy to draw a clear distinction between "harmful" and "beneficial". As a matter of fact, any distinction between "appropriate" and "inappropriate" jobs rests on at best cultural, at worst arbitrary reference points.

For example newspaper delivery is widely perceived as acceptable and even a beneficial form of part time job for a child in a developed country. In his comparative case study of part time employment of children in Clydeside and London, Lavalette (1994) found that the conception of newspaper delivery as an appropriate work type can be misleading: Since people expect their newspapers with their breakfast and before they go out for their jobs, many of the delivery children have to wake up and start to work very early, at four or five a.m. Additionally those children have to carry quite heavy weights in their shoulder bags, while cycling on inappropriately designed bicycles (Lavalette, 1994: 85).[5] Leaving the health risk aside, taking the early starting time into consideration, it is questionable to claim that such a part time job would have no negative impact on a child's school performance. In brief, what constitutes 'light' and 'dangerous' work is, therefore, open to interpretation and often considerable debate (O'Neill, 2003: 417).

Additional examples can be provided for the so called "harmful jobs". While "the children dwarfed by clanking machines in the textile mills of the early Industrial Revolution" (Bachman, 2000: 32), is identified as the most intolerable picture of child labour by most Westerners and Charles Dickens readers, in his remarkable study of American childhood, Mintz stated that "even though domestic service paid better than factory work and the physical conditions were far superior, young women considered

[5] In 2004 a child died in delivery driving in Arizona (Child Labour State Survey, 2004).

household service the most demeaning form of labour because of the psychological abuse and often sexual abuse" (Mintz, 2004: 141).

Ben White (1996) provides a recent example from Bangladesh. As he argues, working in the export garment industry is not at all the worst thing that can happen to a Bangladeshi child. On the contrary, since working at home confine girls to an isolated life, for girls the expulsion from factory labour is especially unbearable. A factory job occupies a high position on the list of preferred types of work and it is regarded as a "viable form of apprenticeship, offering the possibility of comparatively secure and high status employment" (White, 1996: 834). Hence, "the worst" for some may be "better" for others. While it is very hard to make a distinction between different kinds of work as good and bad, the task becomes more complicated when socio-economic context, cultural preferences and practical needs are taken into consideration.

Accordingly, White brings another approach to the discussion. Noting the difficulty of drawing a clear line between "beneficial child work" versus "harmful child labour", he proposes that "child work should be conceived along a continuum of effects on children, ranging from intolerably harmful through neutral to wholly beneficial, with various degrees and combinations in between" (Myers, 1999: 23). Most children's work takes place in between a continuum of child labour situations, from "worst" to "best", from the least to the most tolerable forms of work; and the positive and negative aspects of their work should be considered against one another in order to arrive at an overall assessment (Myers, 1999; White, 1996 and 1995).

While a distinction between worst forms of child labour and comparatively more tolerable/less harmful labour is a necessity, "bad-labour" versus "good-work" distinction turns out to be artificial and arbitrary in most cases. Hence the proposal of

conceiving child labour on a continuum deserves credit. Still, some reservations should be put on "the continuum approach" also. First of all, one can think of anything in relativist terms, along a continuum. As a matter of fact, *each and everything* takes place along a continuum. Considering the incidence of child labour along a continuum converts it into an ordinary/any kind of activity that can be both beneficial and harmful, and so it lessens and undermines the severity of the problem. Secondly, the presumption of the existence of "wholly beneficial child work" is questionable. As Lavalette (1994) underlies, "classification of a job as wholly beneficial rests on the a priori assumption that the task will not affect the child's leisure, play or educational activities", which would not be the case. Even if working is not a parental or conditional compulsion but a child's "voluntary" decision, it may not be the best decision to let children work. In the developed world, for instance, teenagers are willing to take a part time job and earn an extra pocket money. What constitutes this "willingness" and to what extent it is for the benefit of a child should be taken into account. Supporting the "right to earn money" of rural children and youth, Ben White maintains that

> [i]t is contradictory and unjust for society, on the one hand to bombard its children with all the messages of global national consumer culture, underlining the importance of having money and of spending it certain ways, and on the other hand to deny the same children the right to earn money (874).
>
> [m]edia and peer pressures make it increasingly important for them not just to have sufficient food and clothes, but to have certain *kinds* of clothes, ornaments and other possessions, to consume certain kinds of food and drinks, and to engage in certain kinds of activities which are the attributes of 'proper' people (1994: 868).

The emphasis on the willingness of children to work with regard to consumer culture of the market society, which is based on the insatiability of "needs" and wants, is very significant. However, it is completely implausible to claim that children should be given the "right" to earn money in order to satisfy (or try to satisfy) extravagant

and never-ending consumption demands. Instead of questioning unlimited, voracious demands and insatiable desires, created by the consumption culture, White questions the efforts of society to prevent children from being the slaves of market. What is unjust and unacceptable is to "bombard children with all the messages of global national consumer culture, underlining the importance of having money and of spending", not to prohibit children from working. In this regard "children's right to earn money" may be detrimental to "children's right to enjoy a decent life".

2.5 Concluding Remarks

As shown in this chapter, even though the scholarly literature on childhood is based on extensive studies in many disciplines, there are only a few studies[6] that benefit from the history of child labour while trying to understand the history of childhood. The records and studies on the history of child labour are rarely used by scholars who want to trace the history of childhood. This lack of connection between the two literatures is more striking when one considers the fact that, especially after the nineteenth century, with the onset of the industrial revolution, the history of childhood has been the history of child labour.

There have been different thresholds between childhood and adulthood varying historically and culturally. In that respect, calendar based childhood (for instance, defining a child as anyone below the age of eighteen years) should not be taken for granted. The point is significant in terms of child labour also. For instance, if the end of childhood is defined by the event of marriage in a society, regardless of his/her age any married 'child' would no longer be seen as a child, would be expected to carry the basic responsibilities of marriage and accordingly, he/she would be

[6] For instance, Mintz (2004), Nieuwenhuys (1994) and Lavalette (1994).

expected to work. Therefore, we need to have an understanding of "who is called a child" and "what is childhood based on" in a specific culture.

Moreover, a society's perception of childhood affects its perception of children's working. As explained in the chapter, the industrial revolution had contradictory effects on children of different classes. At the beginning privileged classes could afford to provide a "childhood" for their children in the modern sense. Their children were allowed to devote their time and energy to games and education, instead of working. For the families of working classes, whose children were employed in textile mills and mines, the good childhood was the one that is spent for the benefit of the family. Only with the increase in the standards of living of the working classes, did the modern understanding of childhood became achievable and working children could join their counterparts in schools and playgrounds. In brief, the modern understanding of childhood as a privileged life stage which should be spent by education, games and self development is in fact a modern Western conceptualization. To the extent that we define childhood in accordance with this modern understanding, we oppose children's working on cultural and ethical grounds. However, different cultures have different answers for the question of "what is childhood".

Taking all into account, any attempt to understand the phenomenon of child labour has to consider what childhood is based on; and how it is defined. The attitude and perception of society towards child labour is highly dependent on the responses of those questions.

There seems to be a growing consensus in the literature on making a distinction between child work and child labour; and the concept of child labour as only "harmful work" seems to be gaining broader acceptance (Cullen, 1999; ILO,

2002; Myers, 1999). Although not all forms of work are equally harmful to children, the difference should not be reduced to a simple good work-bad work distinction. Depending on many physical, social and psychological factors, effects of working on children are much more complicated. Policies based on simple and facile distinctions and conceptualizations can result in unwanted consequences, as I seek to explain in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

CHILD LABOUR IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to analyse child labour in a global context. In view of that, it will address the diverse factors behind child labour and underline the multifaceted characteristics of the phenomenon. In this regard single-factor explanations and punitive policy mechanisms which identify the incidence of child labour as an isolated phenomenon are criticized.

The first section provides statistical information on working children and a brief summary of the research conducted by the International Labour Organization (ILO). The second section is dedicated to the reasons of child labour. There are various theories on household, national and international levels each focusing on a different aspect of the phenomenon. It is the objective of the second section to emphasize the multidimensionality of the problem and to show the inadequacy of single factor explanations. Economic arguments on micro and macro levels are presented at first. Poverty related explanations are the cornerstone of the economic perspectives. Next, social and cultural aspects of the phenomenon are addressed. As underlined in the previous chapter, cultural reasons of child labour such as social acceptability of children's working is very much related to the understanding of childhood in a society. This linkage is underlined in this section once more. The valuation of "useful childhood" for instance, exacerbates the problem of child labour. In this regard the incidence of child labour has to be analysed with respect to the

notion of childhood. The last part includes the effects of individual/psychological factors and the legislative environment on child labour. It should be stressed that all these various factors are interrelated to one another making it impossible to draw clear distinctions among them.

The last section of the chapter critically analyses the existing policy proposals targeting child labour. Enforcement of trade sanctions against goods produced by child labour and imposition of international labour standards are the two most debated policy arguments at the international level. I argue in this section that both methods are incapable of solving the problem as they do not target the root causes of child labour. As noted before child labour is the result of a complex set of causes and as long as the socio-economic structure encompassing the factors that lead to children's working remains the same, children will continue to work.

3.2 Child Labour in the Present Era

ILO provides the most comprehensive and internationally recognized data and information on the issue. ILO' reports underline the fact that child labour is an extensive and serious problem that deserves essential political commitment for its eradication.

According to the most recent estimates by the ILO (2002), 211 million children between the ages of 5 and 14 are at work in *economic activity* which includes *unpaid, casual and illegal work as well as work in the informal sector*. 17.7 percent of all the boys and 17.5 percent of all the girls in this age group are economically active[7]. The largest number of child workers, 127.3 million, is found in the Asia-Pacific region, which is followed by Sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America and the

[7] ILO uses "economically active children" as a broader concept than "child labour". It includes children ages 12 to 14 working in light work and children ages 15 to 17 working in non-hazardous work.

Caribbean with 48 million and 17.4 million, respectively. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest child work ratio. In the region, every fourth child starts to work below the age of ten, and almost one child in three below the age of 15 is working.

Table 3.1 The Number of Working Children According to Age Group and Region

Age group & region	Number of children('000s)	Number at work ('000s)	Work ratio (percent)
5-9			
Developed economies	59,600	800	1.4
Transition economies	27,700	900	3.1
Asia and the Pacific	335,400	40,000	12.3
Latin America & Caribbean	54,400	5,800	10.6
Sub-Saharan Africa	88,800	20,900	23.6
Middle East & North Africa	44,200	4,800	10.8
10-14			
Developed economies	59,400	1,700	2.8
Transition economies	34,700	1,500	4.2
Asia and the Pacific	329,700	87,300	26.5
Latin America & Caribbean	53,700	11,600	21.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	78,100	27,100	34.7
Middle East & North Africa	43,700	8,600	19.6
15-17			
Developed economies	36,700	11,500	31.1
Transition economies	20,600	6,000	29.1
Asia and the Pacific	179,500	86,900	48.4
Latin America & Caribbean	31,200	10,300	35
Sub-Saharan Africa	40,300	18,100	44.8
Middle East & North Africa	23,700	7,500	31.8

Source: ILO (2002)

Describing child labour as "work carried out to the detriment and endangerment of the child, in violation of international law and legislation" (IPEC/ILO, 2002), ILO has set the internationally recognized standards by the ILO

Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) and the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182).

According to the convention No. 138 the general minimum age is "not less than age of completion of compulsory schooling, and in any case not less than 15 years". Minimum age for light work is 13 years and for hazardous work 18 years (16 years under certain strict conditions). ILO makes a slight exception for countries where the economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed. In these countries the general minimum age is 14 years, and for light work the minimum age is 12 years (ILO, 2002: 31).

ILO classifies three different types of work: *Light work* is work that a) is not harmful to children's health and development b) does not prejudice attendance at school and participation in vocational training nor the capacity to benefit from the instruction received. Accordingly work by children aged between 12 and 14, which is not hazardous in nature and that does not exceed 14 hours per week is regarded as light work (ILO, 2002).

Hazardous work by children is any activity that has adverse effects on the child's safety, health (physical or mental) and moral development. According to recommendation No. 190 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour of the ILO hazardous work includes (i) work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; (ii) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; (iii) work with dangerous machinery, equipment, and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; (iv) work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances; (v) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours.

It is estimated that there is about 186 million child labourers between ages 5 and 14 and 111 million of them are in hazardous work. In the age group of 5-17, children in hazardous work account for 170. 5 million, 56 percent of them are boys and 44 percent are girls.

Table 3.2 The Number of Economically Active Children, Child Labour and Children in Hazardous Work with Respect to Age Group and Gender

Gender & Age Group	Economically Active Children ('000s)	Child Labour ('000s)	Children in hazardous work ('000s)
Total 5-14	210,800	186,300	111,300
Boys	109,000	97,800	61,300
Girls	101,800	88,500	50,000
Total 15-17	140,900	59,200	59,200
Boys	75,100	34,400	34,400
Girls	65,800	24,800	24,800
Total	351,700	245,500	170,500
Boys	184,100	132,200	95,700
Girls	167,600	113,300	74,800

Source: ILO (2002)

Lastly, according to Convention No. 182, all forms of slavery, debt-bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, armed conflict and illicit activities such as drug trading are considered as the *unconditional worst forms of child labour* and the ILO calls for an urgent elimination of these.

Table 3.3 The Number of Children in Unconditional Worst Forms of Child Labour

Unconditional Worst form of child labour	Global Estimate ('000s)
Trafficked children	1,200
Children in forced & bonded labour	5,700
Children in armed conflict	300
Children in prostitution & pornography	1,800
Children in illicit activities	600
Total	8,400

Source: ILO (2002)

As seen in the Table 3.3 there are 8.4 million children who are subjected to unconditional worst forms of child labour. 5.7 million of children are victims of bonded or forced labour who are not free to quit working; and they have to work in conditions of servitude to pay off a debt, which is almost impossible. They receive marginal wages, if at all; and in some cases they may not even receive the full amount as some portion of the wage is deducted against the loan. For instance, the children working in the silk industry being held in bondage in India start off making around $2.08 a month, which might eventually increase as much as $8.33 to $10.42 (HRW, 2003a). Children may be recruited as individuals or with their entire families. It is also not unusual to pass the debt to younger siblings. According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), there are credible estimates of 60 to 115 million working children in India alone, of whom at least fifteen million are bonded.

In the case of recruitment of child soldiers, according to the CSCS[8], the problem is most critical in Africa, where up to 100, 000 children were estimated to be involved in armed conflict in mid 2004. Children are also involved in armed conflict in various Asian countries and in parts of Latin America, Europe and the Middle East.

Trafficked children are the ones who are recruited, harboured, obtained and transported by use of fraud or coercion for the purpose of receiving financial benefit by forcing them to engage in involuntary acts such as working in sweatshops, domestic servitude and most commonly in prostitution. In fact, the prostitution of children is very much connected to the trafficking. According to a report by Burke and Ducci (2005), Thai and foreign-based criminal organizations play an important role in sex trafficking in Thailand. The estimated number of child victims of prostitution ranges from 12,000 to hundreds of thousands. Although Asian countries are infamous

[8] The CSCS acronym stands for "Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers".

with wide prevalence of working children in prostitution and pornography, the developed countries are not immune from the problem either. A few examples can be given from ECPAT's worldwide database which provides a wide range of data on commercially sexually exploited children[9].

10,000 regular visitors surf child pornography websites everyday in France and according to the observations of the director of the state police school, between 30,000 and 50,000 consumers of child pornographic products exist in Germany. The US Department of Justice estimates the number of commercially sexually abused children (which includes children exploited through prostitution, child pornography and trafficking for commercial sexual purposes) in the US to be between 100,000 and 3 million, and in Australia, in 1998, a national research project identified 3,733 children (under the age of 18) who had been engaging in sex for survival activities. The examples can be multiplied. The noteworthy point is that even the most prosperous countries of the world could not succeed in eliminating the worst forms of child labour. This can be interpreted as an indicator of the multidimensionality of the phenomenon in terms of its causes. The following section provides a comprehensive analysis of the major reasons of child labour on the global level.

3.3 Causes of Child Labour

As mentioned above, the prevalence of the problem and its world-wide pervasiveness stem from a number of interrelated factors. For analytical purposes I will discuss these factors under three different groups. First of all, economic factors on both micro and macro levels will be evaluated. Poverty is the major, if not the only, economic cause behind the child labour. Secondly, I will present the cultural factors.

[9] The ECPAT acronym stands for **"**End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes**".** For more facts and figures on commercially sexually exploited children, see <http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/projects/monitoring/online_database/index.asp>

In this section the relation between the child labour and the understanding of childhood will be underlined once more. The other reasons such as lack of proper legislation will be presented under the last section.

3.3.1 Economic Factors

There is by now a virtually unanimous view that *poverty* is the main, if not the only cause of child labour (Ahmed, 1999 in Neumayer and Soysa, 2005: 44). The role of poverty has been the cornerstone of much of the thinking about child labour (Basu and Tzannatos, 2003: 157; Lopéz-Calva, 2001; Basu and Van, 1998; Grooter and Kanbur, 1995).

Basu and Tzannots (2003) state that in poor countries, where people obey the same laws and live under a similar socio cultural environment, children of affluent classes do not work. As mentioned in Grooter and Kanbur (1995), it is often impoverished parents that send children to work in order to survive as a family. In his historical analysis of child labour, Mintz maintains that the family, not the individual, was the economic unit and key decisions were based on family needs rather than individual choice. “The cooperative family economy made decision making a by-product of collective needs rather than of individual preferences” (Mintz, 2004: 136). The decision to send children to work can be seen from this perspective in today’s world also. As it is not possible to survive through an individual struggle, the family sticks together and develop a form of survival strategy, which includes employment of all members of the family. Under these conditions the contribution of children to the family budget becomes extremely significant. According to the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), without the income of working children aged thirteen to seventeen, the incidence of poverty would rise by between 10 and 20 percent in Latin

America, and according to the ILO children commonly contribute around 20 to 25 percent of family income (Arat, 2002). When the extent of children's contribution is taken into account it is very questionable to attribute children's working to a family "decision". This is because, the concept of decision assumes an "alternative", but in this case families seem to lack an alternative route to follow.

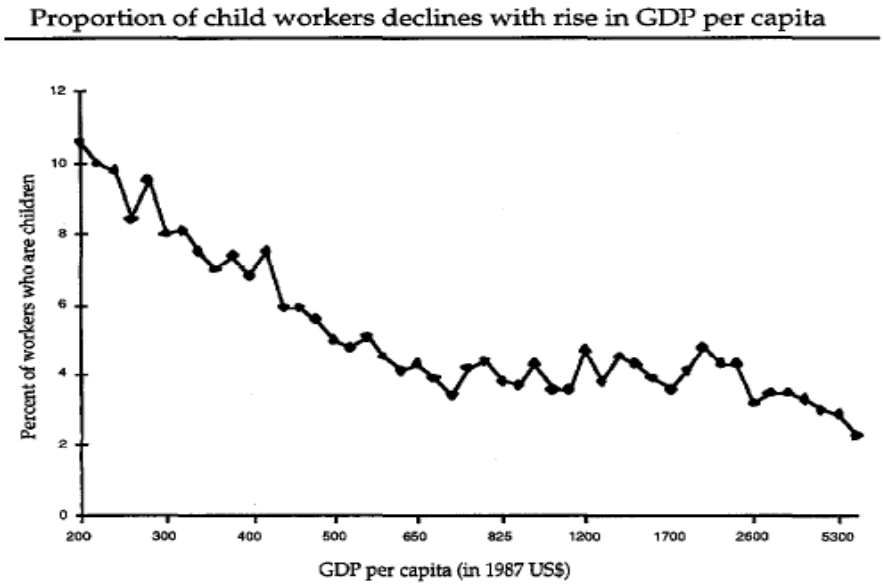
Basu and Van (1998) presented another economic perspective on the household level by relating the poverty status of a household to the *luxury axiom*. According to their theory, children's "non-work" is a luxury good in the household's consumption in the sense that a household cannot afford to consume this good. It is assumed that parents are altruistic and they will prefer to send their children to school instead of work as soon as they can afford to do so. By taking the constraints of parents into consideration as well as their "preference" of sending their children to work, the theory does not fall into the "blame-the-victim" trap.

There is also a utilitarian explanation, named *standard utility function analysis*, which sees a child as an economic unit with two types of utility: A child either works and brings immediate income, or receives an educational investment now, maximises her utility and produces future income for her parents (Bachman, 2000b: 556). According to this analysis, child labour is a result of preferring short-term low risk gains over long term high risk gains by parents.

Poverty, though with limitations, has an explanatory power on the macro level as well as the micro level. According to ILO regional estimates of economically active children ages 5 to 14; Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest relative number of working children with 29 percent. It is followed by Asia and the Pacific and Latin America & Caribbean with 19 percent and 16 percent respectively. Only 1 percent of children in developed economies are recorded as economically active (See Table 3.1).

Basu and Tzannatos (2003) present some extra empirical evidence on the relationship between *economic growth* and child labour, claiming that as nations become richer the incidence of child labour tends to fall. In China the sharp drop in child labour began in the 1970s when the gross domestic product began to accelerate; and in India also, experiencing higher growth rates during the 80s and the 90s than previous decades, labour participation rate of children has decreased since the 1970s. Child labour has been on the decline in Thailand as well, since the revival of growth in the late 1980s (Tzannatos, 2003). Between 1985 and 1995, Thailand experienced an average annual growth of 9 percent, and during this period the labour participation rate of children aged 14-15 was halved to 21percent.

Figure 3.1 The Proportion of Child Workers and GDP per Capita



Source: Fallon and Tzannatos (1998)

Additional empirical evidence is offered by Fallon and Tzannatos (1998). According to their study, incidence of child labour and numbers of labourers fall rapidly as per capita GDP rises to between $500 and $1000. Although there is a sharp fall in children's labour force participation up to $1000 GDP per capita, at higher

levels, the negative relationship between income and child labour becomes less marked.

Overall, empirical evidence indicates both the importance and insufficiency of poverty as an explanatory factor of child labour. The pervasiveness of child labour in developed economies is one of the indicators of the inadequacy of the poverty thesis. It is estimated that the US and the UK have two million working children under 18 years each; and in the UK 500,000 of those are under thirteen years old (Huot, 1998). What is more, not all those children are delivering newspapers. While their numbers may not be known for sure[10], the fact remains that a considerable number of six-year-old children pick fruit and vegetables for as low as $2 per day in Texas (Arat, 2002; Huot, 1998). USA Child Labour State Surveys reported seven occupational deaths (4 deaths in agriculture, 2 in construction and 1 in delivery driving) among working children under age 18 in 2004; the corresponding number was 18 in 2003 (Child Labour Coalition, 2004). It can be underlined once more that child labour is not the problem of developing countries only.

Rogers and Swinnerton assert that if child labour exists in a developed country, the reasons are *purely distributional.* "The economy may be fully capable of generating enough wealth to eliminate child labour, but very concentrated holdings of that wealth may keep it from doing so" (1999: 1385). According to Rogers and Swinnterton (1999) the weakening of the negative relationship between the incidence of child labour and per capita GDP may be attributed to inequality in the income distribution.

In addition to poverty and distribution, child labour is also partially determined by the *local structure of the economy,* finance and production, as well as cultural

[10] According to Child Labour Coalition thousands of children, many as young as six and eight years old, work in USA, as migrant and seasonal farm workers, harvesting the fruits and vegetables. < http://www.stopchildlabor.org/USchildlabor/statistics.htm>

norms and practices (Bachman, 2000a: 35). In areas where the agricultural sector is large the number of working children increases dramatically. According to Fallon and Tzannatos (1998) the share of agriculture is the best predictor of child labour. This is consistent with the findings of ILO/IPEC (2003) which states that 70 percent of working children worldwide can be found in the agricultural sector.

On the macro level, in addition to poverty, income distribution and proportion of the agricultural sector in the national economy, (adult) *labour market conditions* are noteworthy in explaining child labour. Unorganized labour and leniently implemented labour standards are widely stated as indirect factors that pour children into the labour force. However, on both empirical and argumentative level the effect of into the labour market conditions are controversial. On the one hand children are regarded as a sort of "reserve army of labour" and they are drawn into the labour market when there is a labour shortage. According to this argument the rise of child labour stems from an increase of labour demand; and so as a result of low unemployment level in the adult market. The increase in child labour during the industrial revolution is partially explained with the high demand for unskilled labour. On the other hand, child labour seems to have a "poverty alleviating role". From this perspective, it is the increase in the unemployment level in the adult market that draws children into labour, in order to replace their fathers and contribute to household income. For example, in Sal Hagar, in an Egyptian town with 50,000 people, more than 30 percent of adults are unemployed but the cotton fields of the village are full of child labourers (Arat, 2002: 186). "In West Africa, 98.6 percent of the mothers of trafficked children are without work and children who are trafficked into child labour came from predominantly rural areas, such as Burkina Faso, where 65 percent of the fathers in agricultural centres are unemployed."(Ellenbogen, 2004: 1316).

Another factor that stimulates the use of child labour is *precarious working and income_conditions* of families. In times of temporary economic crisis, such as illness or impermanent unemployment of the bread-winner of the family; additional earnings of children take critical importance. What begins as a temporary solution turns out to be a permanent situation.

Neumayer and Soysa (2005) attribute this problem to the borrowing constraints of parents. Had the poor families been able to borrow in times of crises, they could have preferred not to send their children to work. Easy credits can help poor families to overcome temporary financial crises; however, re-payment process can turn out to be another crisis.

This *credit market constraints* argument has a wide range of supporters (Ursprung, 2006; Krueger and Donohue, 2005; Cigno, Rosati and Guarcello, 2002; and Ranjan, 1999). In his economic analysis of child labour, Ranjan states that poverty in combination with credit market constraints give rise to the phenomenon of child labour. In his study, he tries to answer the question why parents keep on sending their children to work instead of school while the high return of education is obvious. His answer is "the inability of parents to substitute for the foregone earnings of their children due to non-existence of a market for loans against future earnings" (1999: 100). Therefore if the poor could borrow sufficiently they would send their children to school instead of work.

The credit market constraints argument can be questioned on a number of grounds. First, Ranjan presumes that "education has a high rate of return". This is a very questionable assumption when one takes the schooling conditions of developing countries into account. Especially in rural areas, where both the quantity and the quality of existing schools are not high, where there are scarcely secondary schools

and the prospects for higher education are low, education has a rarely high rate of return. In fact *the low rate of return education* is per se one of the reasons why families send their children to work. For instance in the diamond industry of Surat, India, reasonably well-off children quit school to work because there is a common perception that the diamond-polishing industry offers long-term prospects for employment at an acceptable wage (Bachman, 2000b: 556). In such a case, which is definitely not an exception, the question posed by Ranjan becomes irrelevant.

Second, even if high return of education is taken for granted, "borrowing" cannot be a solution when the poverty level of families of working children is taken into account. Easy credits can be a way out for middle, lower-middle class parents who want their children to have higher education. However in most of the cases of the families of working children, leaving the schooling costs aside, families are desperately in need of the income contribution of their children. It is very unlikely to receive an adequate amount of credit that is enough to cover at least ten years of education, plus the income that a child used to bring.

Even if the money has been provided, it is very unlikely for a high school graduate of a poor family to pay back. The longer the education, the higher chances of receiving a good salary; but at the same time longer education also means a higher amount of loan. This might turn out to be a modern form of 'bonded-labour', forcing young people to repay the credit loans for years to come. No matter how late the maturity date is, any family that is so poor to be dependent on the income of children would not be willing to undertake such an amount of loan, especially if they have more than one or two children which is usually the case for low income families.

Additionally, such an argument assumes developed country macro-economic conditions, where one can enjoy low interest rate, low inflation rate, low financial risk

and long term borrowing. If a country had such a promising economic environment, why not provide free education and income support? Long term borrowing can only work when families have a dependable source of income, even if it is low. However, as mentioned before "precarious working conditions" and unstable income are themselves important factors behind child labour.

Last but not least, such arguments dismiss the fact that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon that results in many forms of deprivation. Even if easy borrowing enables a child to finance her school costs, she will still be deprived of other aspects of a healthy and decent life; which might influence her chances of success in school also.

3.3.2 Cultural Factors

"The phenomenon of child labour has important sociological and psychological issues at stake" (Basu and Van, 1998: 415). All the rigorous but narrow economic analysis suffers from an oversimplification and minimizing real life complications (Bachman, 2000b: 556). I argue in this study that a pure economic perspective disregards number of important factors such as social attitudes towards working children, related psychological, intra-family decision making processes and traditional gender roles. Ignorance of one of these aspects might lead to distorted description of the issue, and accordingly improper policy alternatives.

In fact "economics versus culture" is one of the key debates in the literature of child labour. For instance, according to Weiner in India, cultural attitudes rather than poverty are the key causes of children's workforce participation.[11] Overall, while the

[11] On the other side, Nardinelli is the strongest proponent of a purely economic rationality. See, Delap (2001) and Nardinelli (1980).

role of poverty is rarely underestimated in the field, cultural factors gain increasing recognition.

According to Hasnat (1995), because child labour is rooted in traditions, attitudes and customs, poverty alone is not responsible for child labour. Lopéz-Calva (2001) states the prevalence of *traditional norms* and *positive social attitudes towards working children* as one of the reasons of the high incidence of child labour in rural areas. Grootaert and Kanbur (1995) mention that for domestic work, gender plays a more important role than market conditions; and according to Ellenbogen (2004) cultural attitudes play an important role in the "persistence" of child labour.

In her case study of Bangladesh, Delap (2001) presented some cultural determinants in children's work. According to her findings, since parents are reluctant to send girls out to work, girls are more likely to be the last economic resource opens to the household than are boys. In her study of children working in the streets of Ankara, Altıntaş (2003) found that girls are usually sent out to work at younger ages in comparison to boys. Although this seems contradictory to the Bangladeshi case, in fact a similar protective attitude lies under such behaviour. Girls are sent to work at their infancy years, since, during childhood; they are seen as "children" rather than "girls". As soon as they reach teenage years, however, they are taken "inside" since girls' working in the streets is improper. Akşit et al. stated the age of 12 as the critical age, after when girls feel the pressure of socially assigned sex roles (Akşit et al., 2001: 37).

A few statistical examples of women's seclusion and common perception of domestic work as "women's work" and can be given for Latin America: In Brazil 94.5 percent of all the children under the age of 17 working in domestic service were girls; the corresponding number for Costa Rica was 91.5 percent; and in Guatemala,

although twice as many boys as girls were girls (ILO/IPEC, 2004: 20). In Turkey according to the 1999 Child Labour Survey (CLS) 73 percent of all the children engaged in domestic chores was female, while the corresponding proportion for market- oriented activities was 38 percent.

In Thailand, *traditional gender norms* play a significant role in child prostitution. On the basis of societal terms, proper males are expected to be sexually virile, proper females should be docile and repressed in their sexuality (Burke and Ducci, 2005: 20). As a result, females refrain from involving in pre-marriage sexual relations, while males create excessive demand for pre-marriage sexual relations, to be satisfied by prostitutes who were put in sex work out of poverty or abuse. General acceptance of prostitution as a sexual outlet for men, combined-with the mistaken conviction that younger children are less likely to be HIV positive, creates an increasing demand for child prostitutes.

Evidently, allocation of work is overwhelmingly gender- biased. In addition to traditional gender roles, concerns about child idleness and perception of education as an unnecessary investment (especially for girls) can be stated as other cultural factors that aggravate the problem.

Perception of some types of work as "children's work" is also significant as it creates a positive attitude towards working children. During the last several decades there has been a kind of mentality transformation, resulting with a concept of "children's work" in the developed world that contributed to the part-time employment of children (Lavalette, 1995). Although there is such an arbitrary classification that makes child labour more tolerable, this is not a new or modern form of understanding, indicating a form of transformation in attitudes. In other words, there has always been some typical "children's work". During the industrial era for

instance, running errands was a child's task; now "delivering newspapers" is so. The tasks change, but the perception remains the same. A final noticeable factor is that "children's work" is always underpaid, and so are the children that have "adults' work".

The cultural determinants of child labour are also related with *the social understanding of childhood.* As stated in the previous chapter, the modern understanding of childhood as a "privileged life period that should be dedicated to education and games under parental control and supervision" contradicts with sending children to work. In this regard the decline in child labour and the spread of the modern idea of childhood during the nineteenth century is meaningful. While analysing the cultural determinants of child labour and reasons of social acceptability of working children it is important to apprehend the society's perception of childhood.

In their research on working street children in Adana, Diyarbakır and Istanbul, Akşit, Karancı and Gündüz- Hoşgör found that child labour is legitimized by reference to its cultural acceptability. "Working on the streets is considered to be an apprenticeship for adult life in that it taught children self-discipline and how to overcome hardships in life while contributing to family income" (Akşit et al., 2001: xiii). This is consistent with the perception of childhood as a "preparation period for (hard) life. Valuing "useful childhood" and "discipline during childhood" reinforces child labour.

Lastly, one should also not take the 'cultural versus economic' distinction for granted. They are both overlapping and interrelated. For example, Delap indicates in her study that

> [T]he economic necessity of children working in female-headed households' maybe attributed to the insecure incomes of working women in urban Bangladesh. This insecurity may in turn be attributed

> to the cultural restrictions of females to certain spheres of economic activity (2001: 17).

As seen in the quotation certain phenomena labelled as 'economic' embrace a cultural dimension and the same intricacy is true for phenomena labelled as cultural which necessarily have an economical aspect. In this regard 'economic' versus 'cultural' difference is arbitrary.

The *interrelation between economic and cultural factors* is also illustrated by Basu and Tzannatos (2003). They claim that parents with higher education tend to send their children to school instead of work, and this tendency creates a virtuous cycle. The ones who receive education will be the educated parents of the future, and they will be sending their children to school instead of work. Educated parents are not only more likely to provide financial resources for their children's education but also more likely to have a modern conception of childhood that will make them prefer education over work.

3.3.3 Other factors

In addition to socio-economic and cultural reasons, *lack of proper legislation*, especially compulsory education, is also considered to be an aggravating factor, if not decisive. According to Weiner, as the mass primary education preceded the rising incomes associated with industrialization, increasing rates of schooling cannot be attributed to economic factors and so, the introduction of compulsory education was the main reason for the decline in child workforce participation in the developed world (Delap, 2001: 3). There are however, illustrative cases[12] showing that even if adequate legislation is accomplished, as long as there are strong socio-economic

[12] In this regard, Turkey can be given as an example. For more detail on how proper legislation falls short of solving the child labour problem in Turkey, see chapter Four Child Labour in Turkey and section 5.10 Policy Implication.

incentives for child labour, the enforceability and implementation will be very limited, especially beyond the perimeter of urban regions. In Egypt despite the mandatory education and child protective labour laws, there are 1.5 million working children under the age of fourteen which comprise 9 percent of the age group and 7 percent of the country's total labour force (Arat, 2002: 185).

In some cases there are also individual/psychological reasons behind the incidence of working children. Especially in the case of unconditional worst forms of child labour, there is definitely a factor of *child abuse*. An abuser might be someone from the family, a third party or the state. Kuntay & Erginsoy (2005) conducted in-depth interviews with 42 teenage sex workers in Istanbul, and found that 20 of the respondents were subjected to "sexual and psychological abuse" and 18 of them were subjected to "sexual, physical and psychological abuse" by one or more family members. In the case of Cote d'Ivoire, where there are 15,000 trafficked children working in plantations, the process of trafficking begins with *intermediaries*, or "tanties", who use a variety of methods to recruit children (Ellenbogen, 2004). According to CSCS among the variety of armed political groups which recruit the majority of the world's child soldiers there are some government-backed paramilitary groups.[13]

Up to now, all the stated reasons of child labour were related with the "supply" side. In other words the factors that push children to labour force were discussed. If we turn to the "demand side", the most commonly accepted "pull" factor of child labour is its *profitability.* In Thailand for instance, the number of working children is

[13] <http://www.child-soldiers.org/childsoldiers/some-facts>

close to the number of female workers, and children work 11 to 15 hours daily for only half of the minimum wage paid for adults (Şenses, 2003: 178).

Some *unique childhood* skills are also stated to be effective in child employment. It is argued that children are more productive in some specific tasks that require keen eyesight or swift hand movements. In carpet production, for example, children are believed to be better carpet weavers since they can make knots faster than adults thanks to the dexterity of their nimble fingers. Children are also thought to be capable of making very fine carpets which adults cannot produce, with as many as 400 knots per square inch (Levison et al., 1996). Besides, children are less capable of unionizing and collective bargaining; they are more docile, compliant, less demanding; consequently, "perfect workers".

Even though some childhood characteristics might be effective in employers' decisions to employ children, according to the study of Levison et al. (1996), in India, the "nimble fingers argument" turned out to be a myth. Collecting data for 362 enterprises, including both household enterprises and larger commercial ones, and for 772 looms in an area which produces 80 percent of Indian carpets; the researchers found out that "children and adults have similar productivity and child labourers are replaceable by adult workers in a technical sense". The real factor behind child labour was again profitability related with cost pressure. The profit margins of poor loom enterprise owners were so narrow that, they would go bankrupt if children were replaced by adults.

There are many theories which attempt to explain the reasons of child labour and they are all noteworthy as they indicate the multidimensionality of the child labour phenomenon. I am convinced that child labour as a multidimensional phenomenon cannot be properly analyzed without reference to diverse socio-

economic, cultural, legal and even psychological factors. Ignorance of any of them leads to flawed assessment of the problem, eventually leading to wrong policies.

Given that, the following section addresses the existing policy options against child labour and discusses to what extent those strategies are capable of solving the problems stated above in the name of eliminating child labour.

3.4 Policy Responses against Child Labour

The suggestions and ideas regarding the measures that should be taken against child labour are as diverse and controversial as at least the reasons of the problem. The two most disputed policy proposals on the international level are enforcement of trade sanctions to the countries that import goods produced by child labour and imposition of universal labour standards. In addition to abolition of child labour, three other core labour standards of ILO-freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining, elimination of all forced or compulsory labour and elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation are regarded as universally applicable fundamental human rights (DFID, 2004). In the report of The Department for International Development (DFID) of the British Government, it is claimed that just as universal human rights, those labour standards should also be internationally recognized and applied (DFID, 2004).

The most well known attempt for imposing trade sanctions is the “Harkin’s Bill”. In 1993 US Senator Tom Harkin introduced the Child Labour Deterrence Act which seeks to ban the imports of goods that have been produced by child labour. Although Harkins’ attempts failed, it has been followed by other similar proposals and intense debates.

The proponents of Harkin's Bill and other similar trade sanctions claim that exporting countries that use child labour enjoy unfair trading advantage over other countries by engaging in "social dumping". In other words, by keeping their labour standards too low, they cut their labour cost to a great extent and gain an unfair competitive edge. This situation, it is claimed, should be opposed on both ethical and economic grounds. From an ethical point of view, child labour violates children's right to live their "childhood". From an economic point of view, "unfair trading advantage" of the developing countries threatens the jobs and living standards of workers in developed countries. Multinational companies move their production facilities and outsourcing activities to low-standard countries, where they can enjoy abnormally low labour cost. The situation therefore leads to the "race to the bottom", overall decrease of labour standards and wages all around the world. Therefore a "social clause" should be integrated to the international trading agreements ensuring core labour standards.

The opponents of the argument assert that sanctions can exacerbate rather than ameliorate the situation. A very illustrative and infamous example of this argument is the case of Bangladesh. In the wake of Harkin's Bill, the garment industry of Bangladesh, 60 percent of whose products were exported to the US in 1994, was alarmed and the mere panic of facing restrictions resulted with the dismissal of thousands of young workers. According to UNICEF, an estimated 50,000 children (approximately 75 percent of all children in the sector) were dismissed from employment at a single time after an agreement to do so. Research was conducted by local NGOs, the ILO and UNICEF which aimed at tracing some of these children to see what happened to them afterwards. Being dismissed from work, with no schooling option or qualifications, a few of those child workers, mostly girls, could return to

home or to school. According to studies, many of the children ended up working in more hazardous and unsafe situations such as stone-crushing, street hustling and even prostitution, where they were subjected to more severe forms of exploitation (O'Neill, 2003; UNICEF, 1997). After two years, in 1995, a formal Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association and the UNICEF and ILO offices in Bangladesh. The agreement included the opening of new school classes and "placement of those children removed from the garment factories in appropriate educational programmes with a monthly stipend" (UNICEF, 1997: 60). By that time, however, the "goodwill" of Senator Harkins had already turned out to be a disaster for thousands of children.

The greatest opposition against trade sanctions is raised by developing countries themselves. Such policies are described as "protectionism in disguise". There is a wide range of consensus in the literature that "social clause" arguments rest on economic interests of protectionists rather than the moral principles of philanthropists; and they will do more harm than good (Chang, 2002; Golup, 1997; Sapir, 1995; Steil, 1994; Bhagwati, 1995; Ellenbogen, 2004; Bachman, 2000b; Hasnat, 1995). Trade sanctions and labour standards, it is claimed, reduce the competitiveness of developing economies resulting with lower growth rates and increased poverty, which is the root cause of child labour. Consequently, the problem is exacerbated.

Moreover, as stated by UNICEF (1997), although working children in export sectors are the most visible ones, according to the US Bureau of International Labour Affairs, only 5 percent of working children are employed in the export industries. Children are overwhelmingly employed in the informal economy and the agricultural sector. Even if trade sanctions were effective in curbing child labour in export sectors,

that would account for a very low proportion of working children and mainly result with transfer of child workers to non-export sectors of the economy. As Hasnat states, "there is no evidence that children working in export sectors are worse off than children working elsewhere" (1995: 422). From this point of view, what needs to be done is to strengthen international trade as much as possible, which will eventually lead to economic growth and higher labour standards.

DFID, while supporting trade sanctions only as a last resort that should be applied in cases of extreme violation, also states that international labour standards can be defended on economic grounds as well as social. In the case of child labour, it states that "elimination of child labour improves long term economic prospects where it increases the chances of children getting educated" (2004: 13). Besides "exploitative child labour cannot be justified on the grounds that it provided employment" and "substantive standards can often be improved at a low cost" (DFID, 2004: 14).

The chain reaction of "international trade-economic growth- increased labour standards/elimination of child labour" should not be taken for granted. It was international trade, more specifically increased demand for hand-made carpets in North American and European markets that caused a rise in child labour in Indian, Nepali and Pakistani carpet sectors; and the 1997 Asian currency crisis resulted with increased child labour in some specific countries and industries (Bachman, 2000b). As underlined by Bachman, increased trade does not "*guarantee* positive outcomes for a nation at large, or for specific regions or particular economic sectors in which child labour is common" (2000b: 562). Economic growth does not by itself improve the living and working standards for all. The existence of exploitative child labour in the developed world and non-working children of the riches of the poor countries testify

the fact that there is not only a problem of "growth" but also of "distribution". Since, "in this democratic age, the legitimacy of any modern economic system should be measured by the quality of life afforded by the many, not by the licence provided the few" (Mazur, 2000: 84) legal regulations and interventions are required to assure that benefits of growth a distributed equally and fairly among the different of segments of society. According to Dessy (2000), therefore, compulsive measures, enforced as an integral part of an intervention that combines incentives and regulations to eliminate child labour, can be justifiable. As Basu and Tzannatos argue, the incidence of child labour will respond to government incentives to make schooling more attractive such as giving children food for attending school or giving parents of school going children cash transfers (2003: 152). Strictly enforced compulsory education, supported with increased schooling opportunities might be an effective solution.

The most recent strategy to combat child labour on the non-state level in the West is social labelling. A social label on child labour informs customers about the social production conditions of the good and/or assures them that a portion of the product price will be dedicated to improve the well being of children. Social labels might enable consumers or other civil society actors to take an initiative by preferring the labelled goods and accordingly providing an incentive for producers to improve working conditions. The most well known labelling initiative is Rugmark, whose area of interest is carpet weaver children in India, Pakistan and Nepal. By making regular inspections of registered carpet looms and factories, Rugmark assures that in the making of products carrying its label, children were not employed. Besides a portion of the carpet price is contributed to the rehabilitation and education of former child weavers. In 2004 the initiative rescued 241 children from labour on the looms and 3520 children attend school sponsored by Rugmark (Rugmark, 2004). One of the

shortcomings of the strategy is that social labelling targets only the child workers in traded goods sectors. Therefore its effects are limited. Additionally it entirely relies on consumer preferences; therefore the problem remains to be solved by market forces only. Not all consumers are informed about the social labelling and not everyone willing to pay more for social responsibility. Moreover, the option to purchase a labelled product instead of an unlabelled one might decrease the motives to take an active role in combat against child labour. Social labelling, although a positive attempt can provide neither a long term nor a worldwide solution.

Short term policies with limited effects and the ones that aim at improving the working conditions of children instead of complete elimination of the problem can be defended on practical grounds. Socio economic constraints and the urgency of the situation provide legitimacy for those policies. The strategy of the Turkish Confederation of Employers Associations (TISK) towards working children, for instance, centred on the attempts of creating fair and healthy working conditions; like ensuring regular medical control for child workers.[14] On the other hand, such policies embrace the risk of gradual normalization of child labour. Eventually the social objective may turn out to be transition of unacceptable "child labour" into acceptable "child work":

> Suppose the world's working children were no longer engaged in activities or under conditions hazardous to their health and development; were covered by minimum-wage and other regulations ensuring them, along with adult workers, of the best working conditions that could reasonably expected at each country's specific level of social and economic development, had achieved the right to organize, the right to be heard; were guaranteed sufficient time and facilities for rest, recreation and continuing education; why insist on the general prohibition of children's employment, which would achieve nothing more than the abolition of children's right to earn money? (White, 1994: 874)

[14] For a more detailed discussion on this issue, see section 4.6.3. Apprenticeship

Such a drastic change in the working conditions of children cannot be realized unless the socio-economic context that surrounds it is radically transformed. There is a general tendency, as illustrated by White, to disregard the relation between the working conditions of children and adults while proposing a solution. It is problematical to differentiate child labour and to approach it as an isolated phenomenon. The ethics of child labour should be considered with respect to the ethics of adult labour. In this regard the right question should be posed as such: If we suppose that the world's working *adults* were no longer engaged in activities or under conditions hazardous to their health and development; were covered by minimum-wage and other regulations ensuring them, of the best working conditions that could reasonably expected at each country's specific level of social and economic development, had achieved the right to organize, the right to be heard; were guaranteed sufficient time and facilities for rest, recreation and continuing education; would the children of those adults be working?

3.5 Concluding Remarks: Why Children Work and What We Should Do About It?

In this chapter, I discussed the child labour problem in its global context. As indicated, child labour prevails as a widespread and severe problem all around the world; not even the developed countries could eradicate the problem entirely. Even worse, there are still more than 8 million children who are exploited under worst forms of child labour. The problem calls for immediate action with long term results.

In the second section, I presented the various underlying reasons and triggering factors behind child labour. Poverty is the basic cause pouring millions of children into the labour force. The existence of working children in the developed economies also indicates distributional reasons. Labour market conditions, lack of

unionization and local structure of the economy, particularly the share of agriculture in the national economy, are also among the widely stated factors. Economic explanations however fall short of elucidating the phenomenon completely. There are also social and cultural factors that underpin the problem of child labour if not determine it totally. In this regard the way a society conceptualizes childhood is noteworthy. The modern conceptualization of child labour is time and place dependent. Cultures that value "useful childhood", and appreciate "working" as a method to prepare for life or as a kind of teaching mechanism reinforce children's working. The next chapter will touch on this point in the Turkish context.

There are a number of alternative polices targeting child labour on both national and international levels. Imposition of international labour standards and enforcement of trade sanctions on goods produced with child labour are the two most debated ones. As I argued in the third section, these policies can be successful to the extent that they target the root causes of child labour as well as the incidence itself. In this regard it is noteworthy that none of the proposals above has redistributive aspects which would lead to alleviation of poverty, one of the basic reasons behind child labour. On the contrary, imposition of trade sanctions on developing countries would further deteriorate current account balances of the countries and obstruct economic growth which might eventually lead to overall alleviation of poverty with proper national redistributive policies. Imposition of international labour standards, on the other hand, cannot be realized unless the socio-economic conjuncture is also transformed accordingly. As I will demonstrate for the case of Turkey, laws and regulations cannot be considered detached from the socio-economic conditions under which they are supposed to be implemented. If there is a genuine aspiration to free millions of children in developing countries from hazardous and exploitative working

conditions, developed countries should transfer much more sources of their own, both directly and indirectly, in order to create higher socio-economic standards that will enable the implementation of international labour standards. Instead of imposition of trade sanctions on goods produced by child labour, removal of trading quotas on agricultural products on which developing countries have competitive advantage, or providing extra trade facilities for the goods produced under proper labour standards can contribute to the solution of the problem. In other words, punitive legal instruments can only be effective if they are accompanied by positive incentives and policies that target the elimination of the root causes of child labour.

After centuries of bitter experiences and extensive research on the issue, we have a mass of information on why children work and what we can do about it. Consequently, in addition to asking how we can eliminate child labour, we should also pose the question about who is willing to pay for it.

CHAPTER IV

CHILD LABOUR IN TURKEY

4.1 Introduction

Thanks to Turkey's participation in the International Programme on Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) in 1992, research on child labour has mushroomed during the 1990s. However the studies remain scattered; most of them are hardly "scientific" and they lack theoretical perspective. Additionally the difficulty in finding updated data and resources about this issue hints that the strong wind in the first years of IPEC seems to be fading away. In fact even the members of parliament serving on the Grand National Assembly Committee[15] (GNA) responsible for investigating "street children" complain about lack of data on the issue. The major objective of the chapter is to put together this scattered literature, present a synthesis and provide background information for the findings of the fieldwork to be discussed in the next chapter.

The first section takes a glance at the understanding of childhood in Turkey. Unfortunately the studies on the history of childhood/child labour and the social construction of childhood/child labour are extremely limited and the existing studies on childhood hardly mention child labour.

[15] "The Grand National Assembly Committee Formed with the Objective of Investigating the Reasons that Push Children to the Street and the Problems of Street Children, and for Identifying the Measures that must be taken" (2005) .
<http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/sokak_cocuklari_kom/tutanaklar/sokakrapor1.htm>

The next two sections present the projects carried out within the context of IPEC and summarize the findings of the 1994 and the 1999 Child Labour Surveys (CLS) conducted by the State Institute of Statistics (SIS)[16] which are the only available nationwide statistical data.

In the third section, I introduce the legal framework relevant to child labour. Since Turkey has signed all the major relevant international treaties and conventions, which are legally binding instruments, the laws and regulations regarding child labour are in harmony with international standards. However, as the following sections point out those "high-standard laws" cannot be enforced and there are major drawbacks in implementation.

The remaining sections of the chapter are dedicated to explaining and presenting the major forms of child labour in Turkey and its historical roots. In Turkey, children work in industry, services and trade, but especially in agriculture, which employs more than half of all working children. While apprenticeship and domestic child labour can be regarded as traditional forms of child labour, children's working in the streets is a rather recent phenomenon. Besides, some types of worst forms of child labour are also observed in Turkey.

After addressing the major forms of child labour in Turkey, following sections show how the relevant laws fall short of reaching their aims in terms of eradicating child labour. As stated in the previous chapter, as long as the socio-economic conditions that cause child labour exist, so does the social reality of working children, regardless of the legal framework.

[16] The name of the institute was changed as the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) in 2005.

4.2 "Childhood" and the Historical Roots of Child Labour in Turkey

As stated in the previous chapters, child labour cannot be properly understood without regard for the conceptualization and understanding of "childhood". Onur states that in the history of childhood in Turkey, what is lacking is not the "feeling of childhood" but the "consciousness of childhood", which includes not only love but also knowledge of what is supposed to be done for the development of the child (2005: 16). The lack of "consciousness of childhood" might provide a basis for understanding the treatment of children including child labour, in terms of the traditional glorification of child labour as a "way of learning life" or the extensive use of corporal punishment to "discipline" infants.

Unfortunately studies on the construction and history of childhood in Turkey are limited to only a few sources (Onur, 2005 and 1993; Okay 1998). Moreover these studies have no direct linkages with the literature on child labour. The most comprehensive study of the history of childhood in Turkey was written by Onur (2005) who traced back the history of childhood in Turkey to the 1840s, through a reading of memoirs and biographies. In spite of the length, detail and comprehensiveness of the study, there is no section dedicated to the history of child labour, but only some minor references.

He notes, for instance, that one of the consequences of poverty that affected children in Anatolia in the 1940s was child labour.

> 'Even if he has 10 children, a villager asks for more', they said. Because, a child would make no trouble for his parents in villages and in a short time he becomes to be beneficial. There is no need to send children to school for a long time as used to be in cities. Girls start to help their mothers in housework when they become 5-6. When they go out their little sisters and brothers are tied to their back. And the sons help their fathers; they bring food to field and herd first sheep and goats, then cattle (Esenel,1999 quoted in Onur, 2006: 167)

The findings of "Value of Children" survey in Turkey (1974) are in accordance with the statement of Esenel. The interviews carried out in the VOC study in Turkey (alongside South Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Indonesia, the United States and Germany) indicated greater salience of the utilitarian value[17] of children especially as old age security in less developed countries (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996: 80). In Turkey old age security as a reason for childbearing was considered very important among women by 77 percent (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996 and 1981). Kağıtçıbaşı also noted within-country variations: "In the context of low affluence rural/agrarian/low socioeconomic standing with material interdependencies is favouring high fertility, socialization values include a stress on the utilitarian (economic) value of children, old age security value of children and son preference" (1996: 81). "With socioeconomic development and especially with increased education, children's economic/utilitarian value decreased whereas their psychological value increased" (Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005: 317).

In 2003, another VOC survey was conducted and it revealed significant transformations in the last three decades. Thanks to the economic growth during the period in general and the greater affluence of the sample in particular, as well as increased education levels, there has been a sharp increase in the psychological value of the child and the corresponding decrease in its utilitarian/economic value, including old-age security value (Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005). Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca also note that although there is definitely an overall pattern of change, "the urban upper-middle socio economic segment (SES) group distinguishes itself from the urban low SES and

[17] "The utilitarian (economic) value of children entails children's material contribution to the family both when they are young (as child work or help with household chores) as well as their old-age security value when they grow up. The psychological value of children on the other hand, is a value attributed to children by parents, reflecting the joy, pride, companionship, love and so on, derived from children" (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996: 80).

the rural groups, which are more similar to each other in terms of their low education and income levels, given the largely rural origins of the urban low SES group. This is particularly notable in reasons for wanting a child, desired qualities of children, older mothers' material expectations from children, and ideal numbers of children" (2005: 335).

According to the Turkish VOC in 1974, the prominent reason for wanting a daughter was girl's utilitarian value of household help (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1981), reflecting the traditional gender division in child labour. This finding is supported by one of the traditional child labour forms in Turkey, namely, the institution of *evlatlık. Evlatlık* is a term given for pseudo-adopted girls who were supposed to engage in domestic chores in a third party's house. Until the late Ottoman period, to "buy/adopt" *evlatlık*s was a very common and socially accepted practice among affluent families. Even if it has been decades since *evlatlık* has faded away, the latest statistics still indicate intensive use of female child labour in domestic chores implying the prevalence of traditional gender roles.

Another traditional form of child labour is apprenticeship (çıraklık) whose roots can be traced back to twelfth century. Contrary to *evlatlık*s*,* apprentices were young boys for whom foremen were responsible for transferring of their skills and teaching them a trade. Again, different from *evlatlık,* apprenticeship still continues today, as socially and legally accepted form of child labour. The details of both forms of child labour will be explained in detail in the following sections. Here suffice to say that child labour has very deep roots in the Turkish society and even the limited studies in the area imply that the perspective towards children/childhood and traditional norms have an affect on the child labour to a great extent.

4.3 International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour: ILO Projects Conducted in Turkey

Following the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding with the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1992, Turkey became one of the six participants of the IPEC, together with Brazil, Thailand, India, Indonesia and Kenya. IPEC is defined as a technical in focus programme on child labour with the ultimate objective of the elimination of child labour worldwide.[18] The programme supports national initiatives and works in cooperation with NGOs, individual governments, unions and other relevant parties to fight against child labour. The Minimum Age Convention No.138 (1973) and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No. 182 (1999) set the framework for the establishment of an IPEC country programme and the ratification of these conventions by a country is one of the first steps in the fight against child labour (ILO/IPEC, 2003). Turkey ratified Convention No.138 in 1998 and Convention 182 in 2001.

In the first biennium in 1992-93, developing a greater understanding of the problem, particularly in relation to its causes, and increasing the awareness of policy-makers about the problem were the main strategies. [19] During this period 10 different programmes were implemented including an 18 month programme to establish a Child Labour Unit within the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (Ertürk and Dayıoğlu, 2004), a 23-month programme entitled "Upgrading the Awareness of Employers" conducted in cooperation with the Cooperation of Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (TÜRK-İŞ) and the Turkish Confederation of Employer's Associations (TİSK). In the second biennium, 1994-1995, 35 programmes were

[18] For more information on IPEC Turkey see,
< http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/eurpro/ankara/programme/ipec/about.htm>

[19] For the list of projects and detailed information on biennium strategies, see
<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/eurpro/ankara/programme/ipec/projects.htm>

initiated with the cooperation of various partner agencies such as the Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Handicrafts (TESK) and Foundation of Vocational Training and Small Industries (MEKSA). The first CLS was conducted by the SIS in this period; in 1994, and during the following biennium, programme strategies were developed based on the findings of this study. In 1999 the second nationwide CLS was conducted within the framework of "Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour" (SIMPOC) which was launched in January 1998 by ILO/IPEC as an interdepartmental programme to help member countries generate comprehensive and reliable data on child labour. The 1999 Child Labour Survey still constitutes the latest available national data set on all forms of child labour in Turkey. Until the end of the last biennium, 2002-2003, a total of 101 programmes were implemented.

In 2000, with strong support from the National Steering Committee (NSC), the Child Labour Unit (CLU) of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MOLLS) initiated the development of a National Time-Bound Policy and Programme Framework (TBPPF). The major aim of the TBPPF is to gradually eliminate child labour within 10 years by prioritizing the elimination of its worst forms as outlined in the ILO Convention No. 182.[20] The Government's priority policy areas for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour for the period 2004-2014 are "poverty alleviation", "reducing household vulnerability, "education for all and "elimination of the WFCL as a matter of urgency". IPEC agreed to provide support to the implementation of the national TBPPF through a Time-Bound Programme Support Project.

[20]ILO/IPEC. 2004.*Time Bound National Policy and Programme,* see, http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/eurpro/ankara/programme/ipec/tbp.htm

Participation to IPEC in 1992 has been a milestone in the struggle against child labour in Turkey. The contribution of IPEC has been very significant both in terms awareness- raising and project development.

4.4 1994 and 1999 Child Labour Surveys

SIS conducted two national CLS in 1994 and in 1999, in order to establish a comprehensive national data set on child labour. The most important results of the surveys are presented in this section. As stated before, 1999 CLS is the latest available national data on child labour and there is still an urgent need of updated, comprehensible and comparable data on the issue.

According to the 1999 survey children between 6 and 17 years of age constituted 25.4 percent of (17 million) the total non-institutional civilian population (63 million) and of all these children 1, 635, 000 were in economic activity, making up 10.2 percent of all children at this age. 1.1 million of those working children were between the ages of 15 and 17 (Table 1). The number of children who performed domestic tasks was 4.7 million, of which 3.3 million was between the ages of 6 to 14. Accordingly, while 68.8 percent of children who were engaged in market work were between the ages of 15 and 17; 69.5 percent of all children working domestically were between the ages of 6 and 14 age group. It can be concluded that the tendency to employ younger children at home was much higher than outside the home

Table 4.1 Working Children According to Age, Gender and Working Activities in 1994 and 1999 (‘000)

Age Group and Sex	Number of children		Working				Non-working children	
			Children engaged in economic (market oriented) activity		Children engaged in domestic chores			
	Oct-94	Oct-99	Oct-94	Oct-99	Oct-94	Oct-99	Oct-94	Oct-99
Male and Female								
Total	15164	16088		1635		4785		9668
6 to 14	11406	12065	974	511	2764	3329	7670	8226
15 to 17	3758	4023		1125		1456		1442
Male								
Total	7769	8202		1010		1290		5903
6 to 14	5855	6155	580	299	923	1007	4354	4850
15 to 17	1914	2048		712		283		1053
Female								
Total	7395	7885		625		3496		3765
6 to 14	5551	5911	394	212	1842	2323	3316	3376
15 to 17	1844	1974		413		1173		388

CLS 1999 (SIS)

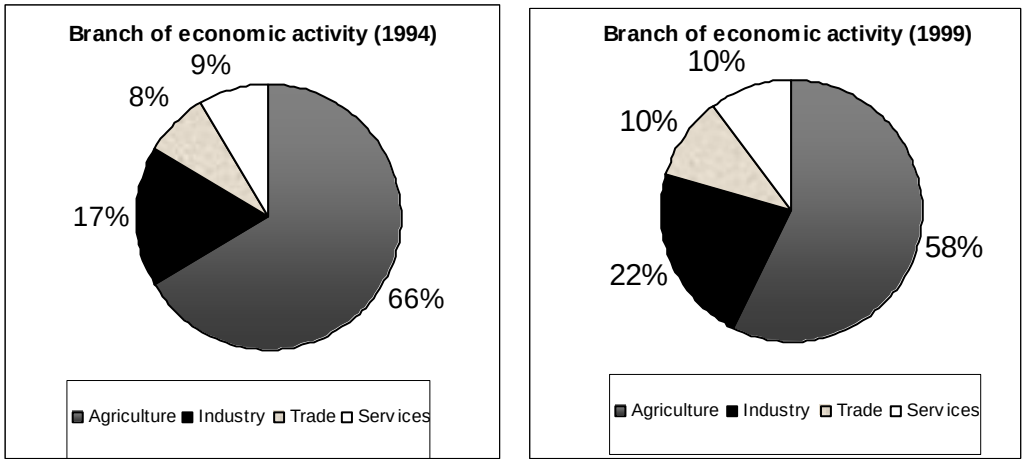
From a comparative perspective there is a noteworthy decline in the ratio of children in economic activity within the age group of 6-14 which can be interpreted as favourable development. According to the 1999 survey results, the number of children engaged in economic activity at this age group fell to 511,000 from 974,000. In other words while 8.5 percent of children (6-14) were engaged in economic activity in 1994, this ratio dropped to 4.2 percent in 1999. However, the ratio of children (6-14) employed in domestic chores increased 27.6 percent in 1999 from 24.2 percent in 1994. As a positive development it can be noted that while the total number of children (6-14) increased by 6 percent, the total number of working children (6-14) increased by only 3 percent.

As the 1994 and 1999 results imply; children (6-14) who were engaged in economic activity are more likely to be employed in rural areas. In 1995, of all the

working children (6-14), 80 percent were working in rural areas and in 1999, 74 percent were working in rural areas. The trend is on the contrary for domestic work. In 1994, of all the children who were engaged in domestic chorus, 57 percent were living in urban areas. This proportion rose to 62 percent in 1999 (SIS, 1999).

These findings were consistent with the allocation of working children by key sectors of economic activity. As seen in the figure, children were mostly employed in the agricultural sector in Turkey. According to the CLS 1999 results, 58 percent of children were employed in agriculture, while this figure was 66 percent in 1994. Working children mainly shifted from the agricultural sector to industry in 1999. However, agriculture still constituted the largest sector in which child labour is observed. A similar pattern is observed for the younger age group. As the 1999 CLS results imply, of all the children aged between 6 and 14, who were engaged in economic activity, 65.6 percent worked in the agricultural sector, 15.9 percent worked in industry, 6.7 percent worked in the trade sector and 11.9 percent worked in services (SIS, 1999).

Figure 4.1 Percentage of Children (6-17) Engaged in Economic Activity by Sectors



Data: CLS 1999 (SIS)

When the branches of economic activities are examined with respect to urban-rural areas according to 1999 results, it is seen that working children who live in rural

areas mostly (85 percent) worked in agriculture while the working children in urban areas are mainly (48 percent) in industry, followed by trade (25 percent) and services (23 percent).

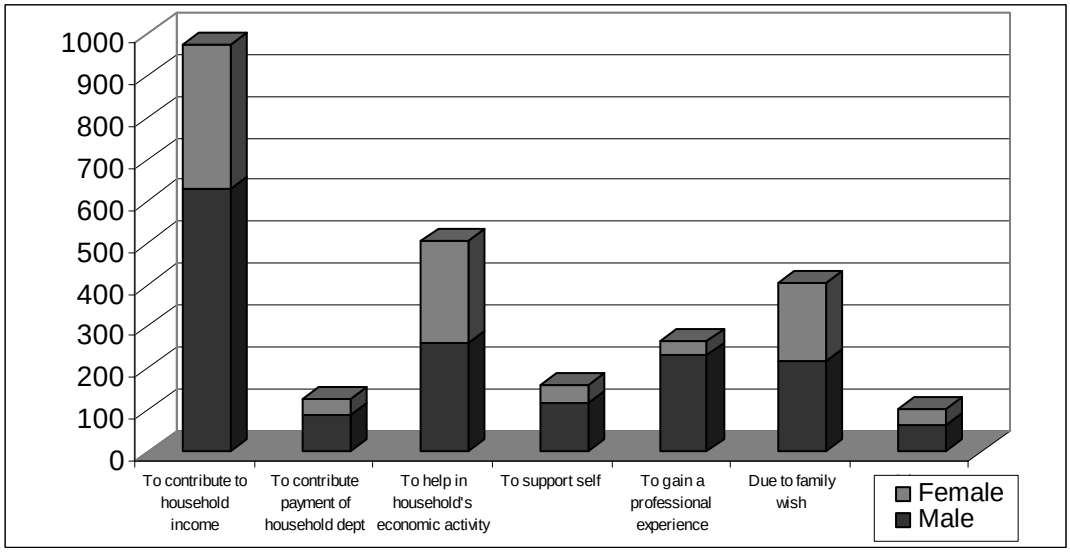
The findings also reveal the gender division of child labour (Table 1). In 1994, 33.2 percent of female children were engaged domestic chores while 7.1 percent of female children were employed in market oriented activities. For male children, these figures were recorded as 9.9 percent and 15.8 percent respectively. The increase in the proportion of children involved in household work in 1999 was quite striking for female children. The proportion of female children engaged in domestic tasks increased by 18.5 percent, while the corresponding increase was only 3.8 percent for male children. Another remarkable indication of gender division is seen in school enrolment rates. School enrolment rate for male children was recorded as 90.9 percent in 1999, while the corresponding figure for female children was 85.2 percent, indicating that families have a preference for the schooling of their sons.[21] As a favourable development it should be noted that the school enrolment rate of female children increased by 1.8 percent from 1994 to 1999.

According to the 1999 CLS, of all the children who attended the school, 29 percent were involved in household work while 2 percent were engaged in market oriented work. On the other hand, 39.4 percent of the children who did not attend school engaged in market work, and the corresponding figure was 32.9 percent for domestic tasks. As noted in Ertürk and Dayıoğlu (2004), these results hint a strong negative correlation between schooling and market work. In 1997, the compulsory education increased to 8 years and one of the most drastic drops in child employment was recorded for the age group of 12-13 in 1999. “It seems that increased schooling is

[21] Ertürk and Dayıoğlu (2004) present a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the 1994 and 1999 CLS results in terms of gender, education and child labour.

potentially important in explaining the decline in the employment of children in this age group" (Ertürk and Dayıoğlu, 2004: 104).

Figure 4.2 The Reasons of Child (6-17) Employment in Market Oriented Activities



Source: SIS (1999)

As seen in the figure, the most important reason for child employment in market oriented activities was stated as "to contribute to household income", followed by "to help in household's economic activity". Leaving the reasons of "gaining professional experience, family wish and other" besides, 69 percent of children indicated a "financial" reason for working. Another striking finding is that while 14.3 percent of male children remarked "gaining professional experience" as their reason of working, the corresponding figure is only 3 percent for female children.

Briefly speaking, although there seems to be a long way to go in the fight against child labour in Turkey, 1999 CLS results present a relatively favourable picture of child labour in Turkey compared to 1994. Overall we observe a decline in the proportion of child workers, and the average age at which children start work increased to 9.9 from 9.3. Gender bias is observed in both school enrolment rates and

types of work that children are engaged in, and financial difficulties seem to be the basic reason pushing children to the market.

4.5 The Legal Framework of Child Labour

The basic legal principle that protects working children in Turkey is Article 50 of the Turkish Constitution which states that "no one shall be required to perform work unsuited to his or her age, gender or capacity" and that "minors, women and persons with physical or mental disabilities shall enjoy social protection with regard to working conditions." With this article the Turkish Constitution guarantees the basic rights of working children and protects them from working under conditions that are unsuited to their age and capacity. Besides, the Labour Act, Public Hygiene Act, Primary Education Act, Apprenticeship Act, Vocational Training Act and Unions Act include sections and provisions related to child labour.

Right from the very beginning of ILO membership in 1932, Turkey has signed 56 ILO conventions, of which seven are directly and three indirectly related with child labour. As stated previously, the most important ones are Convention 138 on "Minimum Age for Employment" and Convention 182 on "The Worst Forms of Child Labour" which were ratified on 23 January 1998 and on 26 January 2001, respectively. The other ILO conventions that were ratified by Turkey are as follows: (i) Convention 15 on "Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers)" (1959); (ii) Convention 58 on "Minimum Age (Sea)" (1959); (iii) Convention 59 on "Minimum Age (Industry)" (1992); (iv) Convention 77 on "Medical Examination of Young Persons in Industry" (1983); (v) Convention 115 on "Radiation Protection" (1968); (vi) Convention 123 on "Minimum Age (Underground)" (1991); (vii) Convention 127 on "Maximum Weight" (1972).

The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was signed by the Turkish Government in 1990, ratified by the Turkish National Assembly in 1994 and entered into force after being published in the Official Gazette in 1995. According to Article 32 of the Convention "State parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development" and "states parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article". As Article 90 of the Constitution states, since "international agreements duly put into effect carry the force of law," all ratified ILO and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) conventions carry the force of law and Turkey is obliged to harmonize its existing legislation with those international conventions.

The Primary Education Act and the Labour Act can be given as examples of harmonization efforts and legal progress. The Primary Education Law was amended in 1997 and with this amendment, compulsory education increased to eight years. Now children between the ages of six and fourteen are supposed to be in school. The Labour Act No.1457, which had been enforced since 1971 was also amended and replaced by the Labour Act No. 4857 in 2003. With these amendments national legislation was harmonized with the ILO Conventions No.138 and 182 and the directives of the European Union No.24 on "Children's Rights" and No.32 on "Prohibition of Child Work and Protection of Young Workers" (ILO/IPEC and MLSS, 2005).

The European Social Charter (ERSC) which guarantees social and economic human rights is another international text that includes provisions on child labour. It

was adopted in 1961 and revised in 1996. Turkey ratified the charter in 1989 accepting 46 of the 72 paragraphs, also signed the protocol adding new rights in 1998, the revised European Social Charter and the protocol reforming the supervisory machinery in 2004. In the country surveys of the ERSC, extension of compulsory education to eight years and mandatory annual medical examinations for workers less than 18 years of age in Turkey were recorded as examples of progress.[22] However, the committee also listed a number of non-compliance cases in which progress is needed. For instance, it is stated that "provisions of the Labour Act concerning compulsory regular examinations of young workers do not cover all sectors of economy (the agricultural sector, in particular, is excluded)".

Within the framework of national legislation the rules and regulations on child labour are mainly clustered under the Labour Act No. 4857.[23] According to the Article 71 of the act "employment of children who have not completed the age of fifteen is prohibited", but "those children who have completed the full age of fourteen and their primary education may be employed in light works". The article also fixes the maximum working hours for children who completed their basic education and who do not attend school at seven hours a day and thirty five hours a week. Yet that period may be increased up to eight hours a day and forty hours a week for children who completed the age of fifteen. "The working hours during the education term of the children attending school may be two hours a day and ten hours a week maximum, outside the education hours". Article 72 prohibits employment of men before the age of eighteen and women at any age in underground or underwater positions, and Article 73 prohibits causing children and young people workers below the age of

[22]<http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/esc/5_survey_by_country/Turkey_Factsheet_2006.asp#TopOfPage>

[23] < http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/eurpro/ankara/legislation/law4857.htm>

eighteen to work at nigh time in industrial work. According to Article 85, "young employees who have not completed the age of sixteen years and children must not be employed on arduous or dangerous work",[24] and article 53 states that "for employees below the age of eighteen the length of annual leave with pay must not be less than twenty days". Lastly, Article 87 requires medical certificate for employees aged fewer than eighteen before being admitted to any employment and "until they have reached the age of eighteen, such employees shall be subject to medical examinations at least every six months".

The Public Hygiene Act which includes provisions on minimum age and maximum working hours for children is dated from 1930. According to Chang (2002) the first "serious" regulation of child labour was undertaken in 1900 in Spain, in 1909 in Belgium, in between 1904-14 in the USA and in 1925 in Denmark. It can be concluded that Turkey, since the first years of the Republic has more or less been keeping up with international (western) standards in terms of legislation. It has signed and ratified relevant international conventions and tried to harmonize its legislation with them. The major problem that Turkey encounters in its fight against child labour is not lack of appropriate laws but the lack of proper application/implementation of them[25].

As one of the drawbacks of legislation, it can be noted that laws governing child labour were covered in different and sometimes incompatible legislation (Akşit et al., 2001) and this makes it harder to see the whole picture of the legal framework on child labour in the country. This legal disorganization and mismatched articles

[24] The categories of work deemed to be arduous or dangerous are specified by a regulation issued by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, after taking the opinion of the Ministry of Health.

[25] For a detailed discussion of this argument, see Chapter Four and section 5.10 Policy Implementation

should be replaced by a single coherent and comprehensive law covering all rules and regulations related with child labour.

Similar criticism can be made regarding the institutional set up. As the Ministries of Education, Labour and Social Security and the Social Services Child Protection Institution have the authority, to varying degrees, to oversee the working and protection of children, the institutional authority regarding the enforcement of the related laws is divided (Akşit et al., 2001: 27). If the institutional disorganization and authoritative dispersion are amended progress in putting laws in practice may also be achieved.

4.6 Various Forms of Child Labour in Turkey

The following sections will present the major forms of child labour in Turkey and synthesis the existing literature on the issue. Children are mainly employed in the agricultural sector as well as in industry, domestic labour and in the streets. There are also children who are involved in worst forms of child labour such as prostitution.

As will be shown despite the laws and regulations that are in harmony with international standards, child labour still prevails in Turkey in its both traditional and recent forms. And the legal mechanisms which have been addressed previously fall short of providing a solution to the problem since they are detached from the socio-economic conditions of the country.

One of the striking points on the issue of child labour is the lack of adequate resources and comprehensive studies on major forms of child labour. Although child labour is heavily deployed into the clothing sector, there is no scholarly study that centres on the children working in garment manufacturing. Consequently, this chapter

lacks a particular section that focuses on children working in the workshops of clothing sector, highlighting the immediate need for further studies on this topic.

4.6.1 Child Labour in the Agricultural Sector

Although the greatest number of working children is in the agricultural sector, there is a limited number of studies covering this area. According to the research project on Child Labour in Rural Turkey (1993), undertaken by the Development Foundation of Turkey (DFT), child labour was a vital part of survival strategies of rural families in the conditions of a market economy (Ertürk and Dayıoğlu, 2004: 13). The research indicated regional diversities in the patterns of child labour, depending on "the integration of the village in the labour market", "the internal dynamics of the household" and "the age and the sex differences of the children" (ibid.).

> While 'work' was generally considered to be important for children as means of 'disciplining' and 'educating' the young, the specific pattern of allocating the time of children between school and work varied according to the resource base of the household. For poor families at the lowest end of the security scale, the only flexibility in their resource base was the household workforce, which can be drawn upon to the fullest. In such a context, the use of the labour of children in paid work became unavoidable for the survival of poor families. … Families with a sustainable resource base placed a high priority on schooling their children as opposed to work… (ibid: 13)

As the investment in education has no return; families try to have their children work as soon as possible especially in rural areas and education becomes a middle/high-class extravagance.

The study of Gülbuçuk et al. (2003) in Adana found out that working children's time-use patterns are very much engrained in the agricultural production cycle, especially when a child joins the family as seasonal migrant labour cited in Ertürk and Dayıoğlu, 2004. Regular school attendance is not possible for those children since the cotton harvest is particularly intense from May to October. This

finding of the study is confirmed by a recent statement of Halil Ömer Coşkun, the assistant director of education in Şanlıurfa. Çoşkun remarked that 2,782 children, who make 10 percent of all the children in primary education in the province, left school during March and June to return back by the beginning of November (BIA News Centre, 2005). 11,189 of those children were girls while 17,593 were boys.

The Siverek district of Şanlıurfa offered to give financial aid (100 YTL for primary school children and 150 YTL for high school children) to those families who send their children not to the field but to school (NTVMSNBC, 2006b). There are also other projects undertaken by ILO, TESK and Türk-İş (The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions) that make a positive contribution to the fight against child labour although of limited influence.

Mechanization of agriculture, increasing schooling (8-year compulsory education) and migration from rural areas are the most stated factors behind the decline in child labour in agriculture. However it should be noted that migration does not lead to the elimination of child labour but change in sectors, while compulsory education cannot by itself result in the decline of child labour.

4.6.2 The Past and Present of Domestic Child Labour

There is a clear gender division of labour in domestic work in Turkey. As indicated before, the 1994 CLS recorded that 7.1 percent of female children were in market-oriented activities while 33.2 percent were involved in domestic work. Corresponding proportions were recorded as 9.9 percent and 15.8 percent respectively in the 1999 CLS.

In these surveys household chores are considered as “non-economic activities carried out by a household member in his/her own home. According to the ILO

identification however, "child domestic labour" refers to situations where children perform domestic tasks in the home of a third party or employer that is exploitative" (ILO/IPEC, 2004). Helping-hand kinds of tasks, which are rendered in one's own home, are differentiated from child domestic labour which is done in the home of a "third party" and is exploitative in nature. Although this differentiation is necessary, the fact that many children's labour is being exploited in their own houses goes unnoticed.[26] This form of labour is even harder to identify because it is not only concealed behind closed doors but also through the "privacy of family". Supported by the traditional gender roles and social acceptability, especially female children performing heavy domestic labour is disguised in the form of lending a helping-hand.

The ILO/ IPEC project report prepared by Özbay (1999) provides insight into the phenomenon and historical background of the traditional forms of domestic child labour in Turkey. In Ottoman society slaves, *evlatlık*s and waged servants were the three types of domestic labour. Although the demise of slavery as an institution took place gradually without much resistance, "slavery" itself did not disappear but was transformed to other practices, particularly to *evlatlık.*[27] *Evlatlık* means literally adopted child, who were mainly girls. They started to work as early as 6-7 years old; until age 12 to 13 they mainly engaged in light work and played with the children of the house. Özbay (1999) states that, the spread of *evlatlık* was related with intention of the state to protect children, mostly orphans, who were in need of care due to wars, epidemics, migration and poverty. "Orphanages in Anatolia were closed and children were sent to Istanbul by train in 1922. Girl orphans gathered on the station, to be selected by families as *evlatlık*s" (Özbay, 1999: 20). According to Özbay, no matter

[26] For different kinds of typologies on domestic child labour, see Rodgers and Standing (1982) and Fyfe (1989).

[27] *Evlatlık* is used to refer a child taken by a family to use her/his service.

how good intentions it carried, mass distribution of girls as free servants contributed to the degeneration of the *evlatlık* institution. That is because the policy reinforced the domestic servant aspect of the institution while reduced the status of *evlatlık*.

Ali Neyzi, who was born in 1927 as the child of a prominent Turkish family, included a chapter in his biography (1983) about *evlatlık*s in his house. His memories verify what is known about *evlatlık*s today. According to Neyzi in general *evlatlık*s did not receive any salary. Their father was given a sum of money for once at the outset. In return for their work, they were given clothes, accommodation, food and tips. They were not allowed to go out or to travel their villages in order to visit their parents. "Although the source of the term, *evlatlık* carries the meaning of "adoption", in practice a servant class was being created. … In brief, these girls were forced to work all day for a mere pittance" (1983: 65, 69).

Another striking point that Neyzi mentions in a rather plain manner is that "Sexual training of 'little gentlemen' and their relations with sexuality were left to the *evlatlık*s naturally". Neyzi does not allude to any form of "sexual abuse". Instead, he implies a kind of "natural and common discovery of sex between teenagers. Of course to what extent this "discovery" was based on both parties' consent remains unanswered.

As a traditional form of domestic child labour, *evlatlık*s were protected by tradition. The owners of *evlatlık*s also had some responsibilities toward the girls. The family was supposed to have their *evlatlık*s married when they grew up, prepare their dowry, cover marriage expenses and even give her a house.[28] Still there were striking similarities concerning the treatment of domestic slaves and *evlatlık*s. In fact the

[28] Interestingly, this process of "emancipation" through marriage was named as "çırak çıkarılmak", "getting out as apprentices" (Neyzi, 1983: 65).

custom of having *evlatlık*s was forbidden by a law prohibiting all forms of slavery, in 1964, although the practice was already fading away by this time (Özbay, 1999: 9).

With the demise of *evlatlık,* domestic child labour once again transformed itself. According to Özbay's study, the average age of children engaged in household chores increased up to 12-14 years old. In general, working mothers use child labour[29] and the relationship is more of a form of "business relation" in which the employer carries no private responsibility, such as assuring her marriage, and the children are not kept in house for long years as it used to be. Unpaid domestic labour no longer exists unless the child is a close relative or daughter of the family. In sum although it has been long since *evlatlık* has declined, cultural values and traditional gender roles that support the use of female child labour in domestic tasks still prevail.

4.6.3 Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship is another traditional form of child labour in Turkey. Its roots can be traced back to the twelfth century, to the Ahilik system.[30] The term "Ahi" means friend, brother, valiant. Ahilik was a craftsmen's guild with a strict standard of morality and ethical and religious principles, and it aimed at protecting its members' mutual interests and having its code of conduct followed by its members. Progress of apprentices to craftsmen was realized within the rules of the Ahilik institution, in which foremen were responsible not only for transferring of their skills to their apprentices but also for the apprentices' behaviour in all respects. In some cases a foreman could be punished because of the wrongdoing of his apprentice.

[29] This indicates the fact that even in the countries in which women's right movements have been successful to some extent; this does not guarantee equal female empowerment for everyone. In fact, empowerment of one might mean the exclusion of another.

[30] For more detail on the "Ahilik System" see < http://www.tesob.org.tr/ahi.htm> and Ekinci (1990).

Today, apprenticeship is a legal status whose rules are governed by the Apprenticeship Law which recognizes apprentices as "students" not "workers".[31] According to the law, apprentices are supposed to go to a Vocational Education Centre (VEC) a day in a week and work for five days. In order to be enrolled to VEC and work as a legal apprentice one has to have his/her primary education and should be over 14 and under 19. Apprentices have a right to take one month's paid leave and their social security premiums are paid by the state. Ministry of National Education (MONE) statistics (MONE, 2006) records that during the 2003-2004 educational year there were 333,255 apprentices registered in VECs. This number declined to 309,962 in 2004-2005, of whom 262,605 were male and 47,357 were female. Although data is not available on the exact number of "informal apprentices", it is widely accepted that the number of working children in industries are higher than what the records indicates.

In their research on the apprenticeship system in Turkey, Köksal and Lordoğlu (1993) argued that traditional forms of apprenticeship relations in the Turkish industry were being dissolved. "Thus, pseudo-apprenticeship and the abuse of children as cheap and unprotected labour seem to be growing in urban areas" (Köksal and Lordoğlu, 1993: 9). As stated above the main motive behind the traditional apprenticeship system was the transfer of crafts to the younger generations and integration of young apprentices to the system gradually. According to the findings of their field survey, based on 147 interviews with employers (or foremen) and working children in the metal working, textile and clothing sectors in a district of Istanbul,

[31] There is an ongoing debate about the status of apprentices. On the one hand as they receive training and working is part of their training process they should be regarded as students. On the other hand they receive theoretical training only one day and they literally "work" five days in a week. The Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions (Hak-İş) for instance, argues that it would be for the good of apprentices to be recognized as workers as they can have union rights (Hak- İş, 2000). The status of student apart from not removing the problems of working children, might lead to less protective working conditions for them. For a detailed discussion of these issues, see Hak-İş (2000) and Kahramanoğlu (1996).

"skill/craft transfer" aspect of apprenticeship has faded away, while social acceptability of apprenticeship remained. This led to the exploitation of cheap child labour disguised in the form of apprenticeship. In the survey, 49.2 percent of the employers mentioned "errands, cleaning, small help and lubrication" as their basic reason of employing apprentices, while only 15.2 percent cited "teaching and training apprentices" as the reason for hiring them. Apprentices also presented a similar attitude. Their ties with foremen were very weak and limited to a short period of time-until joining compulsory military service at most. On the other hand, the basic factors for the employers that influenced the choice of apprentice were their "attitudes and behaviour" by 44.4 percent, followed by "the skill and knowledge of apprentice" by 18.5 percent. Köksal and Lordoğlu interpreted this finding as conservation of traditional expectations of respect, loyalty and good manners.

According to Köksal and Lordoğlu (1993) the basic reason behind working as apprentice was not poverty. Lack of faith in the system of education and the belief that schooling would not provide anything unless one completed higher education, were the major motivating factors to work as an apprentices. 37 of the 52 respondents stated that they had started to work in order to learn a skill/craft, while only 8 of them said that they worked because of financial needs. In accordance with that, when asked whether they give their earnings to their parents or not, 10.4 percent said that they gave all their money to parents while 30.8 percent kept it all. 28.9 percent retained some part their earnings for themselves.

Köksal and Lordoğlu reported that 33 of the surveyed children left school willingly, while 19 of them "had to leave".

According to the results of a TİSK report based on a survey of 174 working children in 1994, in a district of Istanbul, 39 percent cited not liking the school as the

reasons for starting work. 29 percent wanted to acquire skills/gain a trade and 23 percent started to work as a result of financial difficulties (2000: 36).

Hak-İş and ILO/IPEC conducted a survey as a mini project in Sakarya where, 3,000 children working in industry and 7,000 in other fields such as production units, primarily clothing in 1996 (but the first publication of the report was in 2000). According to the survey answered by 204 working children, 25.5 percent of the children started working at 14 years old, while corresponding proportions for children aged 11, 12 and 13 years old were respectively, 13.7, 19.2 and 19.2 percent. 84.3 percent of children only had primary education while 15.7 percent graduated from middle school. Corresponding distribution for employers is very similar. 84 percent graduated from primary school while 12 percent graduated from middle school. 74.7 percent of the children declared their monthly household income to be between 10 and 30 million Turkish liras, the amount just lower being the monthly net minimum wage for an individual worker in 1996.[32] 57 percent of the children stated that they would have continued education if they had had financial possibilities.

According to the findings, main working areas of the children were auto engine, chassis and painting industries. One of the striking findings of the survey was the children's and their employers' lack of knowledge about Apprenticeship Training Centers and Health Centers. The report proposed effective awareness- raising efforts regarding this issue (Hak-İş and ILO/IPEC, 2000).

The report of Hak-İş and ILO/IPEC also stated that there is a need to meet children's accommodation, transportation, nutrition, health, education and cultural needs. According to the report, one of the problems faced by children from rural areas

[32]Monthly minimum wage for the employees at the age of 16 and over, in September 1996 was 17,010 million liras and 11,339 million liras net. Corresponding amounts for the ones under 16 years old were 14,400 million liras gross and 9,669 million liras net. See,
<http://www.calisma.gov.tr/istatistik/cgm/yillar_brut_asgari_ucret.htm >

is the lack of accommodation facilities. Children from rural areas encounter difficulties in daily transportation. As "this situation leads to the impairment of health, and children become unproductive and unsuccessful"; the report suggests that dormitories be built at the industrial zones of Sakarya. This seemed to be very a simplistic policy suggestion. Clustering people to dormitories, separating them from their family environments –even for short periods- might be a psychologically destructive policy even for adults. The idea of constructing dormitories for working children seemed to be more concerned with "productivity and success" of children than their psychological well-being.

There is a generally accepted view that child labour can only be eliminated in the long run, hence, unions and confederations mainly focus on the betterment of the working conditions of children. Although it is not realistic to expect the demise of child labour soon, giving all the attention on creating "the best working conditions" for children might be destructive as well. As seen in the example of the Hak-İş report, "productivity" might take priority over "psychology" and mere short run focus might lead to constant postponement of social rights in the name of economic urgency.

Another comprehensive project was undertaken within the context of IPEC by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MLSS). The report presents the findings based on a survey conducted with 150 working children, from the clothing, auto repair and shoe-making sectors and 50 families of working children in İzmir. Some of the findings of the report (ILO/IPEC and MLSS, 2005) were similar to previous reports' findings. According to the report, 38 percent of children start to work at the age of 12-13. Corresponding proportion was 39.2 in the Hak-iş, IPEC study. A striking finding of the MLSS report was that, 70 percent of children started to work at the ages of 10-13, and 80 percent of the working children during the interviews were supposed to be

in school. Although extension of education to eight years is praised as a very positive development, this proportion indicates that it is not enough by itself to eliminate child labour.

The ILO/IPEC and MLSS study reported high turnover rate for working children. The first three reasons for quitting job were difficulty of the tasks, being unable to receive their money and bad treatment. Similarly, Köksal and Lordoğlu (1993) stated bad treatment and unpaid salaries as the main reasons of quitting.

One of the differences in the ILO/IPEC and MLSS report (2005) compared to Köksal and Lordoğlu's study is that poverty seemed to play a more important role leading children to join the labour force. More than half of the 150 working children (56 percent) stated financial troubles as their basic reason to work while for one third of them learning skills/crafts/profession was the main motive. Correspondingly, 56 percent stated that they gave all their earnings to their parents, while 24 percent keeps a quartet of it and gives the rest. 24 percent earn less than 40 million liras, 32.7 earn 41-60 million liras and 27.3 percent earn 61-80 million liras monthly.[33]

Köksal and Lordoğlu (1993) stated that children work no less than 9.5 to 10 hours in a day. Similarly, according to ILO/IPEC and MLSS findings, 46 percent of the children work 9 to 10 hours a day, while 38 percent work 11 to 12 hours and 8 percent work more than 12 hours. An interesting point is that, 62 percent of children expressed that they "never" thought that their working hours are long, while 19.3 percent have "always" thought that they work for long hours. 66 percent of the children have "never" thought that their working conditions are heavy and 86 percent have "never" thought the attitude of the foremen is negative. 17 percent was "very content" with their jobs, while 59 percent was "content" with it (ILO/IPEC and

[33] Monthly minimum wage for the employees at the age of 16 and under, in September 2000 was 101, 250 million liras gross and 74,497 million liras net. See, <http://www.calisma.gov.tr/istatistik/cgm/yillar_brut_asgari_ucret.htm>

MLSS, 2005). The children might get used to the conditions they have been subjected to and they might not express their negative feelings with their jobs. We may not conclude that they were happy with their jobs, because, although children indicated very positive attitudes towards their work, only 20 percent said that they would like to continue do these jobs in the future. They rather wanted to be architects, engineers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, police or officers.

According to the survey conducted among 50 parents of working children, 84 percent stated that they would have rather sent their children to school, if they had had financial means (ILO/IPEC and MLSS, 2005). Families would have preferred their daughters to become doctor, nurse, teacher or banker; while they would have preferred their sons to be teacher, doctor, officer, police, lawyer or engineer. Although 50 families carry no representative value to make generalizations, it is still remarkable to see that the families overwhelmingly preferred their children to study instead of work.

Apprentices in Turkey are mainly boys who work for very long hours for small amount of money. Although they have not expressed negative feelings towards their foremen, the traditional foreman-apprentice relation seemed to be replaced by short term business relation. The major driving forces behind children's decision to work as apprentices are acquiring skills, learning trade, lack of faith in the education system and poverty. However it should also be noted that the quest to learn skills/trade must also be related to the lack confidence about the future and this may be linked to limited economic means. Children and young people carry anxieties and concerns about the future. They want to "guarantee" their future income earning skills as soon as possible. Also, it should be noted that education delivers returns only if it is completed at a higher level with a formal qualification that is obtained at the end of

the process, and not always even in that case. That requires a very expensive university exam preparation period and more expensive additional two or four years of education. Had the chances of receiving a university education been higher and the cost lower, then children and their parents might have been more willing to pursue the dream of becoming teachers, engineers or lawyers.

4.6.4 Children Working in the Streets

Being widespread and the most visible form of child labour, children working in the streets have received a great amount of media coverage and academic interest in Turkey. One of the reasons of this concern towards working children is that they are all labelled as "street children", which is a very simplistic and pejorative term, and they are almost always confused with children living in the streets. Therefore they are frequently mentioned in the media whenever a child (mostly the ones living on the street) is involved in criminal acts. "Street children" as noted, is a widely used expression not only by media and ordinary people but also by politicians and academics. For instance the minister of state for women and children's affairs, Nimet Çubukçu, declared a decrease in the number of "street children", though "it has not been felt yet", she added (Küçükşahin, 2005).

Children working and living in the streets are classified under three different categories, depending on the reasons why they are in the street, the time they spend outside and the relationship with their parents. The third group of children, the term "street children" usually refers to this group, are the ones who "live in the streets". They try to satisfy their basic daily needs in the streets, have no functional family ties and are mostly drug addicts. According to the UNICEF terminology those children are

identified as “children of the streets”. They are in other words, children “living” in the streets” not children “working” in the streets.

The first two groups include children who work in the streets. The children in the first group have strong and regular ties with their families. As one clear distinction, they go back to home every night after work. They use streets only for work and for a short period of time. Many of them continue their education. UNICEF names this group as ‘children on street’. Lastly, the second group lies between the first two. This group of children carries high risk of moving into the third group and beginning to live in the streets. Accordingly UNICEF categorises them as “candidates for street”. These children have weak and irregular family ties, going home only from time to time. They spend most of the day on streets and can hardly attend school on a regular basis. This classification is generally accepted by Turkish researchers also (Karatay, 1999a; Altıntaş, 2003; Akşit et al., 2001),[34] but it should be emphasized that the lines between the groups of children cannot be drawn strictly and conclusively.

The tasks that children working in the streets mainly perform are shoe-polishing, selling tissue paper/water/chewing gum, selling simit, Koran verses, scavenging and cleaning windshields. They give their earnings to their parents, particularly to their mothers. As stated by Altıntaş (2003) children who sell goods that are not based on demand such as chewing gum, tissue paper or religious materials constitute the youngest age group and girls are usually found in this category. This claim is consistent with the findings of Karatay (1999a). In his research on children working on street in Beyoğlu, where almost all children sell tissue paper, he found out that 30.1 percent of children were between the ages of 6 and 8, while 30.6 percent were between the ages of 9 and 10. On the other hand in his research covering all of

[34] The fieldwork for these suited was carried out in: Beyoğlu, Istanbul (Karatay, 1999b), Istanbul (Karatay, 1999b), Ankara (Altıntaş, 2003) and Diyarbakır, İstabul, Adana (Akşit et al., 2001).

Istanbul, 72 percent of the children were between the ages of 13 and 15. 48 percent of all these children were involved in shoe-polishing while 14 percent sold tissue paper (Karatay, 1999b). Girls represented 38.8 percent of children working in Beyoğlu while, the corresponding proportion declined to 9 percent in al off Istanbul. There may be two basic reasons behind this age/gender distribution. Since selling un-demanded goods is not so far from mendicancy, younger children who can arouse pity have more chance of earning money. Second, selling tissue paper/chewing gum etc does not require high physical effort.

75 percent of children working in Beyoğlu stayed in school. This might stem from the fact that working in the streets enables flexible working times and the children are usually aged very young, still within the period of compulsory schooling. The proportion of children staying in school declines for overall Istanbul. Akşit et al. (2001) found out that school the rate of school attendance is only 46.4 (in Istanbul) and according to Karatay (1999b) 46 percent of children dropped out of school within the period of compulsory education. Consistent with the findings about children working in other sectors, it can be observed that compulsory education by itself can neither eliminate child labour nor guarantee school attendance.

One of the factors that pull children from education and push them to streets is linguistic problems. As stated in Akşit et al., "Many of the children of migrants do not speak Turkish fluently, Turkish being their second language. Hence these children are very likely to struggle to keep pace in reading and writing exercises and eventually to lag behind the class" (2001: 28). This is related with the fact that the majority of children working in the streets are the children of Kurdish families who migrated from eastern and southeastern Turkey within the past 15 years (Altıntaş 2003, Karatay 1999a, Akşit et al., 2001.) The three basic reasons behind migration were financial

difficulties (mostly unemployment in the region), social and political unrest (war with PKK) and internal displacement.

Poverty (Buğra and Keyder, 2003; Altıntaş, 2003; Akşit et al. 2003; Hatun et al., 2003; Can, 2002; Karatay, 1999a and 1999b; Kulca and Korkmazlar, 2003), recent migration and internal displacement (Yükseker, 2006; Altıntaş, 2003; Akşit et al., 2003; Karatay, 1999a and 1999b) are often cited as the basic reasons behind the high incidence of child labour in the streets. Another frequently mentioned reason is family abuse. Altıntaş states that "poverty, family abuse, urbanization and migration are generally accepted as the basic reasons to explain the incidence of street children" (2003: 42). Altıntaş however also expresses more clearly that family abuse is mainly relevant for "children of street" and "candidates of street" (2003: 34).

The perspective that emphasizes family abuse is dominant especially in the rhetoric of state officials.[35] For instance, in the presentation of "The Project for the Protection of Children Working on Street and Children Living on Streets", the governorship of Istanbul defines children working on streets as "the children who are forced to work in the streets, public squares, bazaars or shopping centres, who are used as a tool to make a living by their parents, relatives, expedient individuals or groups" (Governorship of Istanbul, 2004). In its website, the governorship of Istanbul mentions the families of working children in the following way: "…these families, in order to rescue themselves from the unfavourable conditions they are in, force their children aged fewer than 18 in the crowded regions of the metropolis, leave them defenceless against any kind of physical and social risks".[36]

[35] In fact the application of The Law on Minor Offences is also practical proof that the governorship of Istanbul puts the blame on families. This issue will be covered in the next section.

[36]http://www.Istanbul.gov.tr/%5CPortals%5CProjects%5CSokakCocuklari%5CDocs%5Csokaktayc_aral%C4%B1k04.ppt

Similarly the report of the GNA Committee investigating street children also states that "families, expedient individuals or groups use children as a tool to maintain their living by making them work and beg in the streets".[37] According to the report, the reasons that push children to streets are: (i) unemployment; (ii) migration (deficiencies in agricultural polices, terror, poverty); (iii) lack of education; (iv)inadequacy of social security network; (v) having too many children and inadequacy in family planning; (vi) informal housing (gecekondulaşma); (vi) breakdown of families, violence at home, negligence and abuse; (v) development gap among the regions and inequality in income distribution".[38]

It is not only the state which sees family abuse as one of the reasons behind children working in the streets: Küntay (2005), after stating that the most basic reason behind children's working in the streets is the poverty of their families, remarks that:

> It has been observed that, no matter whether employed or not, most of the fathers were not very eager to work or to continue to work since they would not be able to earn as much money as they would by sending their children to streets to sell things. For them the easiest way to maintain their living is to send their children to main avenues, make the passers-by feel pity for them and collect money. While the main concern should have been acting in accordance with the principle of "acting in the best interest of child", what is significant for the father is the contribution of a child to family income. During the interviews, fathers were told that the streets are crime-prone environments that children could be exposed to on the streets. However, it is understood that although they were more or less informed about the threats and dangers, waiting their children, they ignored them, did not take any measures and turned their back to realities (Küntay, 2005).

There is a widespread belief that "family abuse" to some extent, if not all, answers the question why children work in the streets. An interesting point here is, in the case of apprenticeship or domestic labour, the literature does not mention family abuse as in the case of children working in the streets. This might be related with the

[37] http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/sokak_cocuklari_kom/tutanaklar/sokakrapor1.htm

[38] http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/sokak_cocuklari_kom/sokakrapor3.htm

fact that "street work" is regarded as a much riskier and inappropriate form of work for a child. Also, in some regions of Istanbul children working in the streets earn amounts of money that are enough to sustain their families. Additionally both domestic labour and apprenticeship, at least in theory, carry an "educative" purpose. Whereas working in the streets (especially the ones who sell goods that are not particularly demanded by the buyers such as Kuran verses) is usually regarded as "purely short-term financial gain oriented". Obviously, some forms of child labour (girls' domestic labour, boys' apprenticeship) are more socially acceptable than others.

To the extent that the state blames parents, parents also blame the state. As reported in Karatay's study (2003) the parents of working children in Beyoğlu point out the state as the reason behind their children working on the street (81.7 percent), followed by the society (63.3 percent) and themselves (55 percent). Aware of the risks and dangers in the streets, 67.9 percent of parents (especially mothers) monitor their children working in Beyoğlu (Karatay, 1999a). This proportion declines to 41 percent for children working in overall Istanbul, where the average age rises to 13-15 (Karatay, 1999b).

If "family abuse" is a factor that is overemphasized by the state, internal displacement or forced migration is the one that is mostly ignored.[39] However, there are a number of recent studies that display the relation between child labour and internal displacement. Altıntaş (2003) states that children who work as shoe polishers, scavengers and tissue paper sellers in the streets of Ankara are mostly children of

[39] "Between 1984 and 1999 forced internal displacement of Kurds took place in the south-east in the course of the conflict between the Turkish armed forces and PKK. Although the existence of the problem was officially acknowledged in 2002 and a compensation law enacted, the extent of the traumas and socio-economic devastation that the families suffered still do not get the attention it deserves. For more about internal displacement in Turkey, see Kurban, Çelik and Yükseker (2006); and (Kurban, Yükseker, Çelik, Ünalan and Aker (2006).

displaced families. According to Yükseker (2006b) in order to fight poverty that stems from internal displacement families utilize child labour as a form of survival strategy. After stating that many displaced families lean on the income of their children for living, Şen (2002) notes that the contribution of children becomes very vital in the case of extreme poverty. Families were forced to migrate without making necessary planning and preparation, leaving their wealth behind (animals, property, and land). Sending children out to sell tissue paper is fast, easy and an income yielding solution that needs no capital investment. So it seems to be an immediate poverty fighting strategy. However, as children get older and lose their "qualification" to earn money in the streets, they find employment in other sectors. The research of Başak Culture and Art Foundation (2004) on internal displacements and its effects on children and young people indicates that of the 758 children they interviewed between the ages of 13 and 18, 220 worked and 16 both worked and went to school. 70.3 percent of those working children were employed in clothing workshops. The problem of internal displacement and its effects on children is an important area of social study which is mainly uncovered.

4.6.5 Worst Forms of Child Labour in Turkey

It is very difficult to conduct research on the issue of the worst forms of child labour in any part of the world and Turkey is not an exception. Sources on this issue hardly exist and the ones that we have are usually pieces of journalistic efforts. This section gathers that pieces of information and available studies on the worst forms of child labour in Turkey. Depending on the existing research and international records, we can safely argue that there has been no systematic and widespread usage of children in worst forms of child labour in Turkey.

As one of the most intolerable and abusive form of child labour, juvenile prostitution has a highly invisible character because of serious punitive sanctions and social reaction against it. Consequently there are very limited of sources and information about child labour in prostitution in Turkey. Yet the piece of information that is available reveals the fact that there are a growing number of victims of this worst form of child labour in Turkey.

Sümbül (2005) researched the sector of prostitution in Diyarbakır and conducted interviews with both prostitutes and pimps. He found out that the ages of women in the sector of prostitution ranges from 13 to 45. Disguised as a consumer during a telephone conversation with a pimp, Sümbül was readily offered a "young virgin". One striking argument of the book was that the great proportion of children in the prostitution sector is constituted by rural migrants. A very striking example of this was the case of two sisters aged 15 and 16, who had migrated to Batman when their village was evacuated during the fight against the PKK. At the age of 12 and 13, after being raped by a police officer whom they met in the queue for food aid,[40] the two sisters were "sold" to approximately 2,000 people in three years. The children claimed that among their "consumers" there were politicians, attorneys, police, and public officers.

Küntay and Erginsoy conducted a field research in 1998 in Istanbul and got insight into teenage female sex workers (TFSW) through in-depth interviews with 30 participants between the ages of 14 and 18. In their research, Küntay and Erginsoy (2005) identified the clothing sector as a transit sector to prostitution. After stating that prostitution should not be regarded as a sector that anyone can willingly work, they pointed out abuse and ignorance of parents/families as the major driving forces

[40] Sending children to food aid lines is a common practice as it is found embarrassing for adults to be seen in the queue because of the social stigma attached to it.

leading girls to prostitution: “The interviews with the TFSW revealed how their parents ignored and failed in performing their primary duties and highlighted the various unfavourable familial conditions and pressure imposed upon the children” (Küntay, 2002: 347). In addition to that, patriarchal control and the importance of virginity of the unmarried girls are also factors behind juvenile prostitution. Considering the fact that maiden virginity is associated with the honour of family, loss of virginity is one of the important reasons of absconding of young girls from their houses. Erginsoy and Küntay noted that TFSWs also internalised those cultural expectations and they expressed ‘shame and guilt’ in their responses. This led to distorted perceptions of one’s self and the deeply rooted low self esteem. Combined with intolerable living conditions and lack of future expectations, TFSWs showed great tendency towards chemical substance abuse, self-harm and self mutilation.

As stated above there is no systematic/scientific research or any academic study on the issue of worst forms of child labour apart from the ones stated above. There are only pieces of information available in newspapers which make it possible to point out the existence of some worst forms of child labour in Turkey, although it does not provide room for any generalizations or credible/valid conclusions. Two criminal cases of child pornography were covered in the media in March and June 2006 (NTVMSNBC, 2006a). There are also of news children who are sold to Istanbul gangs to be “trained” and used as thieves (Radikal, 2006).

The examples can be multiplied. However, as stated, available research on worst forms of child labour is probably the weakest of all and there is still a wide area that is not covered.

4.7 Concluding Remarks

The chapter discussed the phenomenon of child labour in the Turkish context. As noted in the first section, the incidence of child labour has historical roots and a favourable social attitude towards working children seem to be very much in line with the social understanding of childhood. However the number of studies on the issue is very limited and there is a strong need for further research.

The relevant laws and regulations on child labour are in harmony with international/Western standards to a great extent. Turkey signed major international treaties and conventions on child labour which are binding legal instruments according to the Constitution. In short, not a lack proper legislative structure, but failure in enforcement and implementation of the relevant laws is the major drawback in the fight against child labour.

Why can the laws not be enforced? As I argued in the previous chapters, laws should not be considered detached from the socio-economic and cultural realities of the society. Similarly, it is plausible to argue that in the Turkish case the laws are above the socio-economic standards and cultural environment of the society. With respect to socio-economic standards we can briefly state that families of working children are mostly crowded families who suffer from poverty. Additionally migration stemming from rural poverty, unemployment and political unrest continues to pour migrant families' children to the labour market in metropolitan cities. In rural areas schooling options are very limited and education does not bring high returns. In urban areas on the other hand, education is a very expensive investment that many families cannot afford to provide for their children without resorting to their labour. In terms of the cultural environment, the modern idea of childhood and the disgrace of child labour for being detrimental to the wellbeing of children is a fairly new idea in Turkey

and there is a widespread social consensus on favouring some kinds of child labour, particularly apprenticeship for boys and domestic chores for girls. As long as the positive social attitude and socio-economic determinants of child labour continue, the legal standards would remain too high to be attained. Accordingly, I researched the problems and drawbacks in implementation of the laws in my fieldwork and I will elaborate these in detail in the next chapter.

As shown, child labour prevails as an extensive and historical problem in Turkey. For instance, the roots of apprenticeship go back for centuries and apprenticeship still continues as a legally and socially acceptable form of child labour, although traditional apprenticeship relations have degenerated to a great extent as claimed by Köksal and Lordoğlu (1993). In fact, children's working is so embedded in daily life that the concept of "child labour" as a negative assertion is in fact very new. Although legal regulations date back to the 1930s, the extensive programme on eliminating child labour with real-life implications and practices came only in 1992. Additionally it was started with the initiative of ILO, instead of a domestic initiative.

Although there are some studies on various forms of child labour, they are usually done in the form of surveys and there is still a need for further research to understand the phenomenon. For instance, one of the most frequently stated reasons for children working in the streets is parental abuse. There are however, only a few studies (for example Karatay et al., 2003 and Altıntaş, 2003) on the relationship between families and children working in the streets. Similarly there is an inadequate number of studies (Ertürk and Dayıoğlu, 2004) that focus on the gender aspect of child labour in Turkey. The case of children working in the clothing sector has received very limited academic or journalistic coverage.

It is on this background that I conducted a field study and tried to fill the gap in the existing literature by providing an empirical inquiry on working children in various sectors. The next section tries to shed light on child labour in Turkey with respect to the arguments and perspectives provided in the previous chapters.

CHAPTER V

A CASE STUDY OF WORKING CHILDREN IN TURKEY

5.1 Introduction

Given the fundamental objective of this thesis, which is to understand the phenomenon of child labour in the Turkish context with respect to its socio-economic and cultural background, it is apparent that exploring, understanding, and describing this social reality necessitates a conformity between the main purpose of the study and the research method being used. This consideration in the course of the study revealed the necessity for conducting empirical research with the purpose of exploring the reasons behind child labour, the conditions under which children work and family dynamics of working children. With this purpose, I conducted a four-month fieldwork in several districts of Istanbul. The following sections of this chapter introduce the major findings of this fieldwork.

The major finding of the study is that the incidence of urban child labour in the Turkish context cannot be considered divorced from other socio-economic phenomena such as urban poverty, migration, unequal power relations in the family and traditional gender roles; and consequently the incidence of child labour should not be viewed in a social vacuum, isolated from the socio-economic and political conjuncture that surrounds it.

A glance at the socio-demographic conditions of working children reveals that they belong to crowded families with low socio-economic status. Accordingly, as explained in detail in the next section, poverty, migration, schooling costs and acquiring a skill stand out as the basic motivating factors behind child labour. The relationship between working children and their families, and the gendered aspect of the issue are presented in the following section. Children are subjected to unequal power relations within the family based on generation and gender. In this regard, child labour as a social problem is strongly related to other social phenomena such as traditionally assigned sex roles. Factors such as family dysfunctionality and parental abuse did not stand out as the most decisive factors behind the incidence of child labour, with the exception of "candidates for street." Next, I address the overall working conditions of children and their relations with employers. Children work under exploitative and hazardous conditions, and instead of an institutional set-up or legal framework; their rights are protected through informal social networks.

One of the major arguments of this study is that since child labour is a reflection of deep-rooted and complex socio-economic problems, policies that target child labour only, irrespective of the broader socio-economic context that it involves, cannot be successful in terms of overcoming the problem. In order to explore this claim I spent two months at the Beyoğlu Child Centre (BCC), observing and analysing the implementation of the Law on Minor Offences which stipulates penalties for families whose children work. The findings of this part of the fieldwork are presented in the last section. The chapter ends with an overall discussion of the findings.

5.2 The Methodology of the Study

The findings that will be presented in the following sections are based on the data gathered through my fieldwork in different regions of Istanbul between March and July 2006. I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 25 working children and 13 experts working in the field and observed working children in the streets, their parents and social workers at the BCC for almost two months.

During the fieldwork I also found an opportunity to be involved in discussions and conversations with many people who were in one way or another related with child labour. Those conversations took less time than an average interview, were not tape recorded and did not seek answers for specific questions. While all the interviews were conducted on a face to face basis, some of the conversations took place with several people together.

I had a conversation with the proprietor of a workshop which manufactures underwear and employs many children. I visited three families of children working in the streets in their houses. I had conversations with parents who came to take their children at the BCC. The employees and volunteers of Başak Culture and Art Foundation, the workers at the BCC, the driver and nurse of a health centre in Pendik, three adults who have been working since their childhood are among my informants.

The interviewees are composed of children working in the streets and those working in closed environments. Therefore, differing from all the previous empirical studies done in Turkey, this thesis includes working children from three different sectors, namely manufacturing, services and street selling. This allows me to make a comparison among children working in different fields in terms of their working conditions, family relations and socio-economic situations. Thus I hope to provide a

multi-dimensional perspective on the child labour phenomenon. This, I believe, constitutes one of the major strengths of the study.

5.2.1 Children Working in Closed Environments

The children in the sample who worked in closed environments can be classified under two categories: The first group of children work in small workshops manufacturing garments and shoes. Two of the children were in shoe production while all the others were in the clothing sector. I grouped them together under the category of "clothing sector" as the working conditions of those children were very similar. The children in this group were composed of *ortacı*s,[41] with a single exception, Rojin (16)[42] who was "promoted" to be *makineci* after working as an *ortacı* for a year when she was 13.

The workshops where the children worked were small or medium-scale. In general 20 to 25 people are employed in workshops and *ortacı*s are supposed to assist 10-15 *makineci*s on average. The *ortacı*s were between the ages of 14 and 16 during the interviews, but the age at which they started to work ranged between 11 and 13. Six of them were female. Rojin (16) and Berivan (14); and Şıwan (13) and Derya (14) are siblings. Ayşe (14) is a first cousin of Berivan and she works in the same workshop.

I contacted all the children working in the clothing sector with the help of the Başak Art and Culture Foundation. Başak Foundation is located in Kayışdağı and

[41] *Makineci* is the person who sits before a sewing machine and sews a specific part of a piece of clothing. The major task of the *ortacı* is to carry the garment from one sewing machine to another. During the production process *makineci*s do not move from their places and keep on sewing incessantly. Anything she needs such as water, fabric or garments is brought by *ortacı*s. Briefly, the major responsibilities of an *ortacı* are running errands in the workshop and cleaning.

[42] The numbers in parentheses indicate the age of the respondent during the interview. All the names of the respondents are nicknames.

carries on various social activities, develops and implements artistic and cultural projects targeting poor and deprived children and youngsters. Among its regular activities is to provide free courses on music and arts.

One of the ongoing projects of the Başak Foundation is to provide free training on sexual and reproductive health to 250 people between the ages of 13 and 25 who work in the garment manufacturing sector. I participated in two of these courses in a workshop in Sultanbeyli which manufactured underwear and employed 8 *ortacı*s, 7 of whom were between the ages of 13 and 15. It was there I met with Mehmet (16) and conducted an interview with him. Lastly, I reached Metin (14) who has been working since the age of 5 in various sectors with the help of the BCC.

The second group of children who worked in closed areas were employed in metal works and auto repair shops as formal or informal apprentices.[43] Among the major responsibilities of apprentices were running errands, helping their masters and cleaning. The ones who have been working in the same place for a few years also were involved in major tasks of the workshops such as repairing cars or using machines to produce metal parts.

All of the respondents were males and three of them worked in metal works shops in the Veli Baba Industrial Zone. Veli Baba Industrial Zone is located in Pendik and it includes mainly workshops and shops that produce and sell metal parts. The remaining six children worked in the Pendik Auto Industry Zone; three were in manufacturing and the other three were in auto repair. I conducted the interviews with these children with the help of the health centre workers in the two industrial zones.

[43] The ones who are enrolled in the Vocational Education Centre (VEC) are regarded as formal apprentices.

In 1999 International Labour Organization (ILO) provided one year's funding for establishing a child labour bureau in a particular industry in Turkey. The project was carried out with the partnership of the Turkish Confederation of Employers Associations (TISK) and Marmara University. Pendik Auto Industry Zone was selected to build a child bureau which would be the first of this kind in Turkey. The bureau offered various services such as health exams and counselling. At the end of the year, store owners were allowed to be members of the centre in return for a monthly membership fee in order to maintain the project. The centre not only offers free health care to its members and to all children working in the industry, but also keeps records of working children; gives courses and psychological counselling. In 2002 another centre that performs similar tasks was opened in the Veli Baba Industrial Zone. I interviewed three people in the Veli Baba Centre, four persons in the Pendik Centre, and one person in his workplace.

5.2.2 Children Working in the Streets

I reached children who worked in the streets through the BCC in Tarlabaşı. The centre provides a temporary shelter for both women in urgent need and children working in the streets. As dictated by the Law on Minor Offences, which will be explained in detail in the third section of this chapter, children working in the streets and children living in the streets are monitored and gathered by the mobile team of the Istanbul Governorship. The ones working in the streets are brought to the BCC. Here, children are registered and their parents are invited to the centre to pick up their children. During this period, children spend time at the BCC and sometimes, if not often, they stay in the centre for days. I visited the BCC for about two months and observed those

children, their parents and the functioning of the system. I reached all the children who worked in the streets with the help of social workers and sociologists at the BCC.

I conducted interviews with seven children working in the streets who were brought to the centre by mobile teams. Turgut (12) worked as a *tartıcı*[44] in Gaziosmanpaşa and Onur (9) sold chewing gum in Harem. Nergis (12), Sedef (13) and her first cousin Merve (13) sold tissue paper in Levent, while Ersin (11) and his first cousin Varol (12) sold tissue paper in Şirinevler. I met some of the children more than once and I had an opportunity to spend time with them at the BCC and outdoors. In addition to those seven children; I observed, talked to and spent time with dozens of other children who provided very valuable information and insight about their lives both in the streets and at home.

The children working in the streets do not form a monolithic group. Following UNICEF[45] terminology, I categorise two of the interviewees (Merve and Sedef) as "candidates for street" and the remaining five as "children on the street". They will be described in detail in the following section.

As already stated, the findings on children working in the streets are based not only on the interviews but also on my observations and casual conversations with children. I preferred to spend longer time with children working in the streets than the others, and I found non-participant observation as a more proper method to pursue than interviews in order to understand the conditions of these children. First of all, they were younger than the others. Some of them were as young as seven. It is not possible to conduct an in-depth interview with a very young child. They got bored, lost attention and hardly expressed themselves directly. Second, it was more difficult

[44] *Tartıcı* is a child who accepts tips in return for having people weigh themselves on a bathroom type of scale.

[45] For a detailed explanation of UNICEF categorization of "street children", see section 4.6.4 Children Working in the Street

to gain the confidence of those children in a short period. They were more inclined to be scared and suspicious. This was also related with the environment in which I met them. It was easier to talk to the ones who had been brought to the centre many times. In fact they were eager to tell their stories, express their feelings and ideas. But the ones who came to the centre for the first time were already under stress, terrified and unhappy; making it much harder to communicate with them. Lastly, their young age and hard living conditions made it even more imperative to be very sensitive. It was less disturbing for them to let them talk about whatever and whenever they wanted, without making them feel that I deliberately sought answers for particular questions.

Lastly it should be stated that although I categorize working children according to the field/sector in which they are currently working, I also observed "fluidity" in the working environments of the children. For instance Turgut (12) had been working in a coffeehouse in Erzurum. After migrating to Istanbul, he started to work as a *tartıcı* in Gaziosmanpaşa. Vedat (16) worked in an auto repair store at the time of the interview but he had sold water and *simit*[46] in the streets and also polished shoes beginning from the age of 10. The most remarkable example is Metin (14) who worked in the clothing sector in summers. He had been involved in almost all sectors since age five. He harvested crops in Batman; sold tissue paper, water and cards in the streets of Istanbul; and sometimes even begged. He started work in a coiffeur and took a job in a restaurant but could not stand it more than a few days. If the children had worked in more than one sector/field, I also asked their opinions, experiences and feelings regarding their previous jobs.

[46] *Simit* is donut shaped bread commonly consumed as a street food.

I tried to gather information on the following issues during my field study: (i) Socio-economic and socio-demographic conditions of children; (ii) reasons behind child labour; (iii) relations between working children and their families; (iv) gendered aspects of child labour; (v) working conditions of children and their relations with their employers.

In addition to working children, I conducted interviews with six social workers, one psychologist, four sociologists and one pedagogue at the BCC and with one employee of the Başak Foundation. One of the social workers used to work as a factory inspector, and he had expertise on children working in closed environments. The respondents at the BCC were actively involved in the implementation of the Law on Minor Offences. Based on my observations and interviews, I tried to assess the implementation of the law. My questions to these informants were related to the following subjects: (i) Perception of child labour in terms of its reasons and risks; (ii) work experience during their childhood; (iii) (for the BCC employees) evaluation of the law and its implementation; (iv) assessment of the state's approach towards the issue of child labour; (v) possible policy options against child labour.

Although the fieldwork provided valuable and diverse data on many dimensions of child labour it was not immune from limitations and weaknesses. First of all the number of respondents, particularly the number of parents of working children, is very limited because it was rather difficult to elicit full responses from the parents given the sensitive and illegal character of the issue. As a result, people were unwilling to talk in some cases. One father refused to talk, thinking that I was a journalist. Moreover, it was very difficult to gain the confidence of children over a short period

of time. I sought to build trust through third parties, such as the social workers or the employees at the Başak Foundation who were loved and trusted by children. Concerning the interviews with apprentices, the main difficulty was not lack of trust but lack of time. As I conducted interviews during the working hours it was very hard to receive the permission of masters to send their apprentices for an interview. Employers were not willing to let their apprentices go during working hours.

Yet despite its difficulties and limitations, the four-month fieldwork yielded valuable and original findings that, I believe, make a meaningful contribution to the literature on child labour in Turkey.

5.3 Socio-demographic Characteristics of Working Children

A glance at the socio-demographic characteristics of children indicates that the youngest group work in the streets.[47] This appears to have two reasons: First, working in closed environments requires physical capability and qualifications that would be beyond the capacity of children at early ages. This will be elaborated in detail in the section of working conditions.

Second, working in the streets, especially selling un-demanded products such as tissue paper, requires arousing pity in the buyers. In fact, there is only a slight difference between selling tissue paper, religious cards or chewing gum and begging. This situation is summarized very well in the words of Ersin (11) who has been working in the streets for six years. He talked about one of his friends who sold tissue paper in the same district as he did:

[47] This is consistent with the findings of previous studies. According to the study of Altıntaş (2003) jobs that require physical mobility and effort are usually done by older children, while peddling goods which are not particularly demanded by passers-by are carried on by younger children. Karatay (2000a) also presents a similar finding. For more detail on these studies, see section 4.6.4 Children Working in the Street. The gender factor also influences the age of children working in the streets. On average, girls working in the streets are younger than boys. This stems from the fact that after the threshold of the age of 12, girls start to carry socially assigned sex roles. For more on this point, see section 3.3.2 Cultural Factors, Akşit et al. (2001) and Altıntaş (2003).

> He has only two fingers on his left hand. He holds tissue paper with his left hand deliberately. He sells tissue paper by showing his hand. We asked him why he holds tissue paper with this hand; he told us that he earned much more by doing so. Ersin (11)

The buyers usually gave a higher amount of money than a package of tissue paper requires and sometimes they did not even take the package. Ersin also stated that he used to earn much more while he polished shoes as a five year-old. People used to give money without having their shoes polished.

Compulsory education is also a decisive factor. Selling stuff in the streets enables flexible working hours, which allows children to attend school while working. Manufacturing, on the other hand, requires full time commitment. However, it is also common for children to work in workshops during summer holidays and even on weekends. In that regard, school attendance does not prevent child labour ultimately, but only limits it to some extent.

This finding is also consistent with the major argument of the thesis. Compulsory education might be a useful legal policy to fight against child labour; however it is not enough by itself to eliminate child labour. It should be supported by additional mechanisms which target the root causes of the problem.

In some recent studies that deal with or mention child labour, recent migration and internal displacement (Yükseker, 2006; Altıntaş, 2003; Akşit et al., 2003; Karatay, 1999a and 1999b) are among the most cited reasons for explaining the incidence of child labour. I also reached a similar finding.

A common feature of the children I interviewed was that they belonged to crowded families with Kurdish background who migrated from the East/ South East

regions of the country.[48] Only one of the children, Metin (14), mentioned political unrest in addition to financial reasons behind the migration of his family. When they migrated to Batman, Metin worked in the fields with his family for harvesting crops. After arriving in Istanbul he worked in the streets. Currently he works in the clothing sector during summers. He explained that both internal displacement and financial difficulties contributed to his family's decision to migrate.

With the exception of Metin, all the other children noted financial difficulties, particularly resulting from unemployment, as the basic motive behind their family's migration. One of the recent reasons of migration seems to be the Iraq war. With the beginning of the war, drivers who used to work between Turkey and Iraq became unemployed. Rojin (16), who has been working since she was thirteen in the clothing sector, is the daughter of one of those drivers:

> Many people from my village migrated to Istanbul in order to work. When the roads to Iraq were closed everybody was left miserable. No one could make ends meet. If they had had another job, they would not have come here. When the war started, we stayed for a month and then came to Istanbul. Rojin (16)

Sedef (13) has been working in the streets since when she was seven after her family migrated from Mardin. When I asked why they migrated, she summarized the main reasons of migration in Turkey in four words:

> Hunger, misery, poverty, beating… Sedef (13)

Some Kurdish children's mothers do not speak Turkish and the ones that know learned it after their arrival to Istanbul. Illiteracy is common for all these women[49] and one of them learned how to read and write by attending courses at the Başak

[48] Apprentices constituted a major exception. They were all born in Istanbul with no recent migration story and their parents were from the Black Sea region.

[49] Similarly Akşit et al. (2001) found that majority of the mothers of children working in the streets of Diyarbakır, Adana and Istanbul were illiterate. They attribute this to the traditional gender roles, which assign women to domestic chores, making literacy "unnecessary" for them.

Foundation. Kurdish children knew how to speak Turkish before they come to Istanbul. Rojin for instance stated that she learned Turkish in primary school. The only exception of this was Metin:

> I used to cry when the gypsies talked with me [when we first came to Istanbul]. I did not know Turkish; I did not know what they were saying. I was crying. I could not become friends with them. Metin (14)

All of the mothers of the children in the garment sector were housewives and this was valid for the mothers of the children working in the metal works sector with a single exception. Fatih's (15) mother has been working in a small factory for two years since his father had a surgery. The mothers of children working in the streets were not working either, but some joined their children in the streets either to monitor or to peddle goods with them.

The occupations of fathers were diverse. Fathers of apprentices seemed to have better and permanent jobs than the others, such as worker in a factory, driver, tradesman, watchman and cleaner. The fathers of children working in the workshops and in the streets were either unemployed or had temporary jobs such as street vendors or construction workers. Consistently the socio-economic situation of children working in the industry was relatively better than the others.

In general children working in the streets were of the lowest socio-economic background. In some cases, three children had to make a living for a family of eight or nine people. In the cases where a father or older siblings also worked, children enjoyed relatively better standards. The poverty level of a family dictated the time children spend in the streets and the minimum amount of money they were supposed to earn daily.

5.4 Reasons behind Child Labour

In the literature on child labour in Turkey, most commonly cited reasons of child labour are poverty (Yükseker, 2006; ILO/IPEC and MLSS, 2005; Altıntaş, 2003; Akşit et al., 2003; Karatay, 1999a and 1999b), migration (Buğra and Keyder, 2003; Altıntaş, 2003; Akşit et al., 2003; Hatun et al., 2003; Can, 2002; Karatay, 1999a and 1999b; Kulca and Korkmazlar, 2003), the wish to learn a trade (ILO/IPEC and MLSS, 2005; Köksal and Lordoğlu, 1993), family dysfunctionality (GNA Committee Report, 2004) and parents' abuse of children (Küntay, 2005; Governorship of Istanbul, 2004). I sought to evaluate to what extent each of these factors cause child labour. I argue that the most important reasons are poverty, migration and the wish to learn a trade although temporary family crisis and schooling costs also play a role.

First, I discuss the role of poverty on the incidence of child labour and argue that deployment of child labour is a household strategy for coping with *poverty*.[50] Second, related with that, *high schooling costs* is underlined as a factor leading children to work.[51] Children go to work in order to finance either themselves or their siblings' education costs. Thirdly, in the case of apprentices, *learning a trade* and *acquiring skills* stand out as the decisive factors. I think the motive to acquire a skill at early ages can be interpreted as a lack of long term guarantee to earn a living. Fourth, related with the previous reason, *lack of faith in education system* and awareness that it will not yield returns unless it is completed to the end are also among the factors that lead the apprentices to work instead of school. It was striking to see that while some children went to work to be able to go to school, others started to work because of the fact that they do not go to school. Especially for teenaged boys, school and

[50] For examples of child labour as a coping/survival strategy in the context of internal displacement, see Yükseker (2006) and Şen (2005).

[51] Although everyone is entitled to a free education in Turkey, in practice, especially in the urban areas education has high direct and indirect costs.

work are the two alternatives between which they have to make a choice. Lastly, *unexpected family crisis* is a factor resulting in the deployment of children's labour to cope with sudden financial troubles. As noted earlier, *parental abuse* and *family dysfunctionality* are two factors on which the policy of the Istanbul Governorship for fighting children's working in the streets is based. This issue will be discussed in section 5.5.1 of this chapter.

Similar to previous studies, *poverty* stands out as the most decisive factor behind children's working in clothing workshops and in the streets. As noted earlier, the mothers of children were all housewives and the fathers were mostly unemployed or worked under precarious conditions. In addition to that the high cost of education and the high number of siblings left children with no choice but to contribute to family income.

> In fact I did not want to work. The financial situation of my family was bad. I had to work out of necessity. Ayla (16)

Merve (13) and Fikri (11) were siblings who were in absolute poverty. As the major bread winners of the family, they could rarely attend school:

> In fact my older brother does not bring much money home. Everyday he makes 10 YTL and brings it home. Mostly I and my younger brother bring money home, since we care more about the house [compared to my older brother]. We also take pocket money for ourselves. While coming home after school we buy stuff for our little sisters. Merve (13)

If a family is in relatively better financial situation, they can afford to send children to school regularly, at least for some period, only by having them work for their *school costs*. In those cases children try to finance their education by working in summers or weekends. In other words, "children go to work in order to go to school":

> Maybe I can go to high school with the money I earn even if my family cannot afford me to send school. Derya (14)

Although going to work in order to finance their schooling costs looks like a useful solution for some children, it also brings its own handicaps. School and work mean a double pressure on them and they can enjoy no leisure time of their own:

> School at the time of school, work at the time of holiday… There is no holiday for me. Metin (14)

Additionally this double pressure prevents them from doing well in school. Ayla for instance noted that she could not find any energy to study at night when she came back after work. In the end, a choice between the two becomes inevitable. Vedat (16), the only apprentice I interviewed who said he would rather go to school instead of work, stated that:

> School and work did not go together. You think of work at school and you think of school at work. Vedat (16)

Children who have a desire for going to school and who work in order to cover their schooling costs are aware of the financial difficulties they are in. That is why they are not sure whether they will be able to continue their education:

> I think my parents' response [on the issue of my university education] will be negative. In fact, they are not negative; they would have wanted me to study. But the financial situation… I mean, we need money for the university. Gül (15)

> Our financial situation is not very good. Therefore I may or may not be able to go to high school. It is not certain. Şıwan (13)

Another strategy of families who cannot afford the school costs of all their children is to send older children to work and make them finance their younger brothers/sisters schooling costs with their earnings.[52] For instance, consider the situation of Gül:

> There was no one [in the family] to work in Istanbul. My father was not working. I had two sisters older than me. Who is going to look after

[52] Families decide on who to send to school and who to work with respect to gender and generation factors. In general younger children and boys have priority to be sent to school. This point is elaborated in more detail in the following sections.

> the family? They had to work. In those days I was young. Had I been older…? I feel myself very lucky. If I had been older, I would have worked too; I would not have gone to school. I was young. They sent me to school. Then I resisted, now I am here. Gül (15)

Gül succeeded in persuading her family to send her to school and at the time of the interview, she worked only during the summer holidays. Orhan was 21 years old during the interview and he was not as lucky as Gül. He has been working in bazaars since the age of 6. He started to work before going to school. His case is very illustrative in terms of the lower opportunity of older siblings in terms of going to school:

> I and my three brothers are the oldest siblings in the family. We could not find an opportunity to continue our education after primary school. Although we were very good at school, we could not go on. Now, our younger siblings have a chance to study, however they flunk their courses and do not attend school regularly. Orhan (21)

But there were also exceptions to older siblings being the ones who had to work. A case in point was the situation of Merve and Fikri. They worked in the streets while their older sister went to high school and did not have to work.

While financial contribution to family budget- or at least covering school costs- is the major factor behind child labour in workshops and in the streets, the situation for apprentices is slightly different. That is because, as stated before, the socio-economic situation of apprentices is relatively better than the others. Families are smaller, fathers have permanent jobs yielding regular income, and they have been dwelling in Istanbul for long years. Consequently those families enjoy relatively higher socio-economic standards. Under these circumstances the major motive for a child to work is not immediate survival but a desire to have long term employment security.

As noted in the previous chapter, Köksal and Lordoğlu (1993) argue that the traditional apprentice-master relation has dissolved and "pseudo-apprenticeship and the abuse of children as cheap and unprotected labour seem to be growing" (9). Although my findings also support the observation about the degeneration of the traditional form of apprenticeship, "*acquiring skills*" and "*learning a trade*" as the traditional motives behind working as an apprentice still prevail. Among the interviewed apprentices, even those children whose financial contribution was vital for the family listed "learning a trade" as one of their priorities in addition to earning money:

> For occupation not for money…Emir (16)

> To help my family… Some of the ones who go to high school cannot find a job. I wanted to guarantee my occupation at an early age. That is why… In order to have an occupation… Ali (16)

Another finding that is consistent with the argument above is that while children in the clothing sector and in the streets give most of their income to their parents, apprentices appear to keep some of their earnings for themselves, indicating the secondary role of financial contribution to family for apprentices.

> My father does not ask for money from me. He tells me: "Go and learn a trade, even if you do not practice it in the future. Later, after completing your military service, you may find another job. If not, you will then have a profession; you can open a small store. You can go on…" That is why he wants me to work here. Sinan (16)

However if we examine the notion of "learning a trade at an early age" in detail we see lack of strong financial means and lack of long term financial security as the factors behind the need for acquiring skills at an early age. In other words, apprentices do not work to fight against the poverty of today, but the poverty of tomorrow. They try to secure their future income yielding options as soon as possible.

This is also related with their perceptions about education and *their (low) performance in school*.

The apprentices were aware of the fact that education does not yield returns unless a formal qualification is obtained by completing it to the end. Therefore, in contrast to the children working in the clothing sector, apprentices chose to drop out of school, sometimes against their parents' will. Emir's parents for instance preferred him to continue his education but he refused. Kemal (16) left school just because he did not like it. He said he would not prefer to go to school if he had another chance and that he was content with working. Nevertheless, there was a noteworthy conflict in this approach. In spite of the fact that they left school willingly and they did not regret it, when asked what they would advise other children to do, they said that they would tell them to go to school:

> I do not advise other children to work. It is better to study. I did not want to study. My parents wanted me to go to school but that did not happen. If they go to school, that is better. After finishing school they will become somebody anyways. They will already have a profession if they go to school. Emir (16)

Apprentices stated dislike of school as one of the reasons for quitting the school. In addition to dislike, some of the apprentices also recalled their school years with their low grades. Whether it was the dislike of school that led to low grades or vice versa could not be identified but one obvious point was that their failure in the school was one of the major factors that pushed forth the alternative of working. Similarly some of the children working in the clothing sector who continued their education expressed their "obligation to be successful in school". In the case of failure in coursework, their parents may no longer send them to school, but to work:

> If I fail a course, my parents will put pressure on me. "Why don't you work? Why do we send you to school?" Like that…They have never done this before, but I know what will happen, because there are many examples around me such as my friends. They tell me that, if they fail

> in school their family will not allow them to go to school any more and send them to work. Ayla (16)

Briefly, a child either has to be successful in school or quit school to find a job. This idea was expressed very clearly by Şıwan. In responding to the question about whether he would prefer his son to work, he said:

> If he did well in school, I would do whatever he wanted. I wouldn't even send him to work. I would even send him to high school. But if he failed, I mean if he was not interested in school, then he must work. Şıwan (13)

Especially in the case of boys such kind of "child idleness" is considered to be completely inappropriate. As underlined in the previous chapters, this might be related with the understanding of childhood. The conceptualization of childhood as a distinct and privileged life stage is a fairly new idea in Turkey and the value placed on "useful childhood", which reinforces a favourable attitude towards child labour, still persists.[53]

Another important reason, which is often neglected, behind the incidence of child labour, is that underprivileged families have to push their children to work in the case of *unanticipated family crisis*. Some families were hopeless in the case of an unexpected tragic event such as an accident, bankruptcy or health problems. But a short term strategy of pushing children to work might often turn into a permanent situation.

Fatih (15) started to work at the age of 10 when his father had a back surgery and could not work for a year. His mother also had to start to work during this period:

[53] Kağıtçıbaşı states that compared to the 1970s there has been a sharp increase in the psychological value of children with a corresponding decrease in their utilitarian value thanks to economic growth in general and the greater affluence of the sample in particular (Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005). The members of the sample of my study however, come from lower socio-economic status and they ascribe higher priority to economic/ utilitarian value of children. The findings of the Value of Children (VOC) surveys were discussed in detail in section 4.3 of this study. For a detailed discussion on the perception of useful childhood and its influence on child labour, see Mintz (2004).

> My father had a surgery. We needed money urgently. My family was at the hospital. My father had a surgery. Now he is fine. He had a surgery and I started to work. Fatih (15)

In the case of Vedat (16) family crisis was in the form of financial bankruptcy after a traffic accident:

> I give my earnings to home. I give it to my mother. My father has a lot of debt. He does not bring home any money. He has a bank loan of 45 thousands YTL. Bank loan, credit card, credit… He purchased a car. He sold it, he had a traffic accident. He went bankrupt like that. Now he has sold the car. He owes 45 thousands YTL in bank loans. Now he is going to pay that. Vedat (16)

Vedat started to work in the streets at the age of ten and he worked in an auto-repair shop at the time of the interview. He said that he had been working in order to earn his pocket money even before the accident. However it is for sure that his father's debt left a burden on him. In fact he explained that he paid back 700 YTL of his father's loans. His father had his car repaired in the store that Vedat has been working and could not pay back his debt. It was Vedat who paid the debt by working in the store.

Neriman, who was taking literacy courses at the Başak Foundation at the time of the interview, migrated from Muş ten years ago with her family. Her husband, accused of drug selling, was sentenced to prison for eight years. He has been in jail for three years now and during this time Neriman tried to earn a living by selling food that she cooked but it is no longer adequate. She said that she would send her 14 year-old daughter to work in garment workshops this summer and her 12 year-old daughter also offered to work, but Neriman thought she was too young for that. She said she lived together with the relatives of her husband but they were not very helpful and in fact it was her father-in-law who decided to send her daughter to work instead of school. When the main breadwinner of the house is gone, Neriman resisted as much as she could but in the end she had to resort to her daughters' labour.

As seen in the examples in the case of a serious financial problem the children have to step in and help their families to get out of it. Families that already survive with very limited financial means remain completely hopeless in the case of an unanticipated situation and they have to utilize the only available family resource, namely, their children's labour.[54]

In this section, I presented the basic findings of my research on the reasons behind child labour in Istanbul. As noted above, permanent poverty is the most important factor behind child labour in the entire world. Turkey is not an exception. However a closer look at the phenomenon also presents diverse factors, which are in one way or another linked with poverty such as the high cost of schooling, and hopelessness in the case of unexpected family crisis.

As I argued at the very beginning of this thesis, any attempt to understand child labour should take the conceptualization of childhood into consideration. The statements of the interviewees imply that the notion of "useful childhood" is highly valued in Turkish society. In the case of a failure at school, the only available alternative is working. Therefore any child should either continue his/her education successfully or work and contribute to the family budget. In the next section, I discuss other cultural and sociological aspects of child labour in Istanbul based on my field study.

[54] Neumayer and Soysa (2005) attribute this problem to the borrowing constraints of parents and claim that if poor families had been able to borrow in times of crises, they could have preferred not to send their children to work. Similarly, many scholars suggest that credit market constraints should be removed and easy credit for poor families should be provided in order to allow them to send their children to school (Ursprung, 2006; Krueger and Donohue, 2005; Cigno, Rosati and Guarcello, 2002; and Ranjan, 1999). For a more detailed discussion of the view defending the removal of credit market constraints and its critics, see section 3.3.1 Economic Factors.

5.5 Family, Gender and Generation

As indicated previously, child labour cannot be considered detached from the socio-economic and cultural environment that encompasses it. In an attempt to put child labour in a broader context on both micro and macro levels, the following sections discuss the household power relations and family dynamics of working children.

First, the relationship between working children and their families is evaluated. In this section I present the findings of my field study regarding to what extent parental abuse and/ or family dysfunctionality have an exploratory power in the incidence of child labour. Secondly, gender-based discrimination in sending children to school or work is discussed. Third, I elaborate the findings that shed light on the unequal power relations within household. Lastly, I also emphasise that traditional values are being challenged by market forces and that child labour is one of the ways in which this is taking place.

5.5.1 The Relationship between Working Children and Their Families

The factors of parental abuse and dysfunctional families are most cited reasons in trying to explain the existence of "street children". The Istanbul Governorship, for instance, blame the families of children working in the streets for "forcing their children to rescue themselves from the unfavourable conditions they are in" and for "leaving them defenceless against any kind of physical and social risks" (Governorship of Istanbul, 2004). In my fieldwork, I sought to establish to what extent this description reflected the reality on the ground.

To start with, none of the parents of the children I interviewed who worked in the streets were divorced. Therefore the study provided no finding that can support the

argument that children of broken families are more likely to work in the streets or in closed environments.

The relations of children with their parents were complicated and diverse. Children blamed their parents for making them work only in exceptional cases. As long as they believed that their parents were doing their best but still in need of money, they were understanding and tolerant. Ayla (16) has been working in manufacturing workshops and coiffeurs for the last four summers:

> It is not possible for me not to work because of our financial situation. Also I have a little sister. When she cannot get something that she wants, she gets disappointed; and my mother is sad about that. So I want to support her. Ayla (16)

Although it was not common for children to hold their parents responsible, when they did so, they particularly blamed their fathers especially if he was not working. When asked who was responsible for earning a living of a family, all replied as the "father" with no exception.

Gül (15) was the only one among the children working in closed environments, who reacted against her parents for making her work:

> My father is high. He drinks alcohol.… He can work but he does not. If he wanted, he could work. I mean, my father knows a lot of people. If he wanted, he could find employment at once. I do not think he is right [for not working]. Neither does my family. But, what can we say? ... I give my earnings to my mother. Thank God we do not have a problem as such. You know, in some families the father asks for the money and he keeps it. Like I said my father … is like an alcoholic. If I gave money to him, he would spend it on alcohol…. His pension is also spent on alcohol. He only pays for the rent. This family could survive even if I did not go to work. I thought about it. I thought about it many times. Gül (15)

Thus Gül did not believe in the necessity of her financial contribution to her family. Another *ortacı*, Ayşe (14) who had to quit her education after primary school, also showed a tendency to blame her parents for not sending her to school. Ayşe was

disappointed and angry but she was also aware of the fact that her family is poor and that her parents are hopeless:

> Q: Do you hold your parents responsible for not sending you to school?
> A: Yes, I do.
> Q: In what respects? For instance, do you think that it was possible for you to go to school instead of working?
> A: No, it was not possible, but… I mean, had they told me to go to school, had they sent me to school, it would have been better. Ayşe (14)

In short, children working in the clothing sector and the apprentices did not harbour negative attitudes towards their families for sending them to work. With the single exception of Gül, all the children in the clothing sector believed in the necessity of their financial contribution to their households. In the case of apprentices, children perceived their working as a necessity or as job security for their future.

Based on my observations and interviews with children working in the streets, I noticed some symptoms of family dysfunctionality and mistreatment against children. For instance, Mert (9), who sold chewing gum with his mother in Harem, stated that his father was an alcoholic and that therefore he gave his earnings to his mother. The main form of maltreatment against children that was frequently cited was corporal punishment. Merve (13), Ersin (11), Varol (12) and Nergis (12) said that either they or other siblings were beaten at home. The fact that four of the children working in the streets were faced with physical violence at home indicates at first family dysfunctionality and parental abuse. However, there is need to pay more attention to this point.

In the first place, the reasons of corporal punishment were not related with children's working. The family environments of the children, perhaps with the exception of Merve and Sedef, were not different from typical traditional, patriarchal families in Turkey in which children are beaten "for their own benefit". Beating

children “to teach them right and wrong” and “to protect them from mischief” is not under the monopoly of parents who send their children to work. This was observed even within the scope of this limited study. Some children reported being beaten not only by their parents but also by the police, teachers, employers, older brothers or other people working in the same place with them:

> Once, Musa’s older brother came. The policeman slapped him a few times. The policeman got angry at him because his hands were in his pockets. But he was right to get angry. One should not put his hands in his pockets in front of a policeman. Ersin (11)

> Our teacher beats anyone who puts his hand in his pockets. Varol (12)

Varol’s father and older brother found out that his other brother (13) did not attend school regularly. It was recorded in his report card that he was absent for 27 days in a single term. Varol stated that his brother had spent those days in internet cafés. The older brother and Varol’s mother beat his brother very severely after discovering this truth. The children said that Varol’s brother no longer dared to not to attend to classes. I visited Varol’s father in his house before my interview with Varol. He complained about Varol for not studying for school. He said he believed that one can only save himself by studying.

Ersin (11), Varol’s cousin, who had been working in the streets since the age of five, explained corporal punishment in his own house with the following words:

> My father beats us when we go to somewhere else. Because he is afraid that something bad could happen to us... Otherwise he does not beat us. Normally my father does not beat us. Once, my mother beat us because we had gone to the beach without telling her. We sometimes go to Yeşilköy through a shortcut…Ersin (11)

The story of Nergis is similar. Her older brother and father threatened another of her brothers with beating in case he did not attend school regularly:

> Only Hüseyin went to school. But he did not attend regularly at all. He would go one day, and then he was absent for the next four or five days. Then, my older brother told him to quit the school. My father is

> going to enrol him in school this year again. He will start from the first grade. If he does not attend school again, my father is going to beat him. Nergis (12)

In all the cases of Ayşe, Nergis, Gül, Ersin and Varol the common point is not dysfunctional families that ignore and abuse their children by forcing them to work instead of sending them to school. The parents are not ignorant at all. The main motive behind corporal punishment is not the short-term financial interest of the parents, but the protection and well-being of children. This is not to say that corporal punishment would really serve that purpose or that it should be tolerated. It should however be emphasized that rather than "dysfunctionality" of individual families, it is the "functioning as usual of many Turkish families" that produces the outcome of corporal punishment. What are seen as mistreatment by an adult are in fact unequal power relations within the family and the social acceptability of gender discrimination and corporal punishment. The children are victimized by patriarchal relations, gender discrimination and traditional tolerance towards corporal punishment.[55] Unequal power relations within the family, based on gender and generation, are reflected in all aspects of the lives of children, as I discuss in greater detail in the next two sections.

Only in the case of "candidates for the street" the relations between parents and children were problematic and thus implied family dysfunctionality. Melek (13) was one of the children with whom I had several conversations during my visits to the BCC. She sold tissue paper in the streets, she did not have strong and regular ties with her family and she sometimes spent the night in the streets. One of the social workers and a sociologist at the BCC plainly stated that she is under a great risk of becoming involved in prostitution. Consequently, she was a typical example of a "candidate for

[55] As stated by Onur (2005), corporal punishment has been socially accepted and practiced in both schools and homes in Turkey. Onur traces the roots of this traditional social practice as a method of training and disciplining children in the memoirs of members of the Turkish elites such as Ömer Seyfettin, Hasan Ali Yücel, Mehmet Rauf, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Halide Edip Adıvar.

the street". Melek was the only girl who stated that she was beaten by his drug-addict father unless she brought home enough money.[56] One of her friends, Sedef, mentioned the symptoms of dysfunctionality in Melek's family. Her words also illustrate the risks that Melek faced:

> S: At 2 AM, we were in the bus of a mobile team and we saw Melek in Taksim. We told the driver to stop and get her, and we took her to the centre. We scolded her for working in Taksim at midnight. How can one work in Taksim at midnight? She had a flower in her hand. She was wearing a miniskirt and walking like that [demonstrating how she swayed her hips]. After a week, she ran away from home. She did not come back. Her parents did not say anything. In the end, they beat her while picking her up from the centre (BCC). In fact her mother is a nice person but Melek does not appreciate her.
> Q: What about his father? What kind of man is he?
> S: He is not a man!
> Q: What does he do?
> S: What can he do, he eats, he drinks and he shits. He does not do anything else. … The girl with Melek was high. Hasan [the social worker in the car] called her to the centre also, but she did not come. She said she already had a home to go, but she was there for Melek.
> S: What does Melek say?
> Q: She says she had enough of her mother. Her mother took her to the doctor to have a virginity test. Yet the doctor refused to make the test. Sedef (13)

According to the findings of this study only in marginal cases family dysfunctionality or family abuse seems to be a decisive factor behind child labour. In those cases, children either break off ties with their family, start to live in the streets or become involved in the worst forms of child labour such as prostitution. Yet this cannot be generalized to all the children working in the streets.[57]

[56] For a more detailed discussion on the role of family abuse and dysfunctional families as factors leading to commercial sexual exploitation of children in Turkey, see Küntay and Erginsoy (2005).

[57] Approximately 3,800 children working in the streets are registered in BCC's records. According to the records and the observations of the social workers at the centre, around 200 of those are "candidates for the street".

5.5.2 Gender, Education and Work

Gender-based distinction in the allocation of work among children was discussed in previous sections in detail.[58] As noted by Ertürk and Dayıoğlu "the interplay between patriarchy and market forces results in a hierarchical allocation of tasks between women and men and sex-segregated occupational structure in all sectors" (2004: 131). The findings of my field study also confirm this argument and indicate a gender-based discrimination in the families' decisions on schooling and the working prospects of their children.

If we turn back to the cases of Gül (15) and Ayşe (14) above and further analyse their statements about why they could not go to school, it is clearly seen that the main source of their grievance is gender-based discrimination at home. Ayşe had to quit her education after finishing primary school, while her oldest brother continued his education until the last year of university. If he had not been sentenced to prison for signing a petition demanding Kurdish instruction at the university, he would have graduated as a teacher. Additionally her family supported her younger brother to continue his education while Ayşe could not even speak out her wish to go to school:

> Q: Do you think you could have gone to school, unless you had migrated from Mardin?
> A: No, even if we had stayed there, they would not have sent me to school.
> Q: Do you think this is related with the fact that you are a girl?
> A: In fact, yes...
> Q: If you were a boy, would they send you to school?
> A: My brother studies in open high school. He takes examinations. They encourage him. Ayşe (14)

Gül also stated plainly that she was discriminated against compared to her brother. She wanted to go to university, but she was not sure whether she would be sent to

[58] For gender bias in child labour on the global level, see section 3.3.2 Cultural Factors, for statistical evidence on gender- based "division of labour" among children in Turkey, see section 4.4 1994 and 1999 Child Labour Surveys and for the traditional deployment of female child labour in domestic chores in Turkey, also see section 4.6.2 The Past and Present of Child Labour.

school because of financial difficulties. She believed, however, those financial difficulties did not apply for boys:

> They do not love daughters. I have a brother. They insisted on him to go to school. They told him to go to school again and again. He said he did not want to go to school and he quit. When it comes to me, they tell me not to go to school. Aren't we equal? To the boy: "Go to school", to the girl "You cannot go to school"… If I were a boy, I could go to university. Gül (15)

Similarly, in Nergis's situation, her brother Hüseyin was sent to school, while Nergis left school in the second grade.

Examples can be multiplied. For instance, gender discrimination, combined with financial difficulties, did not allow Rojin (16) and her sister Berivan (14) to go to school. Rojin has been working in the clothing sector since she was thirteen, and Berivan who was working in a workshop that produces shoes at the time of the interview, started to work after completing primary school:

> My mother told me that I was too old to go to school. I quit in the fifth grade. My mother told me: "Will you wear a uniform at this age?" So they did not send me. But I wanted to go to school. Also, we had no financial means, so my mother could not send me to school. Here, the schooling costs are very high. One of my brothers is at the age of 10 and the other is at the age of 9. They both go to school. We will send them to school. It is our custom to send boys go to school; but girls do not go. Rojin (16)

Fatih (15) provides a very good example on how children are exposed to this gender-based role allocation at very early ages. He started to work at the age of 10 when his father had a surgery, and so his parents stayed in hospital for some period. During this period Fatih and his sister who was three years younger than him stayed home on their own.

> In those days, I was afraid that something would go wrong. I would think about the house and our street. I always asked for permission to go to home. I was worried about home because my sister was alone at home. After school, we came to home together. She gave my lunch. Then, I went to work. But my mind was at home all the time. Since my

parents were at the hospital, I was always worried about home. Fatih (15)

In the absence of his father, Fatih assumed the responsibilities of his father while his sister performed the role of a housewife at the age of seven. As the case illustrates traditional gender roles are transferred to the younger generation both out of a necessity and as a social preference. Another striking point is that, as noted before, girls are mostly involved in domestic chores at early ages which is a very invisible form of child labour and which brings no financial returns for the children.

5.5.3 Generation and Power

Generation and age are traditional sources of power in the family. We may try to understand the power relations between parents and children and males and females in the family with the help of Amartya Sen's "cooperative conflict" model.[59] According to Sen, women and men have both congruent and conflicting interests that affect family living, and decision making in the family thus tends to take the form of pursuing cooperation, with some agreed solution—usually implicit (2005: 192). This model can be applied to the case of working children, who also have congruent and conflicting interests with their parents. Thus, their interests match those of the family regarding financial survival and so children are to some extent willing to participate in the efforts towards that end by working or not going to school; but they are also aware of the conflicts of interest such as favouritism towards male children, and pressure by older brothers and fathers. "Being younger" is both a blessing and a curse. As stated in the previous sections, in some cases younger siblings have more chance to study compared to the older ones. Older siblings, on the other hand, can enjoy authority and

[59] For an application of the "cooperative conflict" model to the case of poor families' survival strategies in Diyarbakır, see Şen (2005). In that example, members of the household cooperate with each other in their survival strategies but there is also gendered and generational conflict among the members, which often works against unmarried teenage daughters.

exercise power over the younger ones. Both of these situations are exemplified by Orhan (21). His younger siblings found an opportunity to go to school while the older ones had to work. After a certain age those older ones shared the power of their father and enjoyed authority to some extent. Orhan explained the role of older brothers in the following way:

> My father used to exercise pressure on us, but he also protected us. He was like a shield for the family. My second oldest brother has also exercised enormous pressure/ authority on his younger brothers, on us. It passes from the older ones to the younger ones. Previously, I was also repressive. I was being repressed, so I thought that this was how it should be. Orhan (21)

Power within the family based on age is also exemplified in Metin's (14) case. Metin, who worked in the clothing sector, said that his older brother replaced his father after his death. He started to take all the major decisions and Metin could not do anything without his permission. It was him who migrated to Istanbul first, and then brought two of Metin's younger brothers. At last the whole family migrated to Istanbul. His brother advised Metin to let him know in case he was beaten in the working place. Thus, both the protective and the authoritarian roles of the father were transferred to the older brother.

Another very interesting case is Rojin (16) and Berivan's (14) family, in which gender discrimination and power pressure based on generation worked together at the expense of their older sisters' education. Their two older sisters have never gone to school because:

> My grandfather did not let my two older sisters go to school. Sometimes my sisters ask my father why he did not let them go to school. They are illiterate and they cannot fill out the forms in the workplace. My father tells them that he wanted them to go to school, but his father did not allow it. My grandfather said, "They are girls! How could they go to school!" Rojin (16)

Although in general "the older generation rules over the younger ones, while males have priority over females" as illustrated by the cases of Orhan and Varol, it is not only the girls who are victimized as a result of unequal power relations. Şıwan (13) is another example of this. He was forced to work at the age of 11 with his uncle, who used to beat him, not by his parents but by his grandfather.

The domination of fathers is visible in the cases of apprentices also. All of the apprentices stated that it was their fathers who decided on where and in which sector they would work. The main information network was their relatives or their fathers' friends. Their fathers placed them to work in the stores of their friends or in workshops with which they had done business before. Family acquaintance with a workplace owner is supposed to provide for the safety of the child. But in the end, children are often put in the path of a trade which they did not choose.

In some cases fathers' occupation dictated the children's:

> K: I wanted to work in other shop in the industrial zone, for instance to become an electrician. I did not want to work in this job as it was very difficult. But I said whatever… Now I am here and I work.
> Q: What if this shop did not belong to your father?
> K: I would quit. I would quit it. I would find another job.
> Q: But, since it is your father's job…
> K: … I am obliged to work here. Kemal (16)

Taking all into account we see that working children suffer from traditional unequal power relations in all aspects of their lives. Sometimes they are not sent to school and in some cases they have to work against their will. Macroeconomic conditions combined with the social structure shapes the family relations and the decisions taken in it. Since the family is a small social unit, its structure cannot be considered in isolation from the larger social structure in which it is located.

When we trace the roots of child labour in Turkey, in addition to economic difficulties, we encounter centuries-old traditional role divisions based on gender and

generation. Although economic necessities more than anything else is behind child labour, decisions regarding the working of a child are shaped and determined by the social structure of the family. Under limited financial means when a family cannot afford to send all the children to school, the decision about who to send to school and who to send to work is taken based on gender and generation. Not the ones who want the most or even not the ones who are most successful in school find opportunity to have an education. As in many other levels of society, meritocracy does not apply in the family, either. However, as I demonstrate in the next section, traditional power relations and gender roles are challenged by the market economy.

5.5.4 Traditional Values versus Market Forces

Of all the children who were interviewed, candidates for street were the only ones who showed a tendency to rebel and shake the traditional authority of their fathers. As a typical candidate for street, Merve (13) for instance has been working in the streets since age seven. She sold tissue paper in Levent while her father did not work. She worked until midnight, and according to a sociologist, who was a member of a mobile team, there have been times when she was found to be walking around in Taksim at midnight. Merve did not go home regularly, and did not attend school either. It can be clearly conjectured from her statements that replacing her father as the major breadwinners of the family shattered the traditional father-child relations. She believed that she was being abused by her father. She was aware of the fact that her family was in need of her financial contribution; she worked instead of her father and consequently she had the courage to challenge her father's authority:

> M: For instance, they [our parents] know the fact that we [I and my brother] can earn more on Fridays and on Saturdays. So they tell us to make, say, 50, 25 or 20 YTL. But we do not do that. We play games, we enjoy ourselves, we eat meals, and we buy stuff…

> Q: Don't they [your parents] get angry when you bring home less money than they expected?
> M: Then I tell them "if you know so much, you go to work yourself. You cannot lie down and rest at home all day long. As you know how to give birth to us, you should also know how to look after us.
> Q: Don't they get angry when you say so?
> M: Why? Would they beat me? I swear to God I would cut them up. They send me to work like that and then they ask for money from me, huh? What an easy life! They should work themselves, they should find money. They should feed their big stomachs. Merve (13)

Another conflictual relation between economic necessities and traditional role divisions is seen in the very fact that girls are working outdoors. As indicated previously, traditionally men are considered to be the breadwinners of the family[60] while women should stay home and care for the family. Letting girls work is in fact a new urban phenomenon for migrant families.

> In Mardin they do not allow women to work. There, women do not work. In Kızıltepe men worked and financed the household costs; here women work and finance the household. Here, women work everywhere; women work, men stay in the house. Rojin (16)

When families had to act in contrast to their traditional values they tried to invent strategies to harmonize this new situation with their existing principles. This was observed in the clothing sector in which there is a growing feminization of the labour force. In some workshops only female workers were employed, making it easier for traditional families to send their daughters to work:

> We are all girls. There are no boys. I and my sister and another girl and her cousin started to work together. Our boss's sister-in-law's daughter-in-law also started to work in the same place. Only, the *ortacı* started to work by herself. I mean, we all took the job with some members of our families. All girls… Boys apply for the job but they are not hired. They [our bosses] say that since we are all girls we would feel uncomfortable if there was a boy. We are all girls, this is cosier. Rojin (16)

[60] For a more detailed discussion on the traditional roles of men and women in Turkish families, see White (1994). According to White's study in a working class neighbourhood of Istanbul, women work in garment workshops in their own neighbourhood or in the workshops of their relatives. Although men are traditionally the breadwinners, such waged work by women does not challenge their fathers' or husbands' authority in the family since the women consider this work to be part of their family obligations.

As seen, sending girls to work with their sisters or female relatives is a common method which allows girls to work without challenging traditional values. It is important for a girl in Turkey to abstain from premarital sex and to keep her virginity in order to be able to make a proper marriage. Therefore there is a high sensitivity of parents in terms of protecting girls and assuring a proper working environment. In this regard sisters and female relatives keep a protective eye on each other and ensure that the workplace environment is a socially acceptable one.

> You can walk around and find a job. But I, for instance, worked there since my older sister also worked there. My mom told me so, she told me to work with my sister. Gül (15)

> Now, if my older sister quits that job, I will quit, too. I will go wherever she goes next. Not to remain alone. I mean, we all come and go together not to stay on our own. Rojin, (16)

Similarly, Derya (14) stated that even if their parents let her, she could not work in another place without her sister because she felt safer when she was together with her.

At some points, tradition still succeeds in its resistance to market forces. Although girls are sent to work by their parents, mothers are predominantly housewives. Moreover girls are taken from market-oriented activities as soon as they are married. The responsibility of making a living for girls is transferred to his husband. The market economy has succeeded in incorporating the labour force of "daughters" but not "mothers" and "wives" yet:

> There my sister does not work. We do not have such a thing I mean. Girls quit working as soon as they are married. Our uncles by marriage, I mean men work and they do not allow women to work. Women do the housework. They serve their husbands meal. That is the way with us. Nergis (12)

To sum up, the family relations of working children presents a complicated picture in which the struggle between unequal power relations based on traditional

gender and generational roles continued, while at the same time the forces of market economy challenged the social and traditional values and principles of families. Blaming the parents as being abusive to their children or pointing out dysfunctional families as the major force behind child labour would be a hasty conclusion. Although it is a fact that the labour force of children is being exploited, the complex social and economic structures of the country lie behind this exploitative system. Instead of approaching the issue as an outcome of deviant cases, one has to examine, analyse and judge the whole socio-economic structure that is based on unequal and exploitative relations both in macroeconomic and social terms. As long as families are faced with socio-economic difficulties that they cannot fight back with their existing resources – the father's labour force- they have to resort to all available sources of income including children's. At the end of this multifaceted and intricate process, children step out as the main losers. This is demonstrated best when their working conditions and perceptions of child labour is displayed.

5.6 Working Hours and Earnings

A glance at the working conditions of children working in closed environments and in the streets reveals that working hours and earnings differ not only among sectors but also within them.

In the case of metal production and auto repair, for instance, depending on the employer, his relation with the apprentice's father and the nature of the job, working hours and earnings varied enormously. The ones that have the shortest working hours spend ten hours per day and a half day on Saturdays at work. It is however more common to work 12 hours a day. Kemal (16) for instance came to work at 8 to 8:30 and left at 20:30 to 22:00 depending on the workload. His case is very illustrative in

the sense that he worked in his father's shop and so it was his father who had him work for more than twelve hours a day for 50 to 60 YTL weekly. This indicates that having children work for long hours for a very small amount of money is not under the monopoly of unrelated employers who have no emotional ties with or moral obligations towards their apprentices. It should also be reminded that it was Kemal who decided not go to school and he seemed content with this decision.

Overtime work is very common ranging from one to four or five hours. The situation of Ali (16) was the most worrying among all in terms of working hours. He worked approximately 90 hours a week for 60 YTL. This excessive workload was partially related with the nature of the work. The auto repair store in which he was employed specialized on brakes and brake linings of minibuses. Minibuses came to the store at the end of a work day. That means the work was most intense between 22:00 and 24:00. At least three times a week he worked until 1:00 or 2:00.

Ali has been working under these conditions for three years and during this period he was allowed to take a leave only on the first two days of religious holidays. Not everyone in the industry is under as harsh conditions as Ali. Yet long working hours is very common and in fact apprentices are at the mercy of their employers in terms of working conditions in all respects. If the apprentice is enrolled in VEC, then he is supposed to go to school for a day every week which allows him to have a rest for a single day in school.

When asked about their weekly incomes, the amounts that the interviewees declared varied between as little as 20 or 40 YTL per week to 350 YTL per month. On the average apprentices received 60 to 70 YTL per week. In general children were enrolled in VEC, so they also had their social security paid by the state. Taking all these into consideration, it is obvious that employing apprentices is very profitable.

The situation of children working in the clothing sector is not very different. Although the regular workday is from 8:00 to 19:30, overtime is rather typical:

> I am there at 8:30. In the evening, it depends on the boss. If there is a work, we stay. If not, we quit at 20:30 earliest. If there is a work to do, we stay until 1 AM. 1 AM in the midnight! Metin (14)

> We start at 8. Normally we are allowed to leave at 19:30, but in practice we do not so. They usually let us go at 20:30. Sometimes we work until midnights. This summer, we worked until the morning two times. Gül (15)

Similar to Gül, all the children working in clothing workshops stated that there had been times when they worked until morning to finish orders, but such an excessive workload was rare.

Monthly earnings of the *ortacı* range from 200 to 300 YTL. However in contrast to apprentices, *ortacı*s could not receive their salaries regularly and even in some cases they could not get it at all:

> When they [the employers] are in trouble, they do not give our money. Sometimes they run away. Two of my sisters used to work in a big workshop. But the workshop went bankrupt. My sisters worked there for 2.5 months. They could not get any money. There have been times when they worked until the morning, they got sick. … In those days my sisters were at the ages of 15 and 16. … In the case of me, there have been delays many times. Until now only one of the employers gave my money on time. I started to school, months passed, I needed money to cover my school expenses and I could not pay it. This happened many many times… Gül (15)

> Q: Do you think working in the garment workshops is a good job?
> Ş: No. Sometimes they do not give your money. My sisters for instance could not get their money sometimes, they got very angry. Şıwan (13)

Apprentices did not suffer from this problem thanks to informal control mechanisms. During my fieldwork a driver servicing the Pendik and Velibaba Industrial Sites explained that there was a very effective information network within the industry among the apprentices. If one could not receive his salary, this would be heard all around the industry immediately and that particular employer could never

find an apprentice to work for him again. Moreover what he did would be heard among the other employers and craftsmen as well, and he would be shamed for not paying the wage of a kid. In this regard, the "rights" of apprentices were protected not by formal institutional rules but through informal social mechanisms.

The greatest degree of diversity both in terms of money and working hours is seen in the case of children working in the streets. As stated, the children who are "candidates for street" according to UNICEF terminology stay for much longer hours, sometimes as long as 15 hours, while the children working in the streets spend 4-5 hours. Ersin and Varol for instance started to work at about 13:00 and returned home at the latest by 20:00. Merve however stayed in the streets until midnight, including weekends.

The amount of money they earn range from 5 to 50 YTL per day depending on the age of a child, the place he/she work and the type of work he/she is involved in. As an example, a child who polished shoes in Şirinevler worked for shorter hours and earned less compared to the one selling tissue paper in Beyoğlu. In fact Beyoğlu is the most income yielding region to work. Therefore involvement of third parties is most seen in Beyoğlu. That is why it is usually the child bureau of the police instead of the mobile team of the Istanbul Governorship which deals with the children working in the streets of Beyoğlu. Children earn more on weekends, on religious days and on Fridays- around mosques.

There were only three interviewees who worked in the service sector. Şıwan (13) worked at a coiffeur during the interview and Metin (14) and Ayla (16) also used to work in coiffeurs. Similarly they worked for very long hours and their income pattern varied. Weekly earnings of Şıwan and Metin depended on the tips they

received, resulting in irregular income. Ayla on the other hand was not allowed to take tips, but her weekly wage was as little as 10 to 20 YTL despite the fact that she worked more than 60 hours per week.

With the exception of two apprentices, children gave all or some amount of their income to their parents, in general to their mothers. This was because the mothers did the domestic work and they undertook spending for household needs.

5.7 Working Conditions in Closed Environments

In this section the working conditions of children in closed places will be described. Since the nature of "street work" is very different than working in closed places, it will be elaborated in the following section.

The major physical difficulty that children who work in closed places have to bear was standing up for long hours. Both in the clothing sector and in industrial zones children complained of getting tired of standing. Since one of the major tasks of the *ortacı*s and apprentices is to run errands, they have to stand up for long hours. In this regard, working conditions were dictated by the nature of the work. On the other hand the employers also forced children to keep standing because they perceived "sitting down" as an indication of laziness and avoidance of doing the job. So it was punished either financially or psychologically:

> I worked in a workshop that produced purses. I got tired while cleaning. *Makineci*s warned me: "The more you stand up, the more he (the boss) appreciates you" they said. But I could not keep standing for long hours… So, because I sat down, I received fewer wage. Metin (14)

> Sometimes my feet are in pain because of standing. I have to stand the whole day long. Always standing… There is no tea break. Only, for lunch, which is half an hour…You should drink your tea while you are standing. When you sit down, they get angry with you. They ask: "Why do you sit down? Did you come here to learn a trade, or to sit down?" Fatih (15)

Another reason for getting tired is the heavy workload. As stated in the very beginning of the chapter, *ortacı*s are supposed to assist 10 or 15 *makineci* simultaneously. They should carry out their orders at the same time. Sometimes it is hard to catch up with the orders, and *ortacı*s are expected to keep standing and working as fast as possible. In fact "fast" was like a keyword of the respondents to explain their working conditions. Since talking and chatting disturbed the speed of work it was not met with sympathy:

> A good *ortacı* is expected to work fast. They get angry when we talk amongst each other during work. They get angry with *makineci*s, too. They tell us that we make them talk and so they cannot finish their job. Derya (14)

It was not only *ortacı*s who were supposed to be as fast as possible. Rojin was promoted to become a *makineci* after working as an *ortacı* for a year when she was 13. In the workshops where she worked, *makineci*s were paid for every piece of clothing they stitched. As a result of this everyone worked incessantly to earn more.

> They do not even give lunch breaks. At least I give lunch break. You see, we earn as much as we sew. So, the bosses tell us to have a rest but no one listens. We go on stitching … Without stopping… The more we sew, the more we earn. They give us tea. But we do not care. We drink our tea and sew at the same time. My sister worked so much that she became short sighted. Rojin (16)

Rojin's sister was not the only one who suffered from job-related health problems. Vedat (16) did not show for his appointment with me. When I called him he said he reported sick to work. When we met the next day he explained that the exhausting and laborious nature of the work might lead to health problems. For instance he had chronic headaches and neck ache. In fact, the working environment of children carries a number of health risks. For instance, in some cases children are exposed to harmful chemical materials. They may have to carry very heavy metal parts. Some of them use risky machines, and they rarely wear appropriate protective

apparel. When Fatih came for his interview with me, his eyes were very bloody. I asked what was wrong with his eyes:

> While my foreman was welding I had to hold the metal part. So, my eyes got hurt. My foremen use masks, but they do not care about us. Fatih (15)

This was not the only risk to which he was exposed. When he was 11 years old, he used to work in a store where he was supposed to use diesel oil in cleaning car pumps. By the passage of time spots appeared on his hands. He could not use gloves, because diesel oil made holes in the gloves. After a certain time he had to quit the job.

Similarly workshops in the clothing sector also have risky working conditions. I visited a workshop in Sultanbeyli that produced undergarments. The noise level in the workshop was very high. Another unfavourable condition of workshops in the garment sector is the dust level:

> I do not want to work in a workshop in the future, because it is very dusty. When you inhale dust you get sick. When you get sick, they do not let you go home. It is also very noisy. The machines are very noisy. I do not want to work in a clothing workshop. Derya (14)

> It is very tiring. And I could not do it very well because of my sickness. That is why I spend almost half of my working hours in a toilet, dealing with my bleeding nose. It is a very dusty place, very dusty. Ayla (16)

Some apprentices implied that industrial zones were not very safe. Substance abuser children frequently came to the industrial zone in order to purchase addictive glues. In some cases apprentices had to have contact with the substance abusers:

> There is place near here where glue-addicts hang around. They jumped through the fences of the industrial zone once. They threatened an apprentice who was alone in the shop with a knife, and took his money. Fatih (15)

> Once I saw a child who came to the shop to purchase glue. He told the salesman that he did not need the package, only the content. He filled his plastic bag with the glue and he started to inhale it. … This is a very dangerous place. There have been thefts many times… They [burglars]

> come to shops, they shoot people, they steal, and they beat people … İsa (16)

The interaction of working children with substance abusers is worthy of discussion for another reason as well. One of the frequently cited risks of working in the streets is that children working in the streets can communicate and interact with youth who live in the streets. This communication may lead to gradual transformation of a child working in the streets into a child living in the streets. In time, it is argued; those children may also become addicted to sniffing materials and glue solvents. However, as we see, children working in the industrial zones can also be exposed to interaction with substance abusers. For instance Fatih (15) started to carry a gun at the age of 13 after being attacked while going home from work. In another example, Isa worked with a young man who used drugs even at work:

> For instance, the guy who had just done his military service worked at the machines as if he was dizzy. He would lose his consciousness. He smoked hashish, he took pills… On those hills, everybody drinks alcohol, smokes hashish. İsa (16)

Taking all into account, children working in closed environments suffer from a number of unhealthy and risky working conditions. They had to stand up for long hours even if it was not necessary all the time. The ones in the clothing sector work under time pressure in very noisy and dusty environments. The industrial zones do not seem to be very safe and secure places. In sum, children work for a mere pittance, under very hard conditions and for long hours.

With the exception of some apprentices, working children are employed informally with no social security or legal rights. Even the ones who are enrolled in VECs cannot enjoy their legal rights in practice. The way they are treated, their working hours, their wages and the timing of payments all depend on the attitude of employers. They are only protected by informal social mechanisms. Social pressure

prevents employers from failing to pay the wages of apprentices; relatives and sisters monitor each other in the working place; children work in places at a walking distance from their homes; fathers try to place their sons in the shops of their acquaintances.

At first, it seems that children are surrounded by many eyes monitoring and following them. Their daily lives in working places, their relations with other people seemed to be all transparent. In reality, this is not the case. There is a big wall between the homes and workshops that is constituted by the silence of the children. Children do not communicate with their families when they encounter any trouble at work:

> He cannot do anything to the *makineci*. But he beats, kicks the *ortacı*. But of course without telling his family... For instance when I started working, my older brother used to ask me whether I was beaten or not. I told him no. I could not tell him because I had to keep the money. I had worked there only for a month, what if I left that job… I got used to the beating and I got used to my money. My brother told me to inform him if I was beaten. I said ok. When the weeks passed, I missed the school. That beating… I was waiting for it to pass away within those four walls. Even a prison is better than a workshop. But if I tell these to my brother, they might have taken me away; there might have been a fight. Metin (14)

> Q: If there is a problem in the workplace…
> G: I never tell to my parents… Gül (15)

The children do not want to cause trouble for their families and in fact they act with responsibility. However, unwillingness to speak out creates a further risk for them. Their families and relatives are basically the only actors that can help them out in case of trouble or defend their rights to some extent. The silence of children reinforces the invisibility of the working children in closed environments.

5.8 Working Conditions in the Streets

During my fieldwork at the BCC I interviewed both employees of the BCC and children working in the streets. I also chatted with dozens of children and their parents. I went around with the mobile team twice, and observed the way they were

working. The findings below are a synthesis of the data derived from these interviews, casual conversations and observations.

With the exception of Turgut (12) and Mert (9), all the respondents sold tissue paper in some particular areas. Nergis (12), Sedef (13) and Merve (13) worked in Levent, while Ersin (11) and Varol (12) worked in Şirinevler and Ataköy. The first group of children, Nergis, Sedef and Merve, were closer to being categorized as "candidates for the street" while the second group, including Ersin, Varol Turgut and Mert, were "children on the street." These two groups of children have both similarities and differences. They have specific working places and they do not change their working regions frequently, and those regions are generally close to their houses. Turgut (12), Varol (12) and Ersin (11) worked at walking distance from their houses. Mert (9) lived in Pendik and sold chewing gum in Harem, but he went there with his mother. Nergis, Sedef and Merve lived in Gültepe and worked in Levent, but they were more flexible.

When children work in the same place for a long time they fell like "it is their place". Nurettin was a 12 year-old boy who sold tissue paper under the traffic lights when he was captured by a mobile team. The conversation between him and one of the social workers in the centre was very illustrative in that regard:

> Q: Do you have any other siblings who work in the streets?
> N: We do not work in the streets; we work under the traffic lights.
> Q: Isn't that a street?
> N: No, it is not. It is our place. Nurettin (12)

Nurettin was reflecting the truth partially. When children work in a specific region for a period of time, they start to socialize in that place. They meet with the tradesmen and retailers. Some of these people regularly monitor and protect the children. In fact one of the sociologists complained about it. She said that some retailers hid the children when mobile teams tried to catch them. Ersin also told me

that a sales clerk helped them when the mobile team arrived. She hid packages of tissue paper that children sell so that the children can claim that they were not selling anything, or at least they can save their "goods" even if they are catch. Otherwise mobile teams confiscate the merchandise of the working children.

I was with the team while they were trying to catch a little boy in Şirinevler. He was afraid and started to cry. He threw himself to the floor and tried to resist. Immediately two people approached and asked what the team was doing to the boy. They were shopkeepers on that street and they knew the boy's name. One of the sociologists in the team stated that passers-by and shopkeepers usually intervene in their effort to catch a child working in the streets, sometimes very severely. Some team members were previously attacked by onlookers and there had been times when the discussion ended up in a police station.

According to the law, one of the two members of the team has to be a policeman. I was told that in practice the police officer was needed to protect the team from passers-by and reacting crowds during day time. People, especially the ones who have known the children for a long time, have sympathy towards them. "They are just trying to earn their bread" and "Would it be better if they were thieves?" are the two most commonly cited arguments of the people who are against the work of the mobile team.

In addition to the shopkeepers, sometimes children become acquainted with police officers also:

> We already know the people around. No one can do anything to us there. If someone does something to us, we call the police station to talk to our acquaintances: Ferhan, Kazım, Cemal, Haluk, Uğur, Oktay, Remzi… Those people are in the X police station. They help us. Merve (13)

Certainly Merve was very optimistic when she said "no one can do anything to us". Similar to children working in closed areas, these children are also protected by informal ties. It is not the institution of "the police" but some individual police officers that protect them. However, such protection does not apply all the time. Sedef also gave the name of another policeman working in another police station who beat children severely:

> Q: Do they beat you there?
> S: Certainly.
> Q: Really?
> S: I swear they do.
> Q: Why do they beat you?
> S: Because we work. They tell us that it is prohibited. Who cares! We will still go on working. Let it be prohibited, we do not have money. Sedef (13)

Metin worked in the streets when he was five:

> I remember that one day policemen beat us. They caught us while we were selling tissue paper. I was talking to a friend of mine, and the policeman was beating me. "What the hell are you talking about?" he told us. We were speaking Kurdish. They took us to a booth. There used to be a booth in Taksim those days. They used to take us there, beat us severely and then took us to the police station. Metin (14)

There is both solidarity and enmity among the children working in the streets. They work as a group mainly with their relatives or neighbours.[61] This is a useful strategy to protect themselves from outsiders. As they stated, if one of them is caught by the mobile team, they join their friend, not to leave him alone. In Nergis's words,

> We hang around together, we get caught together. Nergis (12)

At the same time they compete and even sometimes fight with other children working in the streets. It is common for older children to seize the money of younger ones by using force:

Q: What if other children come to the street in which you work?

[61] Altıntaş (2003) reached similar conclusions in her field study on children working in the streets of Ankara. According to her, children constructed their own group norms. Solidarity is emphasized in intra-group relations while, inter-group relations are based on power and competition.

E: We fight. We tell them that we arrived first. Ersin (11)

> At first, a boy was bullying me. He took money from me. He told me that it was his place; he could work there and that I could only work for him. He threatened me. Later on we realized that we were relatives. Metin (14)

In some cases adults intervene with various motives, either to protect their children from the others or to keep their children's customers. The beating of children, as a typical method of punishment, is seen here too:

> I was selling tissue paper. I had 11 YTL. A boy approached me and said that he was going to give me 20 YTL. I believed him. Then he took all my money. Then my uncle and mother came. My uncle beat him severely. That boy is still around. But he longer takes our money. He cannot do anything. Varol (12)

> There was an older boy here. He kept rich customers for himself. When a BMW arrived, he told us that it belonged to him, it was his customer. There was a five-year-old boy. His father worked in the hotel next to the patisserie. When we took the customer of his son, he got angry with us. Ersin (11)

There is a generally accepted view that children working in the streets face higher risks compared to children working in closed environments. I think this claim should be accepted with some reservations.

Transition to "living in the streets" after working in the streets for a while is mentioned as the greatest risk of street jobs. Some social workers described it the "fate of street" (sokak kaderi). For them children working in the streets gradually get used to it, spend longer hours, break off family ties, start to live in the streets and in the end, become substance abusers.

It appears to be true that for some children the duration of time spent in the streets increases over time. The longer they stay in the streets the more they get used to the freedom of the streets and to earning money. Eventually, they become "professional", they take control of their work and their ties with their family might get weaker:

> We used to come [to work] with our parents. They monitored us and we sold tissue paper. When we were 6 or 7 we started to come with our sisters and brothers. At the age of 8-9 we started to come on our own and work alone. Merve (13)

Moreover working in the streets provides them with financial and social freedom that their counterparts can never enjoy. No one knows how much a child earns per day exactly, how much she keeps for herself and what she buys with it. Although families try to exercise control over their children by requiring a minimum amount of money daily, the extent of this control is very limited:

> We come from school at lunch time, we have our lunch. We play for a while and then we go to work. Until 23:00, 24:00 or 1:00. We go to work everyday, including weekends. We hang around in our free time. We play games. We wander around. We go to Beşiktaş, Maçka… For instance they know the fact that we can sell more on Fridays and Saturdays. So they tell us to make 50, 25 or 20 YTL. They say so, but we do not do it. We play games and enjoy ourselves. We eat something or buy something. Merve (13)

> We both play games and sell tissue paper. In fact, we are somehow content with selling tissue paper. But we cannot hang around or play games when our families come with us. They tell us to make money. But we cannot. In fact, it is very nice when we have money. We first make some money and then play games. We play at the Metro. Nergis (12)

This freedom is both a curse and a blessing. On the negative side, as they get used to the taste of freedom, they want even more of it, and can get out of control. The oldest of these children is 13, and they travel around Beşiktaş, Levent and Taksim up until 2:00. Sometimes they do not go back home for days.

The risks that these children face cannot be exaggerated. However, it is very questionable whether it is a rule or exception for children working in the streets to convert into children of streets. In other words, pull factors such as enjoyment of freedom are not enough on their own to pull children away from their houses. It is usually a combination of a number of reasons that push children to streets permanently such as severe mistreatment at home and the ignorance of state

authorities. Additionally it takes a very long time before children become “street addicted”. It is possible to intervene during the process and rehabilitate those children. However, lack of policy implementation, that is, a kind of “state inertia”, lets these children slide as in the case of Melek, who seemed to have a tendency to involve in prostitution. It is not only the risks of streets but also the lack of effective intervention that causes this social trauma.

Besides, protective nature of closed environments should not be exaggerated. Considering the fact that children do not communicate with their parents when they face a problem in the working place, and given the invisible character of these workshops, it is not easy to say that children are safe in closed places. Although children working in the streets face many risks and dangers, they are more visible. They can be seen by shopkeepers, police officers, the mobile team and the by-passers. Children working in closed places are on the other hand far from the public eye, despite the fact that their parents know where they are. Despite these risks and dangers, one should also note that working in the streets can provide children some advantages over the ones working in closed environments. As mentioned by Nergis and Merve it gives them a time to enjoy their childhood to some extent. After some point, this freedom carries risks and dangers, but up to that point it is a blessing, especially for a child who can compare it to the working conditions in a workshop:

> I prefer to work in the streets. I used to enjoy working in the streets. I was very small. I would go up to a lady, I would chat with her and then I would sell my tissue paper like that. I was not obliged to go to work in the morning or in the afternoon. I mean, if I want to sell a package of tissue paper I can sell it anytime I want, in the morning or at midnight. I mean, I was free. However, when you enter a workshop you cannot get out! You have to stay in there until a certain hour. After that hour there is no freedom. There is no life! Metin (14)

One of the risks of working in the streets is, as the social workers in the centre stated, “degeneration/erosion of values”. At the beginning children feel obliged to

give a package of tissue paper in return for money. They see is as their part of the transaction. By the passage of time, they observe that some people do not take a package, some give higher amounts then they ask for. Eventually, they become more profit oriented and try to take money without giving packages or ask for more money than they used to do. Thus, profit oriented exchanges might destroy children's ethical codes or can influence in a negative way their personality.

I am convinced that children working in the streets are under great risk and danger. The chances of interacting with abusive people, criminals and even sometimes with malicious police officers create great risk of physical, psychological and sexual abuse. Nevertheless this should not shadow the exploitative working conditions of children in closed environments.

A few more points should be underlined before moving on to the next section. "Street children" can be grouped under three different categories and not all the "street children" live in the streets and not all of them are addicted. Transition from being a child working in the street to a child living in the street is observed but to a limited extent. As noted earlier, one of the social workers described this transformation as the "street fate". I disagree with such a conceptualization since I am not convinced that there is an automatic transition to living in the streets. Additionally the process is both stoppable and preventable. Even the children working under worst conditions such as prostitution or living in the streets are not beyond the state's control or knowledge. In fact their names, places and stories are very well known by the local authorities, especially by the police. In this regard we should also add "state inertia" as a factor that aggravates the problem.

5.9 Employer – Employee Relations in Closed Environments

The treatment by employers towards children seems to depend on the relations between the parents- in general fathers- of the children and the employer. It is very common for apprentices to be placed by their fathers in a working place of his acquaintances. The acquaintance is a friend, a relative or somebody he was involved in a business relation before. In these cases children seem to be treated better. For instance, the fathers of İsa (16) and Sinan (16) who were apprentices in the workshop producing metal parts had close relations with the craftsmen overseeing their sons.

> My father and my master know each other very well. I mean these people are trustworthy. They are not strangers. They are like our villagers. My master is like my real brother. İsa (16)

Close relations with the employers is another informal production mechanism that protects the rights of children to some extent. Unfortunately not every employer has friendly relationships with their apprentices or with their father and close relations do not save children all the time. Şıwan (13) for instance was beaten by his uncle. Corporal punishment was not applied generally, but there were still some apprentices who were beaten:

> He was harsh. He was treating me harshly. He was not a good man…. There have been times when they beat me. If you did something wrong, if you made a mistake they get angry immediately. Varol (15)

> Yes they beat us, but some of them beat apprentices for their own good. Some masters beat apprentices in order to teach them something. Not to let them remain ignorant. Fatih (15)

As stated by the two interviewees who work in the clothing sector, *ortacı*s are not immune from corporal punishment either:

> If you cannot do the job, you either receive less money or you are beaten. He [The boss] cannot do this to a *makineci*. But he beats and kicks the *ortacı*. Metin (14)

> My last workplace was terrible. The masters were terrible. They kept on shouting at us. When they were in stress, they sometimes beat or hit us. Mehmet (16)

None of the girls working in closed places were subjected to physical violence. Their complaints were more of psychological pressures or misconduct by employers and other employees:

> They always give orders. I have told them many times that they gave orders but… Because the boss tells to foremen, the foreman tells to *makineci*s, *makineci*s tell to *ortacı*s, so to us. To whom can we complain? There is no one. We are obliged to keep it inside us. Ayla (16)

> For instance, they wanted me to kneel down and wipe the floors. I did not like to clean the floors like that. I refused, but then… I cannot clean the floors by bending down. The coiffeur was close to my school. What if my friends saw me? I was worried. Ayla (16)

However, not everyone complained about their employers. Rojin (16) for instance was very close with the wife of her bosses. Derya (14) found his boss a little bad-tempered but still good. Berivan (14) suggested that in other places employers were not as good as hers:

> There, I tried very hard to learn how to use the machine. I spent enormous effort. The wife of our boss comes also, she loves me very much. She always gives a little present to me, she hugs me. They love me a lot. She told me that they were going to allocate me a machine. And that I should never be standing, a girl like me should not be standing. So they let me work on a machine. Rojin (16)

> In fact, he treated us very well. But, he got angry when we could not finish the tasks. He had a bad temper when we couldn't finish an order in time or when the machines did not work. Derya (14)

> It is not like other workplaces. He never shouts at us. I mean, he is a good man. He behaves well. Berivan (14)

As discussed here, the treatment towards children mostly depended on their employers. Once more, in the absence of institutional rules and legal enforcement, the fate of working children is left at the mercy of individuals/ employers. In other words working children in Turkey are mainly protected by unwritten social rules instead of

written legal principles. It is not the institutions but individuals that provide a safety belt for children. Why is this so? Why can the state's policies not be properly implemented? The remaining part of the chapter tries to provide an answer for these questions and conclude the analysis of the findings of the field study.

5.10 Policy Implementation

One of the major arguments of the thesis is that laws and legal regulations would fall short of eliminating child labour as long as they considered it detached from its socio-economic and historical context. Child labour as a structural problem can only be eliminated by policies that seek to bring about structural changes. Chapter Four pointed out this argument by indicating the existence of various forms of child labour despite the high standards of the legal framework in the country. As long as the socio-economic and cultural standards of the society lag behind the legal standards, the proper enforcement of laws cannot be achieved. Accordingly, we can also talk about a "state inertia" resulting from the slowness of bureaucracy and lack of resources.

In order to explore this argument further I spent considerable time for two months at the BCC and observed the implementation of the policies of the Istanbul Governorship, which prohibits children's working in the streets based on the Law on Minor Offences. In order to prevent children's working in the streets the governorship pursues the following practice: Mobile teams of the governorship patrol Istanbul 24 hours a day, locate children working and living in the streets and bring them to the BCC. The centre provides them a shelter until their parents arrive to pick up them. According to the law, if a child is caught while working in the streets more than once, parents are levied a 100 YTL fine. If she is caught for a third time, then the parents are brought before a court. The following points on the functioning of the

policy are derived from my observations and the in-depth interviews I conducted with social workers and sociologists.

First of all, as commonly stated by the social workers too, the policy does not target solving the problem. Without removing the conditions under which children are sent to work in the streets, the policy attempts to prevent families from sending their children to work by enforcing financial punishment. Far from being effective, such a policy can even have perverse effects. As one of the interviewees underlined, since families have their children work as a result of financial necessities, the 100 YTL fine might even lead children work for longer hours to cover this extra cost.

The policy, instead of targeting the root causes of child labour, is based on punishing the parents. That indicates the underlying mentality behind the law, which sees abusive parents as the major reason behind the child labour. However, as shown in the previous sections of this chapter, child labour is the result of complex socio-economic and cultural factors. The presence and effect of "abusive parents" is relevant only in marginal cases such as the "candidates for the streets", but even in those cases it is not the single decisive factor.

Thirdly, as much as the law regards child labour detached from its socio-economic context, it regards a child detached from its family. 100 YTL is a rather large amount of money for most of the families that rely on their children's earnings. In the case of a financial or legal punishment the one who is harmed is not only the parents but also the children themselves. In this regard punishment of parents is partially also the *punishment of children*. Even if we assume that some of these parents abuse their children and should be punished accordingly, it should be taken into account that the law requires no such distinction. Each and every parent whose child is caught more than once is levied the same fine.

Fourth, the practice is psychologically very destructive for the children as well. Children working in the streets are brought to the BCC from any region of Istanbul. Sometimes children are taken from a few blocks away from their houses, say in Pendik, taken in the mobile team's bus for a few hours and then brought to Taksim. It takes hours before their parents can come to pick up their children, and sometimes a whole day. Especially for a child who comes to the centre for the first time the process tends to be a very scary experience. I saw many children who were terrified and crying. Some thought that they would never be brought back to their parents. In addition to the socio-economic conditions, the psychological aspect of the issue was also neglected.

Fifth, sometimes children are taken on the mobile team's bus against their will. In these cases, they may be forced or deceived into getting into the vehicle.[62] One social worker, who was very critical of the policy, stated that in some cases mobile teams persuaded the children by offering them candies or by making empty promises. Once, for instance, children were told that there was a Sony PlayStation in the centre. Social workers criticized such practices harshly. I also think that children should not be taken to the centre against their will unless there is an exceptional situation. To communicate with children working in the streets, social workers should spend time with them in the streets, gain their trust, and eventually get into contact with their families.

The fact that many families cannot receive social aid although they are poor due to the strict eligibility criteria might also be a factor contributing to the incidence of child labour. For instance, according to the criteria for social aid, only parents who

[62] The mobile team consists of a driver, a policeman and a sociologist. Social workers on the other hand, are responsible for recording these children, taking care of them in the streets, contacting their families and carrying out a "social" investigation of the families who live in absolute poverty.

do not have social security can receive a social aid of 300 YTL per month.[63] This provides a good indication of how a legal regulation can be isolated from the socio-economic conditions of the country. Social security is not an indication of relatively better financial conditions in the Turkish context. One of the social workers gave an example of a family consisting of six members. The father, the only working member of the family, earned 350 YTL monthly and paid 200 YTL for rent. He could not receive any social aid however because he had social security. At the time of the interview his children were not working but it is not hard to foresee that this would not take long.

There are also some technical obstacles such as the lack of qualified personnel, an inadequate budget and a laggard bureaucracy. Social workers cannot spend enough time with children or their parents; the number of mobile teams is very limited; and there is a very high turnover rate of employees in the centre which impedes the accumulation of knowledge and experience.

There are positive aspects of the practice as well. First and foremost it somehow forms a connection between children working in the streets, their parents and social workers/ sociologists. In some cases children go to work without the permission of their parents[64] and some families are unaware of the risks that their children are exposed to on the streets. In these regards the project is very beneficial in terms of being informative. There are also some parents who quit sending their children to work after being warned by the social workers in the centre and at least some of these parents can get some help through the BCC.

[63] Regardless of the number of children, families receive a 300 YTL social aid whereas the fine is 100 YTL per children. So, the amount of the fine would increase in accordance with the number of children, while the amount of the aid did not.

[64] A noteworthy point is that in some cases mothers, who do not have any source of income, send children to work without informing the fathers.

Additionally there are some registered children who regularly go to the centre for meals and educational activities; and they are also given some pocket-money. Some of those children used to work in the streets; they have pulled themselves out of the streets after registering and getting social services and aid from the centre.

Before concluding this section, I should also emphasise that the implementation of the law on minor offences only targets children working in the streets and, as such, ignores children working in workshops. Only inspectors from the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MLSS) (and the gendarmerie in rural areas) are authorised to inspect and monitor workshops and factories with a view to preventing the exploitation of child labour.

Given that child labour in manufacturing industries has so far largely been neglected by social scientists as well as by the media and policy makers, it may be argued that this area is ignored benignly at best and deliberately at worst. Although my fieldwork did not entail inspections of workshops, an interview I conducted with a social worker who used to work as a factory inspector during his compulsory military service revealed some interesting information on this issue. He stated that inspectors often preferred to fine an establishment that employed children, and deliberately avoided closing down the workshops as that would result in the unemployment of many other people working there. In other words they were laggard in enforcing the laws against child labour in manufacturing, since they perceived that such punishment would result in unemployment for adults as well. This is very illustrative in the sense that punitive laws detached from the context and the conditions within which child labour emerges would not be implemented properly and even in the case of proper implementation, might create perverse effects. In brief, the policy of imposing fines to the families of working children without providing them with alternative solutions is

based on wrong premises and in this regard can hardly reach its goals. It fails to take the complexities of the phenomenon of child labour into consideration. In addition, this policy completely ignores children working in closed environments, and although the MLSS is authorised to monitor manufacturing establishments to prevent child labour, it appears that existing laws are not properly enforced.

5.11 Concluding Remarks

As stated in the previous chapters the incidence of child labour stems from diverse socio-economic factors such as migration, poverty and cultural dispositions. In this regard child labour, instead of being isolated and independent of the context, is a consequence of more complex, interrelated and deeply rooted social, economic and political problems. I conducted a field study in Istanbul to explore this argument further and to investigate the major forms of child labour in the Turkish context.

The study focused on three different areas of child labour in Turkey. *Apprenticeship*, whose roots can be traced to the twelfth century, still prevails as a socially accepted and legally recognized form of child labour. On the other hand, *children's working in workshops* in the clothing sector is a fairly new phenomenon- so new that there is simply no scholarly study on the issue yet. Despite academic and political neglect, even within the scope of my study, the extensive deployment of child labour in the clothing sector can be observed. Although some kinds of "street jobs" such as selling *simit* or running errands have always been recognized as "children's work" to some extent, *children's working in the streets* has never been so extensive and hazardous as it has been in the past decade.

Similar to previous studies, my research also pinpointed at poverty as the major force pouring child labour into the market. Additionally high school cost,

unexpected family crises, migration and learning a trade at early ages were among the factors.

One of the major findings of the research was the strong relation of the incidence of child labour with other social phenomena such as gender-based discrimination. Exploring the family dynamics of working children in detail, we see that unequal power relations based on gender and generation prevail widely and affect the decisions on children's working. Although the main motive behind child labour is economic necessity, traditional values still play an important role on family decisions regarding children's working. Boys, for instance, are more likely to be sent to school, while girls' working is seen as a temporary situation. In this regard, learning a trade is overwhelmingly a motive behind boys' working.

The phenomenon of child labour is like a battlefield where the forces of the market economy fight against social and traditional values. In cases where families have to sacrifice from their traditional role expectations, they try to harmonize this new situation with their existing values. For instance, since protecting girls' purity is of great importance, girls are sent to work with their sisters or relatives. Also, in rare cases, the economic power of children challenges the social power of their fathers.

When we take a glance at the working conditions of children, we see that, in general children work under hazardous and exploitative circumstances. Children are employed for long hours for a very small income, constituting a cheap labour reserve for the employers. The major protection mechanism was not an institutional/ legal framework, but informal social networks. The treatment by employers towards children very much depended on the individual characteristics of the employer and his personal relation with the father of a child.

This is in line with one of the major arguments of this thesis. Although Turkey' legal framework on child labour is in harmony with international standards; existing laws are far above the socio-economic and cultural conjuncture of Turkish society. As shown in the last section, current policies are mainly punitive and do not provide a way out for families to eradicate the root causes of child labour.

To sum up, child labour as a serious social problem still prevails in Turkey in various forms some of which are socially acceptable while others are not. The existence of child labour testifies to the fact that there is a gap between the current legal structure and the socio-economic and cultural environment of the country. Until the relevant social policies are implemented to fill this void and to fight back the root causes of the phenomenon in its different forms the incidence child labour is here to stay with us.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This thesis was undertaken as an attempt to explore child labour in urban Turkey, and to analyse the phenomenon of child labour from a broad scholarly perspective encompassing its socio-economic, cultural and historical aspects. The research for the thesis relies on a critical survey of the scholarly literatures on childhood and child labour in the world as well as in Turkey, and four months of fieldwork in Istanbul based on non-participant observation and in-depth interviews with working children and social workers.

The major finding of the study is that child labour is a multi-faceted and context dependent socio-economic phenomenon both in Turkey and elsewhere in the world. Successive chapters dealt with conceptual, global and local aspects of this argument.

Firstly, the study revealed that as the society's perception of childhood affects its perception of children's working, an understanding of child labour cannot be detached from an understanding of childhood itself. In this regard, *the second chapter* constructed a conceptual link between the literatures on childhood and child labour, and demonstrated how the perceptions towards child labour, and the understanding of childhood continued to be transformed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this regard, the modern understanding of childhood as a distinct and privileged life stage that should be dedicated to learning, self development and games, is in fact a fairly new phenomenon. Accordingly, the ethical and social objection towards

children's working, which can hamper their development, is historically and culturally constructed. For instance, the perception of "the useful childhood, was based on the premise that all family members, including children, should contribute to a family's support" (Mintz, 2004: 152). This perception of childhood renders children's working socially acceptable.

I argued that neither a purely cultural approach nor a narrow economic explanation is sufficient to provide a comprehensive understanding of the incidence of child labour and sought to demonstrate that child labour stems from many diverse and interrelated factors. With this in mind, *the third chapter* analysed child labour in a global context and showed that the phenomenon cannot be accounted for on purely cultural or economic terms. While poverty constitutes the cornerstone of economic perspectives, intra-family decision making processes, traditional gender roles and social understanding of childhood stand out as the major cultural factors. Additionally the legal structure and institutional set-up can act as exacerbating factors. In brief child labour, as a multifaceted phenomenon, cannot be analysed in a social vacuum.

In line with the above arguments, I criticised exiting policies targeting child labour for their flawed assessment of the phenomenon and their neglect of the context and the conditions within which child labour emerges. On the international level the two mostly debated policies are imposition of international labour standards and enforcement of trade sanctions. I critically discussed these two policies for not targeting the root causes of child labour. Labour standards cannot be implemented regardless of the socio-economic conditions of the country. Trade sanctions, on the other hand, can even have perverse effect by deteriorating the current account of the countries and aggravating poverty, which is the basic reason behind children's working.

In *Chapter Four* I focused on Turkey and emphasised that the main arguments in Chapters Two and Three are also valid for the Turkish case: *First,* the conceptualization of childhood affects social attitudes towards child labour in Turkey. In the Turkish historical context, the "consciousness of childhood", which includes not only love but also knowledge of what is supposed to be done for the development of the child was lacking (Onur, 2005: 16). The lack of "consciousness of childhood" is in accordance with the traditional glorification of child labour as a "way of learning life" as well as with the extensive use of corporal punishment to "discipline" infants. The historical roots of some forms of child labour such as apprenticeship and domestic child labour verify the traditional favourable attitude towards children's working. *Second,* there are various interrelated factors behind child labour in Turkey. Similar to the global context, poverty, traditional gender roles and favourable attitude towards child labour can be stated as underlying reasons. Additionally, migration, internal displacement and learning a trade at early ages are also important factors in the Turkish context. Migration based on poverty stemmed from unemployment and political unrest stemmed from Kurdish conflict in the Eastern region of the country. Children's will to learn a trade results from lack of faith in the education system. In brief, as argued in the thesis, child labour is integrated with other social processes and should not be regarded as an isolated incident. *Third,* Turkey constitutes a very good example of how legal standards detached from the socio-economic and cultural realities of the society fall short of being implemented and enforced properly. Turkey has signed all the major treaties and conventions regarding child labour and they are legally binding according to the Turkish constitution. Therefore, the Turkish legal framework is in harmony with international standards to a great extent. However, as the last sections of Chapter Four indicated, child labour still prevails in Turkey in

various forms. This testifies to the fact that legal mechanisms are necessary but inadequate. For instance, enforcement of compulsory education has been a very positive development in terms of both decreasing the number of child workers and increasing the age of starting to work. However, as my fieldwork also demonstrated, children still work after school or in summer holidays, carrying a double burden.

Chapter Five presented the findings of the fieldwork, which are in line with the basic arguments of the thesis. One of the major findings of the research is the strong relation between the incidence of child labour and other social phenomena such as unequal power relations based on gender and generation. When families have limited financial means, girls' education is sacrificed first. While boys are insistently, in some cases even against their will, sent to school, girls are sent to work, but only until marriage. This is because, whilst "daughters" are accepted to work for income "wives" are not. This is relevant to the other finding of the study which points out the clash between traditional values and market necessities. Although girls are used to being assigned domestic chores whereas boys are expected to work outdoors, requirements of the market economy seem to challenge this kind of gender-based task allocation. Girls are not only working in domestic chores but also outdoors in order to contribute to family income. There is also a growing feminization of the labour force in the clothing sector.

However market forces influence traditions only to some extent. As noted, girls are still expected to work only until marriage and males are predominantly the major decision makers in the household. Yet, in some cases there are also indications that the social power of fathers is being challenged by the economic power of the children. When father's traditional role of being the breadwinner of the family is shared by or transferred to children, the generation-based authority allocation is also

unsettled. In this regard, child labour not only is influenced by the social structure of the society, but also, it influences it in turn.

The research revealed that despite existing laws, children work under harmful and exploitative conditions in both physical and psychological terms. Even the apprentices, whose working conditions are strictly defined and regulated by laws, work in hazardous conditions and for much longer hours than the law allows. The study clearly demonstrated that the laws are not properly implemented and there is a huge gap between the legal requirements and social reality. As argued in this thesis this stems from the fact that the legal instruments fall short of being enforced as long as they are resisted by socio-economic needs and cultural values of the people. This clash creates pseudo-legal environments in which children are employed with respect to unwritten social rules and partially legal procedures. In this regard the study showed that informal social networks are the basic protective apparatus for children's rights instead of a legal/institutional framework. The individual characteristic of the employers, the social pressure that the employer feels or the relationship between the fathers of working children and employers were decisive in this regard. For the children working in the streets such kind of protection was provided by nearby shopkeepers, passers-by and some police officers (but not "the police" as an institution).

Children working in the streets also have some unique characteristics. In terms of family relations, working conditions/hours and earnings, the interviewees can be grouped under two categories following the UNICEF terminology. The first group is the "children on the streets" and the second one is the "candidates for street". While the first group did not indicate family dysfunctionality and parental abuse, symptoms of such factors were observed for the candidates for streets.

Lastly, this study has various strengths and weaknesses that might provide food for future studies.

On the asset side this study stands as one of the few scholarly works which focuses on children working in garment workshops. Despite the severity of this social problem, there is a lack of sufficient scholarly attention on this issue. Therefore this thesis attempted to fill the void in the literature by providing some insights from various stakeholders of this social phenomenon.

The second strength of the thesis is that, in a methodological sense it combines both theoretical and empirical approaches. Theoretically, the study combined two disparate literatures on childhood and child labour and provided a conceptual linkage between the two. Alongside its theoretical contribution, the study also included fieldwork based on non-participant observation and in-depth interviews with working children. Moreover, the research opened new ground for a comparative analysis: non-participant observation and in-depth interviews in the study were conducted with a sample group composed of (i) children working in workshops in the clothing sector; (ii) apprentices; and (iii) children working in the streets. The study is unique in terms of covering three different groups of working children and providing rich qualitative data on all three.

Alongside these strengths, the study has some shortcomings as well. First of all, given the fact that the phenomenon of child labour includes various stakeholders such working children, employers, families and as well as social workers; it was challenging to obtain information from all these various actors. Therefore, the interviewees remained limited to working children and social workers. Also, there was some hardship during the process of obtaining data, such as the shortness of the time

spent in the workplaces of children as well as the obstacles stemming from the informal nature of children's working.

Secondly, although the study includes an analytical discussion of the conceptual relation between childhood and child labour, the empirical component of the thesis does not provide findings on this issue. This stems from working children's parents refusal to be interviewed who would have been the major source of information on this issue. Therefore the available data, which is derived mostly from the statements of working children and social workers, does not provide much information on the perception of childhood and child labour in the society. Future studies on the subject might focus on filling this void.

Third, although in-dept interviews allowed the gathering of rich data, the findings are not generalisable to all of Turkey since a survey based on representative sampling was not used. Furthermore, the sample group did not include children working in other areas such as the agricultural sector in which the largest number children are employed in Turkey. Additionally child labour in domestic chores and children working in the worst forms of child labour were not addressed within the scope of study. Future large-scale studies should include the working children in such sectors as well. Future studies based on surveys with representative sampling for all of Turkey might enable testing the main findings of this thesis with a view to generating generalisable conclusions.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

A.F.P. 1995. Review of "Child Employment in the Capitalist Labour Market" by Michael Lavalette, *International Labour Review* 134(2): 279.

Aksu, Bora. 2005. *Kadınların Sınıfı* [The Class of Women]. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Akşit, Bahattin, Nuray Karancı, and Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör. 2001. *Turkey, Working Street Children in Three Metropolitan Cities: A Rapid Assessment.* Geneva: ILO/IPEC Publications.

Altıntaş, Betül. 2003. *Mendile, Simite, Boyaya, Çöpe: Ankara Sokaklarında Çalışan Çocuklar* [Tissue Paper, Simit, Shoe-Polishing, Scavenging: The Children Working in the Streets of Ankara]. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

The Economist. 2000, April 4. "After the Children Went to School", 355(8165): 72.

Ariés, Philippe. 1973. *Centuries of Childhood.* London: The Chaucer Press.

Bachman SLa. 2000. "The Political Economy of Child Labour and Its Impacts on International Business", *Business Economics* 35(3): 30- 41.

-----.2000. "A New Economics of Child Labour: Searching for Answers Behind the Headlines", *Journal of International Affairs* 53(2): 545- 572.

Basu, Kaushik. 2000. "The Intriguing Relation Between Adult Minimum Wage and Child Labour", *The Economic Journal* 110: 50-61.

-----.1999. "Child Labour: Cause, Consequence, and Cure, with Remarks on International Labour Standards", *Journal of Economic Literature* 37: 1083-1119.

Basu, Kaushik and Zafiris Tzannatos. 2003. "Child Labour and Development: An Introduction", *The World Bank Economic Review* 17(2): 145- 146.

-----.2003. "The Global Child Labour Problem: What Do We Know and What Can We Do?", *The World Bank Economic Review* 17(2): 147- 173.

Basu, Kaushik and Pham Hoang Van. 1998. "The Economics of Child Labour", American *Economic Review* 88(3): 412-427.

Başak Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı. 2004. *Zorunlu Göçün Gençler ve Çocuklar Üzerindeki Etkileri* [The Effects of Forced Migration on Children and Young People]. Istanbul.

Bhagwati, Jagdish. 1995. "Trade Liberalization and 'Fair Trade' Demands: Addressing the Environmental and Labour Standards Issues", *World Economy* 18(6): 745- 759.

BIA News Centre. 2005, December 8. "Şanlıurfa'da Çocuk İşçiler Okula Yeni Başladı" [Working Children has just Started to School in Şanlıurfa]. <http://www.bianet.org/php/yazdir.php?DosyaX=../2005/12/08/71298.htm>

Buğra, Ayşe and Çağlar Keyder. 2003. *Yeni Yoksulluk ve Türkiye'nin Değişen Refah Rejimi* [New Poverty and the Changing Welfare Regime of Turkey]. Ankara: UNDP.

Brown, Martin, Jens Christiansen, and Peter Philips. 1992."The Decline of Child Labour in the US Fruit and Vegetable Canning Industry: Law or Economics?" *Business History Review* 66(4): 723-771.

Burke, Alicia and Stefania Ducci. 2005. *Trafficking in Minors for Commercial Sexual Exploitation: Thailand*. Toronto: United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute.

Busse, Matthias. 2002. "Do Labour Standards Affect Comparative Advantage in Developing Countries?" *World Development* 30(11): 1921- 1932.

Can, Kemal. 2002. "Yoksulluk ve Milliyetçilik"[Poverty and Nationalism], Necmi Erdoğan (ed.) *Yoksulluk Halleri: Türkiye'de Yoksulluğun Toplumsal Görünümleri* [States of Poverty: Social Outlooks of Urban Poverty in Turkey]. Istanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı Yayınevi, 116-133.

Chang, Ha-Joon. 2002. *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective*. London: Athem Press.

Child Labour Coalition. 2004. *Child Labour State Survey*. <http://www.stopchildlabor.org/USchildlabor/2004_survey_results.htm>

Cigno, Alessandro, Furio C. Rosati, and Lorenzo Guarcello. 2002. "Does Globalization Increase Child Labour?" *World Development* 30(9): 1579- 1589.

Clarke, John. 2004. "Histories of Childhood", Dominic Wyse. (ed.) *Childhood Studies: An Introduction*. Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.

Corsaro, William A. 1997. *The Sociology of Childhood.* London: Pinge Forge Press.

Crafts, Nicholas F.R. 1985. *British Economic Growth during the Industrial Revolution*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Cullen, Holly. 1999. "The Limits of International Trade Mechanisms in Enforcing Human Rights: The Case of Child Labour", *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 7: 1- 29.

Cunningham, Hugh. 2000. "The Decline of Child Labour: Labour Markets and Family Economies in Europe and North America Since 1830." *Economic History Review* 53(3): 409-28.

Çarkoğlu, Ali and Barry Rubin. (eds.) 2003. *Turkey and the European Union: Domestic Politics, Economic Integration and International Dynamics*. London: Frank Cass Publishers.

D'Andrea, Laura. July 2, 2000. "What Really Sabotaged the Seattle Trade Talks", *Business Week* 3667: 26.

Davin, Anna. 1996. *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914*. London: Rivers Oram Press.

Delap, Emily. 2001. "Economic and Cultural Forces in the Child Labour Debate: Evidence from Urban Bangladesh", *The Journal of Development Studies* 37(4): 1-22.

Dessy, Sylvain E. 2000. "A Defense of Compulsive Measures Against Child Labour", *Journal of Development Economics* 62: 261- 275.

deMause, Llyod. (ed.) 1995. *The History of Chilhood.* Northvale: Jason Aronson Inc.

deRegt, Ali. 2004. "Children in the 20th Century Family Economy: From Co-providers to Consumers", *History of the Family* 9: 371-384.

Department for International Development. 2004. *Labour Standards and Poverty Reduction*.
< www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/labourstandardsJune04.pdf>

Du Toit, Andries. 2004. " 'Social Exclusion' Discourse and Chronic Poverty: A South African Case Study", *Development and Change* 35(5): 987-1010.

Ekinci, Yusuf. 1990. *Ahilik ve Meslek Eğitimi* [Ahilik and Vocational Education]. Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları

Ellenbogen, Marc. 2004. "Can the Tariff Act Combat Endemic Child Labour Abuses? The Case of Cote d'Ivoire", *Texas Law Review* 82: 1314-1347.

Ertürk, Yakın and Meltem Dayıoğlu. 2004. *Gender, Education and Child Labour in Turkey.* Geneva: ILO/ IPEC Publications.

Esenel, Mediha. 1999. *Geç Kalmış Kitap* [The Book that is Late]. Istanbul: Sistem Yayıncılık.

Fallon, Peter and Zafiris Tzannatos. 1998. *Child Labour: Issues and Directions for The World Bank.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

Fyfe, Alec. 1989. *Child Labour.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gillis, John R.1985. Review of Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900 by Linda A. Pollock, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 16(1): 142-144.

Goldin, Claudia and Kenneth Sokoloff. 1982. "Women, children, and Industrialization in the Early Republic: Evidence from the Manufacturing Censuses." *Journal of Economic History* 42(4): 741-774.

Golub, Stephen S. 1997. "Are International Labour Standards Needed to Prevent Social Dumping", *Finance & Development* 34(4): 20-23.

Governorship of Istanbul. 2004, December. "T.C. Istanbul Valiliği Sokakta Yaşayan Çalışan Çocukların Korunması Projesi" [Governorship of Istanbul, the Project of Protection of Children Working and Living in the Streets]. <http://www.Istanbul.gov.tr/%5CPortals%5CProjects%5CSokakCocuklari%5CDoc%5Csokaktayc_aral%C4%B1k04.ppt >

Grootaert, Christiaan and Kanbur Rayi. 1995. "Child Labour: An Economic Perspective", *International Labour Review* 134(2): 187-204.

Gupta, Manash Ranjan. 2002. "Trade Sanctions, Adult Unemployment and the Supply of Child Labour: A Theoretical Analysis", *Development Policy Review* 20(3): 317-332.

Hak-İş and ILO/IPEC. 2000. *Sanayide Çalışan Çocuklar Raporu* [Report of Child Labour in Industry]. Hak-İş Publications, 44.

Hasnat, Baban. 1995. "International Trade and Child Labour", *Journal of Economic Issues* 29(2): 419- 426.

Heath, Stpehen. 1997. "Childhood Times", *Critical Quarterly* 39(3): 16-27.

Hilowitz, Janet. 1997. "Social Labelling to Combat Child Labour: Some Considerations", *International Labour Review* 136(2): 215- 232.

Hobbs, Sandy, Jim McKechnie, and Michael Lavalette. 1999. *Child Labour: a World History Companion.* Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

Horell, Sara, and Jane Humphries. 1995. "'The Exploitation of Little Children': Children's Work and Family Economy in the British Industrial Revolution", *Explorations in Economic History* 32(4): 485-516.

Hout, Christian. 1998. "The Global Crisis of Child Labour", *Canadian Dimension* 2(6): 33-35.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. *How to Fight, How to Kill: Child Soldiers in Liberia*.

-----. 2003a. *Small Change: Bonded Child Labour in India's Silk Industry*. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/india/>

-----. 2003b. *"You'll Learn Not to Cry": Child Combatants in Colombia*. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/colombia0903/>

-----. 2003c. *Borderline Slavery: Child Trafficking in Togo*. <http://hrw.org/reports/2003/togo0403/>

-----. 2002. *Backgrounder: Child Labour in Agriculture*. <http://hrw.org/backgrounder/crp/back0610.htm>

-----. 2000. *Owed Justice: Thai Women Trafficked into Debt Bondage in Japan*. <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/japan/>

-----. 1995. *Rape for Profit: Trafficking of Nepali Girls and Women to India's Brothels* <http://www.hrw.org/reports/pdfs/c/crd/india957.pdf>

Humphries, Jane. 2003a. "Child Labour: Lessons from the Historical Experience of Today's Industrial Economies" *The World Bank Economic Review* 17(2): 175-196.

-----. 2003b. "Child Labour in the Industrial Revolution: The Evidence from Working Class Auto-biographies." Oxford University Economic and Social History of Working Papers.

Jenks, Chris. 1996. *Childhood.* London: Routledge.

ILO/IPEC and MLSS. 2005. *Çalışan Çocukların Eğitime Yönlendirilmesi İzmir Projesi Raporu* [The Report of İzmir Project of Directing Working Children to Education]. Ankara: ILO Publications.

ILO/IPEC. 2004. *Helping Hands or Shackled Lives? Understanding Child Domestic Labour and Responses to it*. Geneva: ILO Publications.

-----. 2003. *Child Labour Problem in Europe and Central Asia: Problem and Responses.* Geneva: ILO Publications.

-----. 2003. *Multi-bilateral Programme of Technical Cooperation: Supporting the Time Bound National Policy and Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Turkey*. <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/eurpro/ankara/programme/ipec/tbp.htm>

-----.2002. *Every Child Counts: New Global Estimates on Child Labour.* Geneva: ILO Publications.

İnal, Kemal. 1999. "Modern Çocukluk Paradigmasi" [Modern Childhood Paradigm], *Cogito* 21: 63-87.

Jeremy, Alden and Thomas Huw. 1998. "Social Exclusion in Europe: Context and Policy", *International Planning Studies* 3(1): 1-7

Kağıtçıbaşı, Çiğdem and Bilge Ataca. 2005. "Value of Children and Family Change: A Three Decade Portrait from Turkey", *Applied Psychology* 54(3): 317-337.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Çiğdem. 1996. *Family and Human Development across Cultures, A View from Other Side*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

-----. 1990. "Women's Intra Family Status in Turkey: Cross-Cultural Perspectives", Ferhunde Özbay (ed.) *Women, Family and Social Change in Turkey*. Bangkok: UNESCO.

-----. 1981. "Value Of Children, Women's Role and Fertility in Turkey", Nermin Abadan Unat (ed.) *Women in Turkish Society*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Kahramanoğlu, E. 1996. *Türkiye'de Çalışan Çocuklar Sorunu ve Çözüm Yolları* [The Problem of Working Children in Turkey and the Solution Ways]. Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Hizmetler Yüksekokulu, Friedrich-Naumann Vakfı.

Karatay, Abdullah, Arif Laçin, Talip Yiğit, and Hayrettin Pala. 2003. "Beyoğlu Bölgesinde Yaşayan Yoksul Aileler ve Sokakta Çalışan Çocuklar" [Poor Families Living in the Region of Beyoğlu and Children Working on the Streets] Yoksulluk-3 [Poverty-3]. Istanbul: Deniz Feneri Yayınları, 254- 277.

Karatay, Abdullah. 2000a. "Beyoğlu Bölgesinde Sokakta Çalışan Çocuklar ve Aileleri" [Children Working in the Street at the Region of Beyoğlu and Their Families], Sevgi Usta Sayıta and Mustafa Ruhi Şirin. (eds.) *1. Istanbul Çocuk Kurultayı Araştırmalar Kitabı* [Research Book of 1st Istanbul General Assembly of Children]. Istanbul: Istanbul Çocukları Vakfı Yayınları, 425-452.

Karatay, Abdullah. 2000b. "Istanbul'un Sokakları ve Çalışan Çocuklar" [The Streets of Istanbul and Working Children], Sevgi Usta Sayıta and Mustafa Ruhi Şirin. (eds.) *1. Istanbul Çocuk Kurultayı Araştırmalar Kitabı* [Research Book of 1st Istanbul General Assembly of Children]. Istanbul: Istanbul Çocukları Vakfı Yayınları, 453-542.

Kilgman, Gail. 1992. "Abortion and International Adoption in Post-Ceausescu Romania" *Feminist Studies* 18(2): 405-419.

Kirişçi, Kemal and Gareth M. Winrow. 1997. *The Kurdish Question and Turkey: An Example of a Trans-State Ethnic Conflict*. London: Frank Cass.

Köksal, Sema E. and Kuvvet Lordoğlu. 1993. *Geleneksel Çıraklıktan Çocuk Emeğine: Bir Alan Araştırması* [From Traditional Apprenticeship to Child Labour: A Field Survey]. Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, Freidrich Ebert Vakfı.

Krueger, Alan. 1997. "International Labour Standards and Trade", Michael Bruno and Boris Pleskovic. (eds.) *Proceedings of the Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics, 1996.* Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Krueger, Dirk and Jessica T. Donohue. 2005. "On the Distributional Consequences of Child Labour Legislation", *International Economic Review* 46(3): 785- 815.

Kurban, Dilek, Deniz Yükseker, Ayşe Betül Çelik, Turgay Ünalan and A. Tamer Aker. 2006. *Zorunlu Göç İle Yüzleşmek: Türkiye'de Yerinden Edilme Sonrası Vatandaşlığın İnşası* [Encountering Forced Migration: Construction of Citizenship after Displacement in Turkey]. Istanbul: TESEV.

Kurban, Dilek, Deniz Yükseker and Ayşe Betül Çelik. 2006. *Overcoming a Legacy of Mistrust: Towards Reconciliation between the State and the Displaced. Update on the Implementation of the Recommendation Made by the UN Secretary-General's Representative on Internally Displaced Persons Following his Visit to Turkey*. TESEV and NRC/IDMC.
< http://www.tesev.org.tr/eng/events/Turkey_report_1June2006.pdf>

Küçükşahin, Şükrü. 2005, June 27. "Sokak Çocuğu Sayısı Azalıyor" [The Number of Street Children is Decreasing]. Hürriyet.
<http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2005/06/27/664159.asp>

Küntay, Esin and Güliz Erginsoy. 2005. *Ticari Seks İşçisi Kız Çocuklar* [Teenage Female Sex Workers]. Istanbul: Bağlam Yayınları.

Küntay Esin, 2005. "Sokaktaki Çocuk İşçiler- İhlal Edilen Hakları: Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuk Haklarına Dair Sözleşme Çerçevesinde Bir Değerlendirme" [Working Children in the Streets and Their Violated Rights: An Evaluation within the context of the United Nations Convention on Children's Rights].
<http://www.besk.web.tr/Calistay/E.Kuntay.html>

Küntay, Esin. 2002. "Family Backgrounds of Teenage Female Sex Workers", *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 33(3):345-358.

Lavalette, Michael. 1994. *Child Employment in the Capitalist Labour Market.* Aldershot: Avebury.

Lee, Thomas R. 1986. Review of Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900 by Linda A. Pollock, *Family Relations* 35(2): 331.

Levinson, Deborah, Richard Anker, Shadid Ashraf, and Sandhya Barge. 1996. *Is Child labour Really Necessary in India's Carpet Industry?* Geneva: ILO.

Lleras-Muney, Adriana. 2002. "Were Compulsory and Child Labour Laws Effective? An analysis from 1915 to 1939", *Journal of Law and Economics* 45(2): 401-436.

Lombardo, Patrizia. 1997. “Introduction: The End of Childhood”, *Critical Quarterly* 39(3): 1-7.

Lopéz-Calva, Luis F. 2001. “Child Labour: Myths, Theories and Facts”, *Journal of International Affairs* 55(1): 59-73.

Lynott, Patricia P. and Barbara J. Logue. 1993. “The ‘Hurried Child’: The Myth of Lost Childhood in Contemporary American Society” *Sociological Forum* 8(3): 471-491.

Maffei, Alessandro, Nikolai Raabe, and Heinrich W. Ursprung. 2006. “Political Repression and Child Labour: Theory and Empirical Evidence”, *World Economy* 29(2): 211- 239.

Marvel, Howard P. 1977. “Factory Regulation: A Reinterpretation of Early English Experience”, *Journal of Law and Economics* 20(2): 379-402.

Mazur, Jay. 2000. “Labour’s New Internationalism”, *Foreign Affairs* 79(1): 79- 93.

Mehta, Pradeep. 2000. “Child Labour: A Different Perspective”, *Development* 43(2): 40-41.

Miljeteig, Per. 1999. “Introduction: Understanding Child Labour”, *Childhood* 6(1): 5-12.

Ministry of Education. 2006. *Education Statistics of Turkey*. <http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/daireler/istatistik/TURKIYE_EGITIM_ISTATISTIKLERI_2005_2006.pdf>

Mintz, Steve. 2004. *Huck’s Raft: a History of American Childhood.* Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Moehling, Carolyn M. 2004. “Family Structure, School Attendance, and Child Labour in the American South in 1900 and 1910”, Explorations in Economic History 41(1): 73-100.

----- 1999. “State child Labour Laws and the Decline of Child Labour”, *Explorations in Economic History* 36(1): 72-100.

Mofford, Juliet H. (ed.) 1997. *Child Labour in America.* Massachusetts: Discovery Enterprises, Ltd.

Munck, Ronaldo. 2005. *Globalization and Social Exclusion: A Transformationalist Perspective*. Bloomfield, CT : Kumarian Press.

Myers, Willam E. 1999. “Considering Child Labour: Changing Terms, Issues and Actors at the International Level”, *Childhood* 6(1): 13-26.

Nardinelli, Clark. 1980. “Child Labour and The Factory Acts”, *The Journal of Economic History* 40(4): 739-755.

Neumayer, Eric and Indra de Soysa. 2004. "Trade Openness, Foreign Direct Investment and Child Labour", *World Development* 33(1): 43- 63.

Neyzi, Ali H. 1983. *Hüseyin Paşa Çıkmazı No.4* [Hüseyin Pasha Dead-end No.4]. Istanbul: Karacan Yayınları.

Nieuwenhuys, Olga. 1994. *Children's Lifeworlds: Gender, Welfare and Labour in the Developing World*. London: Routledge.

NTVMSNBC. 2006a, June 13. "Çocuk Pornosu Çetesine Tutuklama" [Arrestment of a Gang Accused of Involving in Child Pornography]. <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/376623.asp>

-----. 2006b, May 15. "Tarlaya Gitmeyen Çocuk için Aylık" [Monthly Cash Grant for a Child Who does not Go to a Field]. < http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/372921.asp>

Okay, Cüneyd. 1998. *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler* [Renewals in the Ottoman Child Life]. Istanbul: Kırkambar Yayınları.

O'Neill, Tom. 2003. "Anti-Child Labour Rhetoric, Child Protection and Young Carpet Weavers in Katmandu, Nepal", *Journal of Youth Studies* 6(4): 413-431.

Onur, Bekir. 2005. *Türkiye'de Çocukluğun Tarihi* [The History of Childhood in Turkey]. Ankara: İmge Yayınları.

-----. 1993. *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk, Sempozyum 23-24 Nisan 1993* [Child in the Social History, Symposium 23-24 April 1993]. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.

Özbay, Ferhunde. 1999. *Turkish Female Child Labour in Domestic Work: Past and Present-A Project Report Prepared for ILO/IPEC*. Istanbul: ILO Publications.

Özcan, Emine. 2005, December 1. "Okulda Okumak Yerine Madende Ölmek" [Dying in a Mine, Instead of Studying at School]. BIA News Centre. <http://www.bianet.org/2005/12/01/70960.htm>

Palley, Thomas I. 2002. "The Child Labour Problem and the Need for International Labour Standards", *Journal of Economic Issues* 36(3): 601-615

Pommier, Gérard. 1997. "The Psychoanalytic Concept of Childhood", *Critical Quarterly* 39(4): 8-13.

Postman, Neil. 1995. *Çocukluğun Yokoluşu* [The Disappearance of Childhood]. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Radikal. 2006, July 3. "Onurlu Baba Kapkaç Çetesini Dize Getirdi" [An Honoured Father Defeated the Gang]. Radikal. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazici.php?haberno=191903&tarih=03/07/2006>

Ranjan, Priya. 1999. "An Economic Analysis of Child Labour", *Economics Letters* 64(1): 99-105.

Rees, Teresa. 1998. "Social Exclusion and Equal Opportunities", *International Planning Studies* 3(1): 15-20.

Rodgers, Gerry and Guy Standing. 1981. *Child Work, Poverty and Underdevelopment.* Geneva: ILO Publications.

Rogers, Carol A. and , Kenneth A. Swinnerton. 1999. "The Economics of Child Labour: Comments", *The American Economic Review* 89(5): 1382- 1385.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. [1762]1969. *Emilé.* London: Everyman's.

Rugmark Foundation. 2004. *2004 Annual Report.* < http://www.rugmark.org/html/annual_report_2004.pdf>

Rys, Vladimir. 2001. "Transition Countries of central Europe entering the European Union: Some Social Protection Issues", *International Social Security Review* 54(2-3): 177-188.

Sapancalı, Faruk. 2005. *Sosyal Dışlanma* [Social Exclusion]. Istanbul: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları.

Sapir, André. 1995. "The Interaction between Labour Standards and International Trade Policy", *World Economy* 18(6): 791- 803.

Satz, Debra. 2003. "Child Labour: A Normative Perspective", *World Bank Economic Review* 17(2): 297- 309.

Schepers-Hughes, Nancy and Carolyn Sargent. (eds.) 1998. *Small Wars: The Cultural Politics of Childhood*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sommerville, John. 1983. Review of Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900 by Linda A. Pollock, *The Journal of Modern History* 59(4): 801-802.

State Institute of Statistics (Turkish Statistical Institute). 1999. *Child Labour*. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics, Printing Division.

Stearns, Peter N.1985. Review of Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900 by Linda A. Pollock, *Journal of Social History* 18(4): 664-665.

Steil, Ben. 1994. " 'Social Correctness' is the New Protectionism", *Foreign Affairs* 73(1): 14-21.

-----.1994. "The New Rules of Trade", *National Review* 46(7): 40-45.

Stephens, Sharon. (ed.) 1995. *Children and the Politics of Culture.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Şen, Leyla. 2005. "Poverty Alleviation, Conflict and Power in Poor Displaced Households: A Study of the Views of Women in Diyarbakır", New Perspectives on Turkey 32: 113-135.

Şen, Mustafa. 2002. "Kökene Dayalı Dayanışma- Yardımlaşma: 'Zor İş'"[], Necmi Erdoğan (ed.) *Yoksulluk Halleri: Türkiye'de Yoksulluğun Toplumsal Görünümleri* [States of Poverty: Social Outlooks of Urban Poverty in Turkey]. Istanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı Yayınevi, 164-192.

Şenses, Fikret. 2005. *Yoksulluk* [Poverty]. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

TİSK. 2000. *Sanayide Çalışan Çocuklar ve TİSK'in Faaliyetleri* [The Children Working in Industry and the Activities of TİSK]. Ankara: TİSK TŞOF Plaka Matbaa.

-----. 1997. *Sanayi Bölgelerinde Çalışan Çocukların Sorunları* [The Problems of the Children Working in the Industry Regions].

Tyson, Laura D'Andrea. 2000. "What Really Sabotaged the Seattle Trade Talks?", *Business Week* 3667: 26.

Tzannatos, Zafiris. 2003. "Child Labour and School Enrolment in Thailand in the 1990s", *Economics of Education Review* 22(5): 523-536.

UNICEF.1997. *The State of the World's Children.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Weiner, Myron. 1991. *The State and the Child in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

White, Ben. 1996. "Globalization and the Child Labour Problem", *Journal of International Development* 8(4): 829-839.

----. 1995.The Global Perspective", *CWA Newsletter* 11(4): 849-878. <http://www.cwa.tnet.co.th/Publications/Newsletters/vol11_4/v11_4_white.html>

----. 1994. "Children, Work and 'Child Labour': Changing Responses to the Employment of Children", *Development and Change* 25(4): 849-878.

White, Jenny B. 1994. *Money Makes Us Relatives: Women's Labour in Urban Turkey*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Wolf, Diane Lauren. 1994. *Factory Daughters: Gender, Household Dynamics, and Rural Industrialization in Java.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wyse, Dominic. (ed.) 2004. *Childhood Studies: An Introduction.* Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.

Yeldan, Erinç. 2006. *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Türkiye Ekonomisi* [The Economy of Turkey in the Process of Globalization]. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Yepez Del Castillo, Isabel. 1994. "A Comparative Approach to Social Exclusion: Lessons from France and Belgium", *International Labour Review* 133 (5-6): 613-633.

Yükseker, Deniz. 2006a. "Diyarbakır'da Yerinden Edilme Sorunu: Geri Dönüş, Kentsel Sorunlar ve Tazminat Yasası'nın Uygulamaları" [The Problem of Displacement in Diyarbakır: Return, Urban Problems and the Implementation of the Compensation Law], *Zorunlu Göç İle Yüzleşmek: Türkiye'de Yerinden Edilme Sonrası Vatandaşlığın İnşası* [Confronting Forced Migration: Constructing Citizenship after Internal Displacement in Turkey]. Istanbul: TESEV, 144-172.

-----. 2006b. "Yerinden Edilme ve Sosyal Dışlanma: İstanbul ve Diyarbakır'da Zorunlu Göç Mağdurlarının Yaşadıkları Sorunlar" [Displacement and Social Exclusion: The Problems that The Victims of Forced Migration Encounter], *Zorunlu Göç İle Yüzleşmek: Türkiye'de Yerinden Edilme Sonrası Vatandaşlığın İnşası* [Confronting Forced Migration: Constructing Citizenship after Internal Displacement in Turkey]. Istanbul: TESEV, 216-244.

Zelizer, Viviana A.1985. Review of Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900 by Linda A. Pollock, *Contemporary Sociology* 14(1): 77-78.

APPENDIX A

PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE GROUP OF WORKING CHILDREN

	Nickname	Gender	Date of Birth	The age that she/he started to work	Current Occupation
1	**Metin**	M	92	5	Clothing Sector
2	**Gül**	F	91	11	Clothing Sector
3	**Ayşe**	F	92	14	Shoe Making
4	**Berivan**	F	92	14	Shoe Making
5	**Rojin**	F	90	13	Clothing Sector
9	**Mehmet**	M	90	14	Clothing Sector
6	**Ayla**	F	90	13	Clothing Sector
8	**Derya**	F	92	12	Clothing Sector
7	**Şıwan**	M	93	11	Coiffeur
10	**Fatih**	M	91	10	Metal works production
11	**Vedat**	M	90	10	Auto repair
12	**Kemal**	M	90	15	Auto repair
13	**Sinan**	M	90	16	Metal works production
14	**İsa**	M	90	13	Metal works production
15	**Ali**	M	90	13	Auto repair
16	**Emrah**	M	91	12	Metal works production
17	**Emir**	M	90	16	Metal works production
18	**Yusuf**	M	91	13	Metal works production
19	**Merve**	F	93	5	Selling tissue papers
20	**Sedef**	F	93	5	Selling tissue papers
21	**Ersin**	M	95	5	Selling tissue papers
22	**Varol**	M	94	5	Selling tissue papers
23	**Turgut**	M	94	11	*Tartıcı*
24	**Mert**	M	97	9	Selling chewing gum
25	**Nergis**	F	94	8	Selling tissue papers

APPENDIX B

PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE GROUP OF EXPERTS

Code	Gender	Occupation	The Area of Expertise
E1	M	Social Worker	Children Working in the Streets
E2	M	Social Worker	Children Working in the Streets
E3	M	Social Worker	Children Working in the Streets
E4	M	Sociologist	Children Working in the Streets
E5	M	Social Worker	Children Working in the Streets
E6	F	Psychologist	Children Working in the Streets
E7	F	Pedagogue	Children Working in the Streets
E8	M	Social Worker	Children Working in Closed Places
E9	M	Sociologist	Children Working in the Streets
E10	M	Sociologist	Children Working in the Streets
E11	F	Sociologist	Children Working in the Streets
E12	F	Social Worker	Children Working in Closed Places
E13	F	NGO	Children Working in Closed Places