

Fertile Lands Bitter Lives



THE SITUATION ANALYSIS REPORT ON SYRIAN SEASONAL
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN THE ADANA PLAIN

Fertile Lands, Bitter Lives The Situation Aanalysis Report on Syrian Seasonal Agricultural Workers in the Adana Plain

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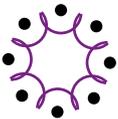
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Fertile Lands **Bitter Lives**

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AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN THE ADANA PLAIN



To those going through bitter lives
for a mouthful of bread.....



Acknowledgments

In the summer of 2002 the Development Workshop witnessed the struggle for existence of children and their families engaged in seasonal migratory agricultural labour in the cotton fields of Karataş. Adana. Ever since then, it has been trying to speak up about the poverty, the exploitation and the injustice. Now it reports on the struggles of Syrian migrants working side by side with local workers in seasonal migratory agricultural labour in 2016. During the field work on which this report was based, interviews were conducted with hundreds of Syrians of all ages, and with citizens of Turkey who have been experiencing the same kind of poverty for years. New narratives, lives and losses were added to those that we have been hearing, seeing and feeling in our hearts for the past 14 years. The sincerest way in which we can thank these people for sharing their stories with us will be to amplify their voices heard and to make known their experiences, their needs, and the things they have a right to. If these stories have come to light, it is due to the efforts of our Adana Project Team and team of interviewers, who have worked willingly night and day, to the limits of their endurance, in Adana's dusty heat, a prey to its mosquitos, surrounded by poverty and pain; to our experts whose knowledge has constantly lit the way forward, and to our volunteers who have selflessly entrusted their labour to us. We would like to thank each and every one of them.

In addition, we would like to thank the European Commission's Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection-ECHO, the European Union Humanitarian Assistance Fund and the Turkey Office of GOAL for their financial cooperation and cooperation in the project of which this report is a component.

This report shows that the stark contradictions of Çukurova are not confined to the lives of the characters that feature in the works of masters like Yaşar Kemal and Orhan Kemal but also expand into the realities of today. We dedicate it to the Syrian migrants, going through bitter lives in any part of the world.

Development Workshop
October 2016, Ankara

ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (Agency)
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
GNAT	Grand National Assembly of Turkey
ICRC	International Red Cross Committee
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
KEİG	Women's Labour Employment Initiative
METİP	Project for Improving the Working and Social Lives of Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers
MİGA	Seasonal Labour Migration Network
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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As of 2016, the civil war in Syria is five years old, and the number of Syrians taking refuge in Turkey has approached three million, according to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the statements of the Government of Turkey (UNHCR 2016). Approximately 260,000 of these people are residing in the 26 temporary accommodation centres (camps) that have been set up in 10 provinces. The remaining 2,484,000 are scattered across Turkey's 81 provinces. The provinces hosting the most Syrians are Şanlıurfa, İstanbul, Hatay, Gaziantep and Adana, in that order (General Directorate of Migration Management – DGMM 2016). Migrants from Syria are working intensively as agricultural labourers in the eastern and southern parts of Turkey, and are also employed outside agriculture in manufacturing, construction and service sectors. The field study *“Present Situation Report and Mapping of Foreign Migrant Workers in Seasonal Migratory Agriculture”*, published by the Development Workshop in June 2016, brought to light the increasing presence of Syrians in agricultural production and seasonal agricultural labour in Turkey. (Development Workshop 2016). The entry of Syrians into the pool of migratory agricultural labour has led to competition among the poor, and an increase in discrimination and human rights infringements. Another vulnerable group who have taken refuge in Turkey and are engaged in seasonal agricultural labour are the Syrian Doms who, besides the difficulties generally encountered by migrants from Syria, are excluded and discriminated against by officials, the local population and other Syrian migrants on account of their ethnic origin and way of life, and who hardly benefit at all from humanitarian assistance.

Improving the living and working conditions of these vulnerable populations requires not only sustainable support but also policy changes and efforts to raise awareness through the dissemination of information and through advocacy work. To succeed in this, a present situation analysis needs to be undertaken that maps and profiles the migrant seasonal agricultural workers in Turkey and the Syrian Dom population and identifies their basic needs. On this basis, evidence-based advocacy needs to be conducted, and the basic needs of these populations have to be met. In particular, awareness has to be increased about existing mechanisms and services that protect their basic rights. Finally, programmes have to be organised to meet the specific needs of these groups and to ensure their harmonisation with society.

Between May and November 2016, as part of the *Improving the Protection and Health Conditions of Syrians and Migrants in the South of Turkey* project,



Workers on Adana Plain, 2016

the Development Workshop, with the financial support of the European Commission's Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection-ECHO and the EU Humanitarian Assistance Fund, and in cooperation with the international non-government organisation GOAL, aimed to reduce the protection risks faced by vulnerable groups of migrants through an integrated approach incorporating research, advocacy and humanitarian assistance.

This report, *Fertile Lands, Bitter Lives: Syrian Seasonal Agricultural Workers on the Adana Plain*, sets out the present situation of the working and living conditions of the Syrian seasonal migratory agricultural labourers on the Adana Plain. Arriving in Turkey as a result of forced migration, Syrian migrants are taking part in agricultural production as a survival strategy. Wherever they work, wages show a declining trend. Seasonal agricultural production has always been an activity undertaken by the poorest sections of society in Turkey. On the Adana Plain today, Syrian migrants appear to have taken over this work from workers migrating from the provinces of Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman and Mardin. The time has come for a different group of workers to take their turn of burdening poverty and social exclusion generated by seasonal agricultural work. Turkey's poorest agricultural workers have now been joined by Syrian agricultural workers. The Syrian migrants are trying to get by in tents, large family groups sharing very small spaces and very few belongings. These tent households have very little by way of kitchen equipment or food, and even their basic needs are not met. The Syrian labourers work for long hours in difficult working conditions. Their wages are less than those paid to local workers, and are sometimes not paid at all. Child labour is widespread among families with many children, and is particularly high for girls. The shoulders of the women are burdened disproportionately both with having to work in poor conditions and with the domestic and care duties required for the families to go on with their lives. The study examines the demographic characteristics of the Syrian seasonal migratory agricultural workers, their migration practices, the characteristics of their households, the nature of their agricultural labour, their basic needs, their main challenges, and the ways in which they cope with their situation in the case of a group of migrants living in tents and engaged in agricultural labour on the Adana Plain. Detailed information is also provided about child labour and the position of women among this particularly group of migrants.

* **Adana Plain:**

Located in the centre of Çukurova, it constitutes the core of the region. In general, the region and the Adana Plain are synonymous. The plain is Turkey's most extensive delta plain. Formed of alluvion carried by the rivers Seyhan and Ceyhan and the Berdan (Tarsus) Stream, it has a complex structure. The area known as the Adana Plain can also be thought of as divided into a number of small plains – such as the Yüreğir, Misis, Ceyhan, Haruniye, Osmaniye and Yumurtalık plains. The largest of these is the Ceyhan Plain, with an area of two million decares, followed by the Yüreğir Plain, with 1.25 million decares.





The study, *Fertile Lands, Bitter Lives – Present Situation of Syrian Seasonal Agricultural Workers on the Adana Plain*, reveals the present living and working conditions of Syrian migrant workers who work in agricultural production in the districts of Karataş, Ceyhan, Yumurtalık and Yüreğir which constitute the Adana Plain within Çukurova.

The report also makes policy recommendations based on the identified needs of Syrian agricultural workers and their families.

The study maps the general characteristics and basic needs of the Syrian migrant agricultural workers and conducts needs analysis on the basis of the findings of a questionnaire applied to the representatives of 266 Syrian migrant households. The survey yielded information on 1662 individuals. To complement the quantitative part of the study, in-depth interviews have been held with individuals and organisations connected to the issue. In this context, the demographic characteristics, migration patterns, household characteristics, labour conditions (type of work, pay, working conditions, intermediaries, number of household members who work), basic needs (nutrition, shelter, healthcare, education) and main challenges and survival strategies of Syrian migrants have been analysed through the study of a group living in tents and working in agriculture in the Adana Plain. In-depth information has also been obtained about child labour and the position of women among this group of migrants.



Syrian Migrants Living on the Adana Plain

Syrians fleeing the civil war in their country mostly arrived in Turkey with their families in 2015. Most of the migrants interviewed for the study had identity cards that ensure them the right to residence and access to basic social services in Turkey. Some had migrated to Adana from other provinces where they were registered, especially Şanlıurfa, for better work opportunities.

An examination of the demographic characteristics of the Syrian population shows that more than half of them are children under the age of 18. The number of those who have Turkish language skills is very low and the number of illiterate individuals is high. Although the number of children is high, no children were observed to be attending an educational institution. While the group is young on average, the migration process did not result in disruption to the family based social structure of the group. A young and dynamic population structure might be viewed as an opportunity as well as a threat. While a young population is advantageous for the labour market, it also presents the risk of a high population that has not benefited sufficiently from education and other basic social rights and services and lives in constant poverty and social exclusion. The migrant population in particular and the segments of the local population who live beneath the



Seasonal agricultural workers harvesting peanut in the Adana Plain, 2016

poverty line have the potential to be locked into significant poverty. This could also be an indicator of future tension and conflict between different groups of poor people. As an already low-educated population has lost all access to the formal education system through migration, their chances of breaking the circle of poverty appears to have become even slimmer.

Syrian Migrants: The New Agricultural Labourers of Turkey

The emergence of Syrians as the mainstay of agricultural labour on the Adana Plain has led to lower labour costs, as Syrian migrants provide cheaper labour, and the supply of local workers from the provinces of eastern and southeastern Anatolia has fallen. It is often stated that the local seasonal migrant agricultural labourers, especially those from Şanlıurfa now tend to stay in their home provinces for work, with the onset of irrigated agriculture in and around Şanlıurfa. The impact of this on agricultural labour in Adana has been rising costs and an increasingly lower supply of local workers. Simultaneously, increasing migration from Syria has met the shortfall in labour supply and labour costs have in some cases fallen and in others remained stable. Producers on the Adana Plain have made use of Syrian migrants to solve their labour supply problems and now have access to a greater workforce pool at lower cost.

With Syrian migrants becoming the main actors of agricultural labour on the Adana Plain, there has been a significant change in seasonal migrant agricultural labour in Turkey. Agricultural production, which used to be carried out by workers arriving in Adana from other provinces of Turkey, is now being carried out by migrant workers from Syria who live in Adana almost throughout the year. Provinces which formerly supplied labour for seasonal agricultural production, such as Şanlıurfa, Mardin and Adıyaman, are no longer sending out so many labourers to Adana. Over the last few years, agricultural production in Adana has been carried out mainly by Syrian migrants who live in Adana.

Low Pay Makes Syrian Workers the Mainstay of Agricultural Production

In 2016, Syrian migrant workers on the Adana Plain were paid an average daily wage of TL38 (USD13). This is the net pay of the worker once the commission of the agricultural intermediary has been accounted for. However, most labourers do not always get their cash payments, as their expenses - such as supplies purchased from agricultural intermediaries, rent, power and water - are cut from their pay. Furthermore, payment is postponed for long periods and landowners only pay their workers after they have sold

off the produce and been paid for it. This could mean a postponement of pay for up to four months. In return for pay, workers are expected to meet daily thresholds. On the Adana Plain, Syrian workers are paid according to the *kabala* or *götürü*¹ methods. Workers are generally engaged with a single job as a family or team. For example, ten people from the same family or a team of 35 might work on the same job. In the citrus harvest, a team of 30-35 people are paid their daily wage in exchange for picking enough fruit to fill up the hold of truck in a day. In the pepper harvest, each worker is paid a day's wage for collecting 11 bags of peppers.

Agricultural Intermediaries are the Determinants of Agricultural Production

Agricultural intermediaries, who play a vital role in organising seasonal agricultural production, are a widely used historical institution for the continuation of agricultural output in large agricultural regions such as Adana. They function like an employment agency. Besides their mediation role in bringing workers and employers together, agricultural intermediaries also fulfil many other functions such as ensuring that the workers reside close to fields of production, that they are transported to work and that they can meet their food and other needs. In return for their services, intermediaries get 10 percent of the gross wages fixed for labourers. They are also said to take a cut from the net pay received by the workers. Agricultural intermediaries are generally depicted as people who reproduce a relationship of labour exploitation in seasonal agricultural production and ensure that desperate workers remain dependent on them in a relationship of patronage. Given the high proportion of the commission they receive and the cuts they take from workers' pay for providing supplies and transport, this claim may well be true.

Most Syrians interviewed for the study have found the agricultural jobs they work in through agricultural intermediaries. It is a rational choice for migrants to find work through agricultural intermediaries given that they seldom speak the local language and have little knowledge of how to proceed with work relationships. Agricultural intermediaries not only ensure a supply of Syrian labour living in Adana, but also bring Syrian workers from other provinces to Adana. A tent group encountered during the field study included agricultural labourers from Şanlıurfa coming to work in Adana, who were mostly Syrian migrants. Agricultural intermediaries play a key role in the management of supply and demand for workforce in agricultural production. Not only do agricultural intermediaries direct labourers towards fields where there is a demand for them, they also ensure their

¹ *Kabala* or *götürü* payments generally apply to work in hoeing, weeding, watering and harvesting by unit area, generally 1,000 square metres.



Syrian migrant girl, 2016-Adana

mobility among provinces. One agricultural intermediary interviewed in Adana said that he had sent some of his Syrian workers who are resident in Adana to work in Kayseri and Ankara. In ensuring the continuity of work and solving daily life problems when necessary, intermediaries play an important role in the lives of the labourers. The findings of the survey show that almost all agricultural intermediaries are from Turkey and that agricultural intermediaries from within the Syrian migrant population have not yet appeared on a widespread basis. As the linguistic capacities of the migrants increases in the near future, it may be expected that individuals from among them will appear in this role, and that Syrian agricultural intermediaries will gradually come to play a role in bringing workers together with employers.

Child Labour

Child labour is common among the group examined for the study. As many as 53 per cent of those living at the tent site were under 17 years of age and 49 per cent of boys and 50 per cent of girls under 17 worked as agricultural labourers. Among Syrian migrants there is a perception that only the young can do agricultural work, as adults are too *“old and ill”* to do such work. The prevalence of child labour is not just due to this perception, but also a way of increasing household income by having many members of the household, including children, work.

In crowded families, child labour becomes an opportunity to increase household income. Furthermore, the perception among Syrian families that agricultural labour is a job for the young can result in very young children working in the fields. Interviews have also revealed that agricultural intermediaries who find work for very young children think that they are helping poor families. The employment of children is generally rationalised through excuses such as *“They were very poor, I gave them work, they worked for their bread.”* Agricultural intermediaries who employ children act on the grounds that they are supporting the household budget and are helping the child to grow up as an experienced agricultural labourer. The result of these perceptions and attitudes is widespread child labour in agricultural production.

The Heavy Burden of Migrant Women

49 per cent of members of the households covered by the study were women. The prevalence of early marriage and illiteracy among women is noticeable. 23.7 per cent of women between the ages of 15-17 were married. An important finding of the survey is that girls are married off after

the age of 15 and that early marriages are widespread among migrants. Child marriages may be seen as the outcome of a traditional rural social structure. The proportion of married individuals between the ages of 18-21 is 50 per cent. The average age of illiterate women, who form about half of the female population was 29. The inability of women to access educational services in Syria and in Turkey is an outcome of the status given to women by traditional gender roles and shows that in rural Syria, women did not have access to education.

40.5 per cent of women living in tent sites participated in seasonal agricultural work. members of the non-working female population (59.5 per cent) express various reasons for not working, although re-production activities such as cleaning, child care, cooking, baking bread and fetching water are the most common. As the reason most commonly given for women not working was child care, the survey included a question on child care responsibilities. Asked who takes care of the children while the families are at work, 76.6 per cent of households with children selected the response "an adult of the household". Child care falls disproportionately to women (96.2 per cent) in the domestic division of labour.

The domestic distribution of labour between men and women also shows that women are generally engaged in traditional house work and child care activities. Washing laundry and dishes, cooking, baking bread, cleaning and taking care of the elderly are generally jobs carried out by women. The main domestic jobs of men are shopping and water carrying. As one might expect, in households engaged in seasonal agricultural labour, women take on a double burden. They have to work in the fields as well as take the lead in the re-production of the family. Men have been observed to be more active in the public activities of the household. Shopping, and in some cases taking children to the hospital, are tasks performed by men. Taking children to the hospital is the only activity that women and men do together. Contacts with agricultural intermediaries, the neighbourhood foremen (*muhtar*) and other individuals from the local community are either taken care of by men or simply not allowed to women. This is an indicator that financial matters are under the jurisdiction of men and that women have to depend on, or cannot live without, men.

The fact that women engage in production activities without lowering their share of the re-productive burden increases their working hours. It must be emphasised that the workload of women who live in tents and participate in agricultural production is very heavy. These women not have running water or adequate kitchen and bathroom facilities and equipment, and are devoid of the benefits of electricity. Accordingly, they find the ac-

tivities which they carry out for the re-production of their families, such as cooking and baking bread, washing dishes and laundry, and caring for their children and meeting their sanitary needs very tiring and time-consuming. Washing needs to be done with carried water, which is warmed up by collected firewood. The burden of these activities falls disproportionately on the shoulders of women and girls.

Shelter and Living Conditions

Sites for the accommodation of seasonal migrant agricultural workers are usually chosen from among locations that are distant to settlements, out of sight and near to the fields. This isolation serves to separate the living quarters of the local population and the migrant/temporary workers. People whose labour is required are thus prevented from taking part in daily life by discriminative settlement sites. As they are *others* who need to be kept out of sight and assumed not to exist while they are not working, their isolated settlements are usually tent sites. The isolated nature of the living spaces of seasonal agricultural workers has the same causes and consequences for both local and Syrian migrant workers. In this sense it may be said that the shelter problems of Syrian migrant workers living in tents are similar to the problems experienced by other seasonal agricultural workers, and that their poor standards of living are comparable.

Most of the Syrian migrants covered by the study who resided at tent sites were living in tents they had made themselves out of sheets of plastic. Tents made out of plastic sheets are the most commonly observed form of shelter. 10.2 per cent of the population live in cloth tents. In Adana's warm climate the variations in temperature between the summer heat and the winter cold in plastic tents makes for inhuman conditions in itself, even when other negative factors are overlooked. For insulation against the heat, plastic sheet tents are often covered with dry branches and reeds.

Living conditions at tent sites unhealthy as well as uncomfortable. Sanitation is limited and unhygienic. The findings of the study reveal that the average tent size is 15.8 square metres and that the average number of people living in a tent of this size is 5.6. Among those households which stated that they live in a single tent, the average number of children is around three. In other words, there is 2.8 square metres of space per individual in these tents. Tents generally contain a small kitchen area and a small area to store household items. This makes the amount of space available to each person even smaller. Since all members of the family live in the same small space, and especially since adults and children live and

sleep in the same area, there are cases of negligence and abuse. The fact that family members do not have their own private spaces has a negative impact on the lives of both adults and children.

In terms of household items, 35 per cent of tents have TVs and 30 per cent have satellite dishes. Mobile phones are very important for migrants and around 60 per cent of households have mobile phones. This shows the importance of communications for migrants. Households usually produce their tents themselves (68 per cent) and the proportion of those who have manufactured tents (16 per cent) is very low. The ramshackle shanty houses (*gecekodu*) built on empty plots by those migrating from rural areas to towns within Turkey, which have left a mark on Turkey's history of urbanisation, are now being replaced in significance by tents pitched by migrant agricultural workers in empty sites in rural areas. This may be described as the *gecekodu-isation* or tent-isation of rural areas.

In terms of food supplies, households generally have bread/pastry, tea, vegetable oil, sugar, rice and vegetables. They do not even have legumes which can be stored dry. Very few have reported having onions, potatoes or coffee, the last of which is consumed traditionally even by the poorest Syrians. Storage conditions and high prices mean that very few households possess protein-rich foods or fresh fruit.

Education and Health

Education and access to education is very significant in that it can blend migrants into society and develop their potential to join the labour market. The attitude of families towards child labour plays an important role in Syrian migrants' low access to education. The long distance to schools from the tent sites they inhabit is another major barrier. In any case, the educational opportunities offered to Syrian migrants and the rate of schooling among them are very low. Almost all the children covered by the study were outside the school system.

Of households with school-aged children (60.5 per cent of the total), 97 per cent did not have children attending school. According to those interviewed, the most important reasons for this were financial difficulties (52 per cent), distance to schools (25 per cent), legal obstacles (11 per cent), the children's unwillingness to go to school (5.6 per cent) and other reasons (also 5.6 per cent). The "other reasons" included language issues and unwillingness of officials to help to send children to schools.

The families covered by this study, who live in tents and work in agricultural production, are not a part of the education system in Turkey. As already mentioned, their level of education in Syria was also very low. When the population is analysed in terms of level of education, the illiterate form the largest group within both sexes. There is no significant difference between the female and male members of households in terms of level of education. In general, household members have not attended education beyond primary school. War and migration have been important determinants of the level of education of some age groups.

When asked whether they experience health problems due to seasonal agricultural work, 68.8 per cent of these households of Syrian seasonal migrant agricultural labourers, who live and work in poor conditions fully exposed to the elements, reply in the affirmative.

Sunstroke is the biggest health problem afflicting the workers. It is followed by flu, bites and stings from pests and insects, diarrhoea, food poisoning, and backache. Almost all of these health risks are due to the impact of poor living and working conditions. Many of the problems listed, such as sunstroke and stinging, are health issues arising while at work. Since the workers, have to bend over constantly while working, are exposed to the elements for long periods of time, and are in frequent contact with fertiliser and chemicals, it is clear that occupational ailments will emerge in many individuals in future. The main reason why such ailments are not reported more often at present is that the agricultural workers are drawn from the younger population.



INTRODUCTION |





The fertile lands of Çukurova have for a long time been the scene of a major contradiction. While the fertile lands are a source of wealth and welfare for their owners, they are also the reason of bitter lives of agricultural workers. This contradiction has persisted until the present and has been experienced by different groups of workers at different times. Bitter lives were first led by landless agricultural labourers from Adana and its environs, especially the forest villagers of the Toros Mountains. Later, they passed the baton on to workers from the South East of Turkey. Since 2011, Syrian migrants who have fled the fighting in their country have taken over the agricultural labour watch and it is they who are leading bitter lives¹. Even if worker typologies change, their living conditions have not: agricultural labour has constantly involved long working hours, bad working and living conditions, and lack of access to primary services such as education, healthcare, clean drinking water and power.

Syrian migrants have become increasingly widespread in agricultural labour in Adana. The pool of workers managed by the agricultural intermediaries who organise the workforce on the plain now consists mostly of Syrian workers. Although seasonal agricultural labourers have been



Syrian workers on break, Adana 2016

¹ According to the relevant laws and regulations, the official status of the Syrians who have had to take refuge in Turkey due to the civil war is that of persons under temporary protection. However, this report make use of the term migrant, which takes account not so much of the official status but of the action taken by those who have had to leave their countries for various reasons, and been obliged to move from one country to another in order to save their lives. The authors of the report are aware that the term 'migrant' is not a legal term.

Under the Temporary Protection Regulation that was published in the Official Gazette No 29153 and took effect on 22/10/2014, those citizens of the Syrian Arab Republic, stateless persons and refugees who have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey from the Syrian Arab Republic individually or en masse since 28/04/2011 on account of the events in the Syrian Arab Republic for the purpose of temporary protection have been taken under temporary protection, even if they have applied for international protection..

(www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/gk_yon_getirdigi_yenilikler.pdf Accessed August 26th 2016)

migrating to and from different regions of Turkey for many years, they mostly consisted of domestic workers. Seasonal migrant agricultural labour in Turkey generally involves the poorest sections of society, who usually migrate from provinces in the East, Southeast and Mediterranean regions to other rural areas. As a result of the increase in Syrian migration to Turkey in recent years, Syrian agricultural workers are also now participating in the migratory form of the work. The presence of Syrian migrants shows that seasonal migrant agricultural work in Turkey has become an element of international migration. In this context, the agricultural labour of Syrian migrants has added a new dimension to seasonal agricultural production.

This study, *the Present Situation of Syrian Seasonal Agricultural Workers on the Adana Plain*, reveals the present living and working conditions of Syrian migrant workers who work in agricultural production in the districts of Karataş, Ceyhan, Yumurtalık and Yüreğir which constitute the Adana Plain within Çukurova and makes policy recommendations based on their identified needs. The study maps the general characteristics and basic needs of the Syrian migrant agricultural workers and conducts needs analysis on the basis of the questioner applied to the representatives of 266 Syrian migrant household using the survey technique. The survey yielded information on 1662 individuals. To complement the quantitative part of the study, in-depth interviews have been held with individuals and organisations connected to the issue. In this context, the demographic characteristics, migration patterns, household characteristics, labour conditions (type of work, pay, working conditions, intermediaries, number of household members who work), basic needs (nutrition, shelter, healthcare, education) and main challenges and survival strategies of Syrian migrants have been analysed through the study of a group living in tents and working in agriculture in the Adana Plain. In-depth information has also been obtained about child labour and the position of women among this group of migrants.

Studies carried out on Syrian migrants in Turkey up to now have generally depicted them as forming a homogenous group. Few studies have focused on migrant groups in different regions or with different occupations. This study is one of the few to focus on a group that lives in one region, sometimes migrates to other provinces and is engaged in seasonal agricultural production, and to shed light on the lives and needs of Syrian seasonal migrant agricultural workers.

The study shows that in addition to the usual pool of seasonal migrant agricultural workers from the eastern, southeastern and Mediterranean

Workers in peanut harvest, Adana 2016



This study is one of the few to focus on a group that lives in one region, sometimes migrates to other provinces and is engaged in seasonal agricultural production, and to shed light on the lives and needs of Syrian seasonal migrant agricultural workers.

provinces of Turkey, Syrian workers have become the mainstay of agricultural labour on the Adana Plain in recent years. One of the most important consequences of this change is that with the integration of Syrian migrants into agricultural production, other provinces that served as sources of labour for the Adana Plain, such as Şanlıurfa, Adiyaman and Mardin, have lost their dominance, and Adana has become a province which supplies its own agricultural labour. Such has been the impact of international migration on seasonal agricultural production.

As with domestic workers, agricultural intermediaries play a key role in involving the Syrian workforce in agricultural production, setting working conditions and pay, and generally determining the conditions of the migrants' lives. Intermediaries provide workers with access to jobs in their home provinces and other provinces. Agricultural intermediaries who bring together groups of Syrian workers also have the functions of identifying locations for them to live in, providing supplies and transport, and facilitating the migrants' contacts with official bodies.

Agricultural production is generally a struggle for survival undertaken by the poorest in society. Working and living conditions reproduce poverty, deprivation and social exclusion, whatever group undertakes the job. However, it is women and children who shoulder the worst of the burden of agricultural production and living in tents. The study shows that children start to take responsibility for the subsistence of their families from an early age, and that women's burden of household duties is disproportionately high.

It will only be possible to regard migration as having a potential for development, and at the same time to integrate the migrants into society, if significant policy packages are put into practice, if the basic needs of the migrants - such as their needs for education, health and housing - are met, and if employment opportunities are generated and decent living conditions assured, giving each and every migrant the chance to demonstrate her or his potential. Viewed from this angle, it is clear that the migrants do not have sufficient access to public services like education, health and shelter, that they are resigned to agricultural work which is often not properly rewarded as a way of meeting their basic needs, and that they are living bitter lives.

Target Group

The target group of the study has been defined as Syrian migrants who are engaged in seasonal migrant agricultural for the following reasons:

- Seasonal migrant agricultural labour is a temporary job without security that is undertaken by the most desperate and poorest groups in society.
- The jobs depend on the changing amount of work available and provide irregular incomes.
- Seasonal migrant agricultural labourers travel to other regions, provinces and districts depending on the location and timing of production and face many risks while travelling and upon arrival at new living and working areas.
- Their incomes are low and they do not have social security.
- Risks are high in living and working areas and children are especially exposed to them. The level of participation in education among the children of the migrant families is very low, and they grow up without attending school at all. Child labour is very widespread.
- The tent settlements and poor working conditions make the migrants the group most in need of hygiene and personal protection.
- As these migrants generally live in isolated locations, they are invisible and have very limited integration with the local communities. Many worker groups live in isolated tent sites.
- Their living areas sometimes do not have easy access to transport. These and similar problems pose a major risk to the social harmonisation of these groups.

Seasonal migrant agricultural workers have always been the most invisible and poorest group in society. Syrian workers face the added challenge of being in a different country after having been forced to migrate.



The reasons why the Adana Plain was selected as the field for the study are as follows:

- The network mapping of organisations providing humanitarian aid to Syrian migrants and of the provinces in which these activities take place showed that Adana and its environs receive the lowest amount of aid.
- The Adana Plain has year-round seasonal migrant agricultural production due to its climate and geography.
- Adana is a province with high concentrations both of settled workers and of persons arriving for temporary work.
- The Development Workshop has been carrying out work on seasonal migrant agricultural workers in and around Adana since 2002, including studies, planning and local organisation. It has strong local ties with the public and private sectors and civil society in the area.²
- In and around Adana, from Şanlıurfa to Mersin there are approximately one million Syrian migrants and their number is increasing daily. One of the main reasons for this is employment opportunities in agriculture.

For these reasons, Adana and its environs were selected as the field for study and implementation, so that future programmes and projects targeting Syrian migrants in and around Adana will be more cost effective, sustainable, and focused on local development, and will have more effective results.

² More detailed information is available at the following links: <http://www.kalkinmaatolyesi.org>, www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/download.do?type=document&id=5224





>>>>>>>>> Methodology

The study uses qualitative and quantitative methods that support one another. In the first stage, other studies which may be relevant to the current study carried out on Syrian migrants in Turkey and other countries were reviewed and assessed. Special attention was paid to the examination of studies on Syrian migrants in and around Adana. Primary data and field observations collected during the preliminary study for the mapping of seasonal migrant agricultural workers on the Adana Plain carried out by Development Workshop experts in March 2016 and the identification, mapping, information and humanitarian aid work carried out by the Development Workshop Adana Field Office from June 2016 onwards were used during the field study as well as in the reporting of the project.

With the evaluation of secondary data, the work Development Workshop has carried out with seasonal migrant agricultural workers in and around Adana since 2002 and its experience with similar work in other parts of Turkey were used to prepare a survey for the purposes of the study. The surveys were administered in pre-established areas by experienced field workers who speak Arabic between July 24th and August 3rd 2016. The survey was finalised after a pilot study carried out in Adana (Annex 1).

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with Syrian seasonal migrant agricultural workers and people and organisations supporting them or providing services to them between July 25th and July 31st and between September 14th and September 16th 2016 (Annex 2). All in all, the study pursues its goals by using qualitative and quantitative data simultaneously.



There are no demographic statistics either on seasonal migrant agricultural workers in Turkey at any level or on Syrian migrants working on the Adana Plain. Seasonal migrant agricultural workers, as well as Syrian migrants engaged in agricultural labour are special groups who are hard to reach, and who may change location at any time. The fact that the study universe is unknown makes it impossible to identify a representative sample that is suitable for the aims of this study. Experiences and previous work, the preliminary study and institutional contacts as well as observations of the Development Workshop Adana Field Office were used to decide where to carry out field observations and how many families to include.^x It was decided that the study should encompass the districts of Karataş, Yumurtalık, Yüreğir and Ceyhan, which form the Adana Plain, and where agricultural production is intense and therefore access to workers easier. Syrian migrant households who have settled on the Adana Plain and live in tents which they have pitched using their own resources were taken as the study sample and it was decided that it would be sufficient to survey 250 Syrian migrant families would be sufficient.

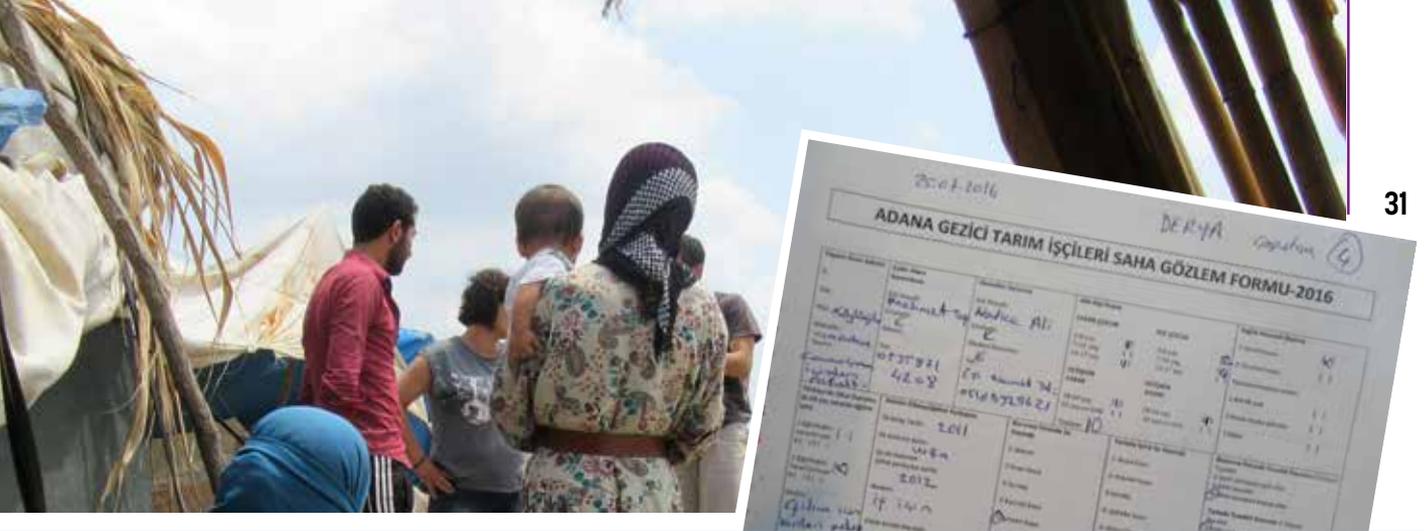
The 250 surveys were distributed proportionally by district according to the previously identified numbers of families. To this end, the Development Workshop Adana Field Office carried out field observations before the main study, met agricultural intermediaries, identified tent sites, visited them in person and identified household numbers. These were then used to form a map (Map 1). In each tent settlement or camp, the field office recorded the numbers of tents belonging to workers from Turkey and Syria, the balance between the two and the amenities available, such

as water and electricity, using its own Field Observation Forms. The tent settlements in which fewer than 50 per cent of tents belonged to Syrian households were removed from the list. The mapping study reached a total of 2,180 tents on 28 sites settled by workers from Turkey and Syria. The 1,662 tents belonging to Syrians (and forming 76 per cent of the total) were considered the potential universe of the study (Table 1).

Table 1. Tent Groups, Total Numbers of Tents, Numbers of Tents of Syrian Migrants and their Distribution

District Name	Nieghbourhood/Village Name	Total Number of Tents
Ceyhan	Hasantepe	15
Ceyhan	Emek	200
Karataş	Aydınlar Tabaklar	150
Karataş	Köprügözü	200
Karataş	Karagöçer	350
Karataş	Tuzla	100
Karataş	Meletmez	20
Karataş	İsahacılı	50
Karataş	Yemişli	30
Karataş	Kırmızı dağ	60
Karataş	Yukarı Bahçe	50
Karataş	Bebeli 1 ve 2	41
Karataş	Kızıлтаhta	20
Karataş	Yalnızca	30
Yumurtalık	Yeşilköy	80
Yumurtalık	Kaldırım 1 ve 2	70
Yumurtalık	Zeytinbeli	90
Yumurtalık	Zeynepli Kuzupına mah	10
Yumurtalık	Şeyh Ganim Kırmızı Dam	60
Yumurtalık	Yeşilköy Keltepe Mah	15
Yumurtalık	Göbegören	5
Yumurtalık	Asmalı Forlar	15
Yüreğir	Kadıköy 1 ve 2	125
Yüreğir	Yamaçlı 1 ve 2	163
Yüreğir	Deniz Kuyusu	15
Yüreğir	Doğankent 1 ve 2	170
Yüreğir	Yunusoğlu	40
Yüreğir	Sazak	6
Total		2180

The mapping study reached a total of 2,180 tents on 28 sites settled by workers from Turkey and Syria.



Number of Syrian-Owned Tents	Proportion of Syrian Migrant Tents (%)	Distribution of Syrian Tents (A/1662 x 100)
15	100.0	0.90
200	100.0	12.03
100	66.7	6.02
150	75.0	9.03
300	85.7	18.05
70	70.0	4.21
15	75.0	0.90
35	70.0	2.11
25	83.3	1.50
35	58.3	2.11
40	80.0	2.41
16	39.0	0.96
19	95.0	1.14
25	83.3	1.50
40	50.0	2.41
58	82.9	3.49
30	33.3	1.81
6	60.0	0.36
25	41.7	1.50
13	86.7	0.78
4	80.0	0.24
13	86.7	0.78
85	68.0	5.11
163	100.0	9.81
10	66.7	0.60
140	82.4	8.42
25	62.5	1.50
5	83.3	0.30
1662	76.2	100.00

The 1,662 tents belonging to Syrians (and forming 76 per cent of the total) were considered the potential universe of the study (Table 1).



OSMANIYE



Karataş	128
Ceyhan	34
Yumurtalık	30
Yüreğir	74

266
Total

There are 266 questionnaires covering 4 provinces of Adana which accounts for 16% of research universe.

1150

1150 households living in tents are distributed non-food items.

1271

Development Workshop distributed information leaflet prepared in Arabic reached to 1271 Syrians and did presentations on information dissemination and awareness rising.





Survey with Syrian migrants in tent areas, 2016

The number of households to be surveyed was established as 250, which makes up 15 per cent of the hypothetical universe identified by the Adana Field Office. This ratio was used to identify the settlements and numbers to be surveyed. Given the cost and time constraints of the study, after proportional layering, settlements where four or fewer surveys would have to be carried out were taken off the list and the number of extra households needing to be surveyed was distributed equally among the remaining settlements. As a result, a total of 18 settlements were surveyed in the four provinces. Table 2 shows the expected and actual number of households surveyed and their distribution by province.

Table 2. Targeted and Actual Numbers of Households Surveyed and their Distribution by Province

District Name	Target Number of Households	Households Surveyed in Practice	Distribution (%)
Karataş	125	128	48.1
Ceyhan	32	34	12.8
Yumurtalık	30	30	11.3
Yüreğir	66	74	27.8
Total	253*	266**	100.0

* The number of targeted surveys rose from 250 to 253 as a result of rounding up during the redistribution of target numbers from those tent sites removed from the survey list because four or fewer households needed to be surveyed.

** With the inclusion of back-up surveys carried out in the tent settlements, the total number of surveys rose to 266. As a result, 16 per cent of the hypothetical sample universe was reached.

Due to the conditions of the study universe and consequent limitations on identifying sample size, *probability sampling* was used and the people interviewed were selected at random to represent their household. The survey team tried to carry out surveys with representatives of households from as many different parts of the settlement as possible. The individuals surveyed came from across the settlement, as far as constraints in the field would allow. The survey team also tried to ensure a balance of sexes among the interviewees. Table 3 shows the number and distribution of the tent settlements surveyed by district and neighbourhood/village.

Table 3. Number and Distribution of Households Surveyed by District and Neighbourhood/Village

Tent Settlement Site (District - Neighbourhood/Village)	Number of Households	Distribution (%)
Ceyhan/ Emek	34	12.8
Karataş/ Aydınlar Tabaklar	18	6.8
Karataş/ Köprü gözü	23	8.6
Karataş/ Kara göçer	49	18.4
Karataş/ Tuzla	12	4.5
Karataş/ İshacı	6	2.3
Yüreğir/Solaklı	8	3
Karataş/ Kırmızıdağ	6	2.3
Karataş/ Yukarıbahçe	6	2.3
Karataş/ Yalnızca	6	2.3
Yumurtalık/ Yeşilköy	7	2.6
Yumurtalık/ Kaldırım	11	4.1
Yumurtalık/ Zeytinbeli	6	2.3
Yumurtalık/ Şeyh Ganim Kırmızı Dam	6	2.3
Yüreğir/ Kadıköy	14	5.3
Yüreğir/ Yamaçlı	24	9
Yüreğir/ Doğan kent	24	9
Yüreğir/ Yunusoğlu	6	2.3
Total	266	100



Seasonal agricultural workers in pepper harvest in Adana Plain, 2016

Implementation of the Study

The structured questionnaire used in the study was developed from a questionnaire used by the Development Workshop in a previous study on the living and working conditions of seasonal migrant agricultural workers. The questionnaire was compiled by revising the earlier questionnaire and making changes based on the findings of a number of studies on Syrian migrants. The questionnaire included questions on demographic information, living and working conditions, health, perceptions of discrimination and future expectations. The draft survey was tested with contributions from the Adana Field Office and was revised in the light of an assessment of the outcome.

The field work was carried out by experienced field workers who speak Arabic, given the characteristics of the target group. At the Development Workshop's Adana Field Office, a day-long field training session was held for the surveyors and the content and scope of every question was explained in detail. The surveyors were sent the questionnaires and directions ahead of the training session in order to benefit from their contributions.

The data entry process was carried out during the field study at the same time as the survey. For this reason, the data entry experts remained in close contact with the surveyors, giving them directions, providing supervision and making revisions according to their findings. The demographic data pertaining to household members and the responses to questions about living and working conditions were transferred to two separate databases. With the end of the field study, the data was reviewed and cleared on SPSS while the open-ended questions were categorised. SPSS and Excel were used to analyse the data.

For institutional interviews, a list of institutions to be interviewed was prepared, appointments were made and previously-determined questions were asked face to face. During the interviews, the representatives of the institutions went into detail about their own knowledge and experiences. These opinions were assessed and reflected in the report.

Terms and Definitions

- **Tent Settlement:** A tent settlement (camp, site, living area) is a location on the plain, by a road or by a canal where households interviewed as part of the study live, and which consist of tents generally made of cloth, nylon or plastic, with the households located closely together or more spaced out.
- **Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Worker:** Used to describe a person who participates in agricultural production for economic gain for at least one day in a location other than their home area but does not constantly work in the same job.
- **Seasonal Agricultural Worker:** Used to describe a person who participates in agricultural production for economic gain but does not constantly work in the same job. Seasonal agricultural workers generally work locally. They work the fields during the day and return to their homes at night.
- **Migrant:** Used to describe a person who has crossed an international boundary or changed living location within the borders of a single state. Migration is the movement of populations whatever its duration, characteristics or causes may be. This definition includes refugees, displaced persons, forcibly removed persons and economic migrants (IOM 2009: 22).
- **Migrant worker:** Used to describe a person who will be, is or has been engaged in paid activities in a country of which he/she is not a citizen (International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, Article 2(1), 1990.)
- **International Labour Migration :** The movement of people from source countries or from a country where they have been living temporarily to another country temporarily or permanently in order to work.
- **Asylum-seeker:** 'A person seeking to be accepted as a refugee in a country and awaiting a decision on the application for refugee status under relevant international and national instruments. In case of a negative decision, the person must leave the country and may be expelled, as may any non-national in an irregular or unlawful situation, unless permission to stay is provided on humanitarian or other related grounds.' (IOM 2009: 49).

- **Refugee:** ‘A person who meets the criteria of the UNHCR Statute and qualifies for the protection of the United Nations provided by the High Commissioner, regardless of whether or not he or she is in a country that is a party to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951 or the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, or whether or not he or she has been recognized by the host country as a refugee under either of these instruments.’ (IOM 2009:42).
- **International Protection:** ‘Legal protection given by an organisation in keeping with a mandate conferred by an agreement to ensure respect for rights identified in such international agreements as the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1949 Geneva Convention and 1977 Protocols, right of initiative of the International Committee of the Red Cross, International Labour Organization conventions and human rights instruments’ (IOM:2009:58).
- **Temporary Protection Status:** ‘An exceptional procedure accorded with the aim of offering urgent and temporary protection to persons arriving or immediately likely to arrive from a third country en masse and who cannot return to their country, particularly for the benefit of such persons or other persons requiring protection if there is a risk that it may not be possible to operate the asylum system without a negative impact on its effective implementation.’ (IOM 2009: 19).
- **Seasonal Agricultural Production:** Agricultural activities carried out at specific months/seasons of the year spanning the process from soil preparation to harvest. For livestock keeping, it encompasses animal care and fodder harvesting.
- **Agricultural Intermediary:** Persons who act as a link between employers and workers in the seasonal agricultural process in exchange for pay and who play an important role in meeting the daily needs of workers during the work period. They are generally known to agricultural workers as elçi or dayıbaşı. Agricultural intermediaries have underlings known as çavuş to organise their affairs. Intermediaries are obliged to be registered with the Provincial Directorate of Labour and the Employment Agency.
- **Household:** For this study a household is deemed to be a group of people who move together, stay under the same roof and share their incomes and expenses and sometimes live together despite not being relatives.
- **Child:** All individuals between the ages of 0-18 are considered children.



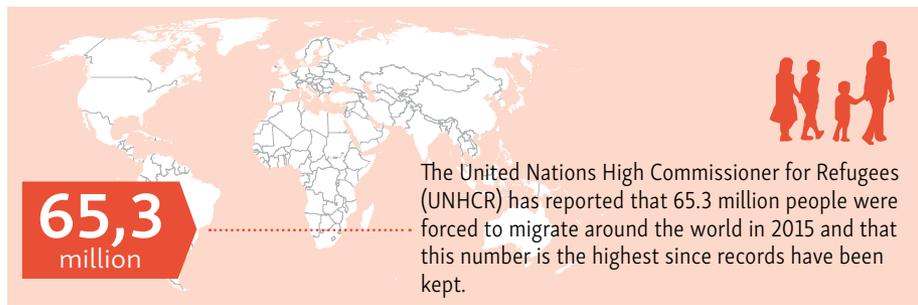
CHAPTER 1

Migration, Labour Market and Access to Social Rights





One of the major movements within the international migration waves of recent years is the migration of those displaced for humanitarian reasons. These persons, who may be referred to as refugees, asylum seekers, forced migrants or migrants for humanitarian reasons, consist of people who have left their countries for others where they feel safer, and they constitute a large movement of population throughout the world. This means that in today's world, millions of people lack basic security. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has reported that 65.3 million people were forced to migrate around the world in 2015 and that this number is the highest since records have been kept. A detailed examination of this number could reveal much about the movement of persons around the world but at the very least it must be noted that 65.3 million people have been forced to leave their homes against their will. It also shows that in recent years, international migration currents have been heavily influenced by the movement of displaced people, asylum seekers and refugees. Cohen and Sirkeci emphasise that this mass of population has been displaced by crises occurring at the global level (Cohen and Sirkeci, 2016). These crises, which vary in time and location, include social and environmental crises,



the civil war in Syria, the violence in Colombia and the environmental and climate changes in the Philippines.

Classic theories of migration are inadequate in explaining the movement of displaced persons, while in contemporary migration studies, the lives and integration of people displaced to other countries is of central importance. The participation of migrants in the labour market and their access to social rights and services are some of the most important issues. The trauma and psychological problems faced by those who have been forcefully displaced constitute an obstacle in the way of their social harmonisation, and this group of migrants usually form weaker links with the country in which they have arrived than economic migrants. As their qualifications and experience for access to the labour market was shaped in the country of their origin, they have weaker connections with the labour market. They also lack diplomas and other documents that can facilitate their entry into the labour force (OECD 2016).

According to a report prepared by the European Parliament, migrants arriving as asylum seekers are less integrated into the labour market than tho-



Turkish Syria border, migrant family crossing the mine field, Kilis 2012

se arriving for work or for family unification (European Parliament, 2016). Throughout the European Union (EU), the entry of 50 per cent of asylum seekers into the labour market takes between six and eight years longer than the EU average, while as many as 70 per cent need 15 years before they can access the labour market. Despite these findings, it has been reported that once their status is approved and they gain the right to settle, asylum seekers receive higher pay and work longer hours than other migrant groups. This is thought to be a result of asylum seekers being more

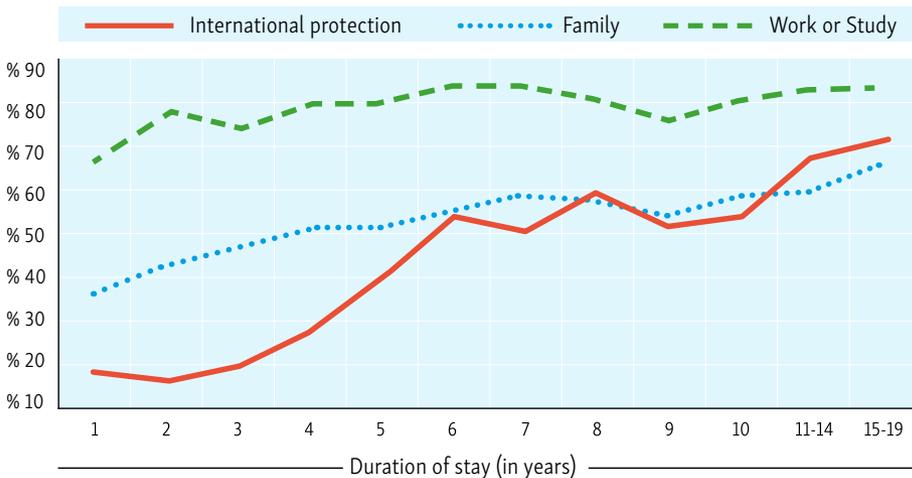


Syrian woman worker, Adana 2016

likely to invest in human capital once they have been granted asylum and become permanently settled.

Woman asylum seekers have a relatively low rate of participation in the labour market. They cannot access many opportunities for cultural integration, language and skills training and employment in the countries they have migrated to due to the burden of child care and foreign cultural codes (European Parliament, 2016).

Figure 1. Participation of migrants under international protection in the labour market



Source: European Parliament (2016:22)

Figure 1 shows the workforce participation of those who have migrated for purposes of work, education or family reunification and those who have migrated for humanitarian reasons. Over time, the rate of participation among those who have migrated for humanitarian reasons gradually surpasses the rate for those who have migrated for family reunification. While the workforce participation of migrants depends on their individual qualities, it also depends on the conditions of the labour market in their new country of residence and how the institutional structure prepares migrants for integration.

There are a number of factors and obstacles which influence the integration of migrants into the labour market very strongly. The employment of migrants depends greatly on their linguistic skills, their levels of education and their qualifications and experience. The legal regulations for determining the access of asylum seekers to the labour market, the length of time it takes to process asylum applications, and the uncertainty over whether the right to permanent stay will be granted or not are fa-

ctors that determine the access to the labour market of those who have migrated for humanitarian reasons. In addition, the relatively weak social connections of asylum seekers, issues with housing, and health issues resulting from exposure to violence and trauma also affect their position in the labour market.

Migrants and Agricultural Labour

As processing the applications of those who have permanently migrated under difficult conditions (humanitarian migration) takes a long time, it can be years before these persons gain the right to work legally in the target country. For this reason, it is well known that asylum seekers often work in informal jobs, especially in countries with large informal sectors. Areas of production such as agricultural production, where there is little competition from the domestic workforce, may be opened up to asylum seekers, causing them to be locked into low-quality, low-paid jobs. Highly qualified people are frequently obliged to do low-paid work in which they cannot make use of their qualifications (OECD, 2016).

Agricultural production is a common sector of employment among migrants. In agriculture it is easier to find informal jobs, and harder for public authorities to observe and identify the migrants, as they are employed in remoter areas. According to the December 2015 report of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), 150 million migrants are participating in the workforce around the world, and 16.7 million of these are working in the agricultural sector (ILO, 2016). According to the Development Workshop's *Lessons Learned Report on the Employment of Migrant Workers in Agricultural Production*, there are more than four million temporary workers in the European Economic Area (EEA) and EU countries, of which two thirds are workers who have migrated nationally or internationally. Many of the workers who are employed for between a few days and eight months come from EU member states. Large numbers are working as temporary seasonal workers in the agricultural sectors of large European economies such as Spain, France and Italy is high (Development Workshop, 2016a).

Studies show that in countries such as Germany, Italy and Spain, the irregular migrant workforce continues to play a vital role in agricultural production, despite attempts at regulation (Hess 2006, Hartman 2008). Migrants from central and eastern Europe in Germany, and from countries like Romania and Albania in Spain and Italy, are made to work informally for low pay in agricultural production. Although they are widely employed in agricultural production, migrants continue to face serious risks, having

to accept low-paid jobs in which working conditions are poor, and which pose threats to their health and safety but offer no protection or guarantees.

Other than the challenges they face due to their working conditions and legal status, migrants also face discrimination in daily life and the labour market in the countries in which they have arrived. Compared to the local population, migrant workers are more often confronted with racism, ethnic discrimination, mistreatment and poor working conditions. Experiences of migrants take a toll on their mental and bodily health. In the United States of America, which is the country that employs the most migrant agricultural labourers in the world, migrant workers have to live and work under the fear of deportation, facing ethnic discrimination and social exclusion, in conditions that pose health and security threats and with limited access to public services (Svensson et al. 2013).

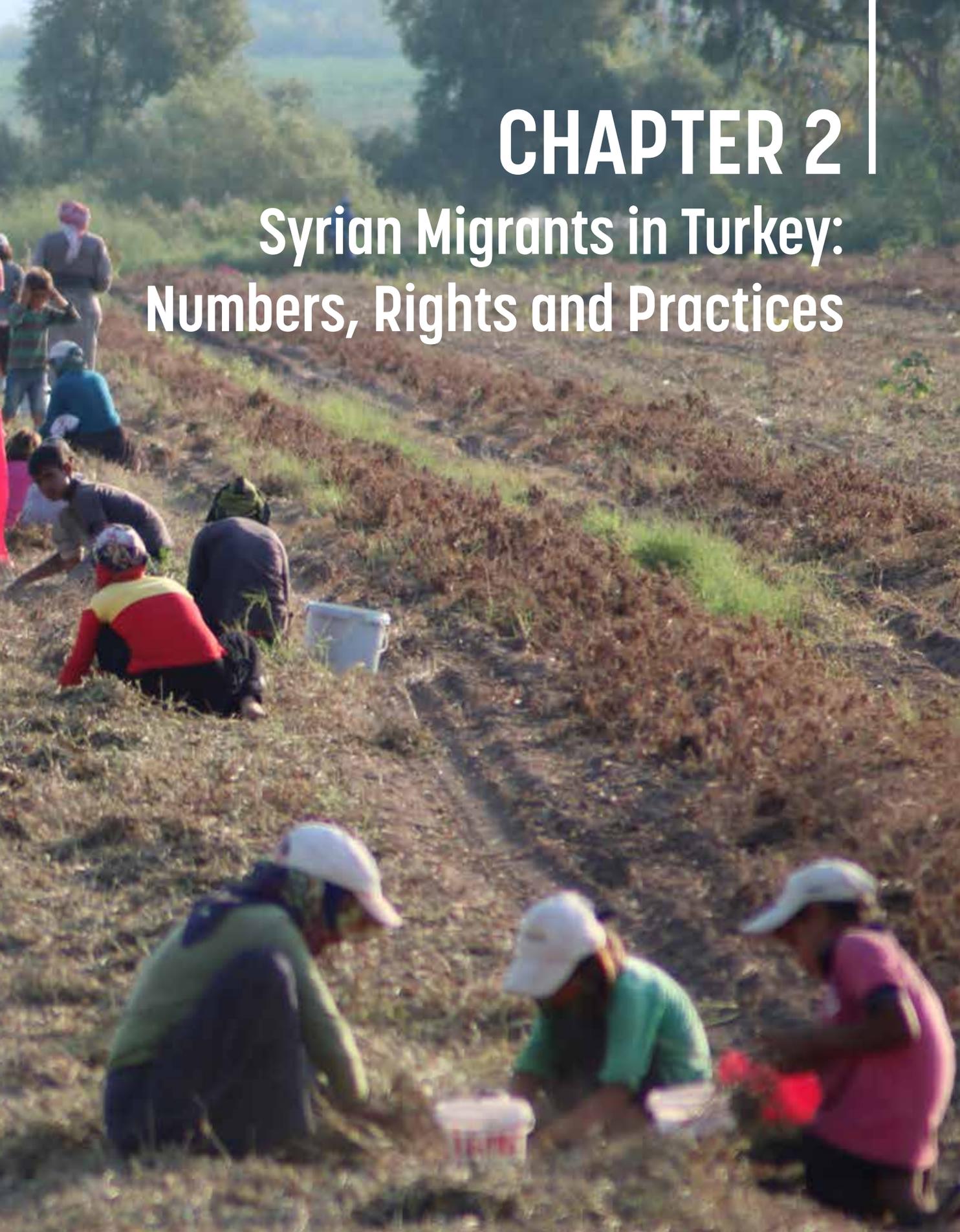
The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Programme (SAWP) of Canada, which is often held up as the best of its kind in the world, is also understood to offer very little protection to workers. Among the issues that have been highlighted, workers are reported not to have the right to choose their employers, not to have the option of resigning, not to be able to select their own places of residence and not being able to leave the fields where they work (Tomic et al. 2010). The fact that the legal status of migrant workers depend on their employers leaves them vulnerable and fragile. Inadequate inspection results in employers failing to fulfil their legal responsibilities and in higher levels of exploitation and abuse for the workers.

In EU member countries, arrangements concerning the entry of migrants into the country, the duration of their stay and their access to employment vary from country to country, as do the regulations and practices that determine the working and living conditions of migrants working in agricultural production. Practices depend on, and are sensitive to, the country's geographical location, the nature and diversity of its produce and national needs and policies, as well as global developments, and are liable to change over time. Despite all the efforts and progress made, seasonal agricultural workers in the EU, as elsewhere, lack decent working conditions as described by the ILO and have to put up with inadequate housing, low pay, long working hours, exploitation and discrimination.



CHAPTER 2

Syrian Migrants in Turkey: Numbers, Rights and Practices



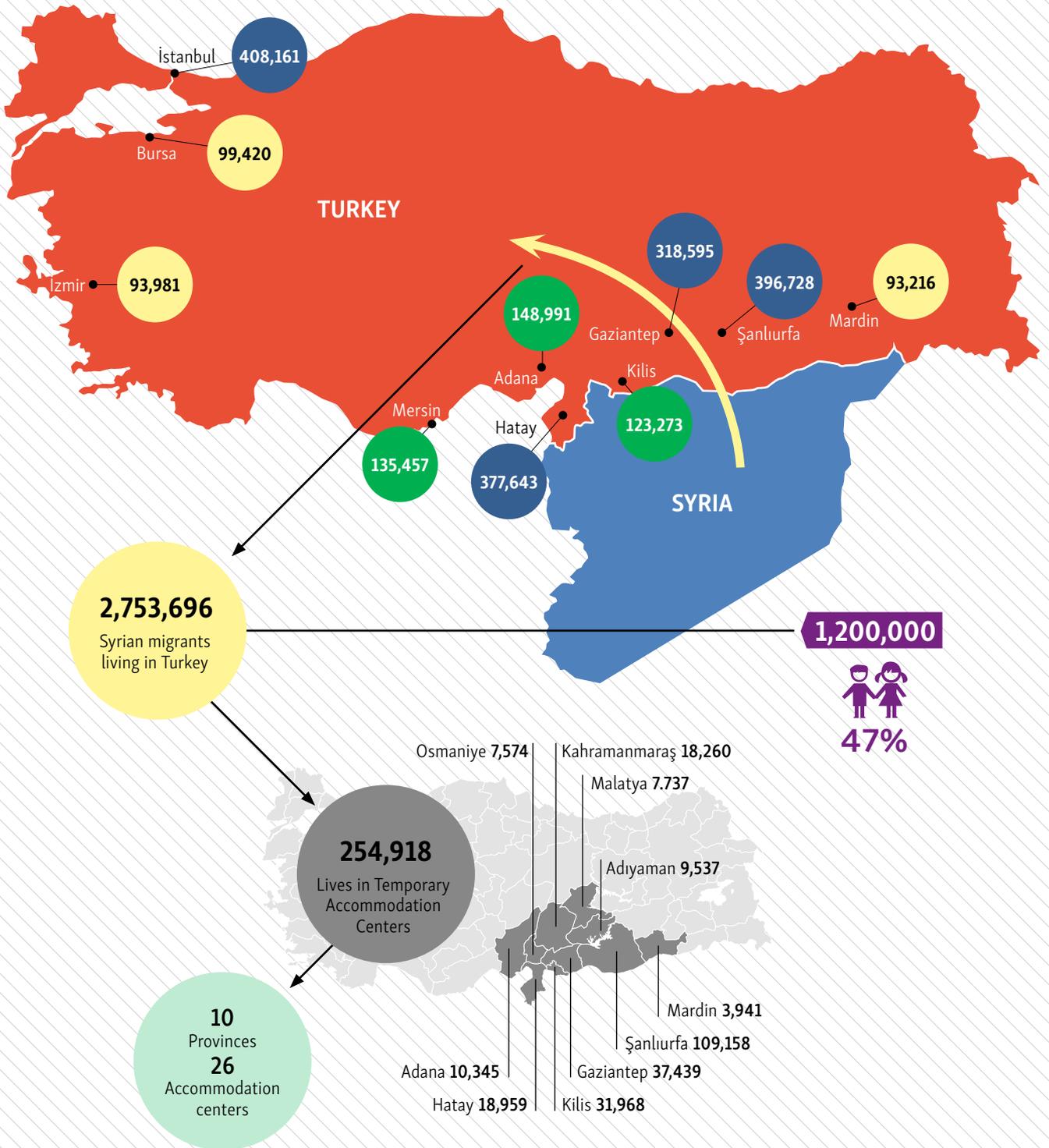


In the five years since the war in Syria began in 2011, the numbers of Syrians taking refuge in Turkey have risen continuously. According to data from the UNHCR and the Government of Turkey, there were 2,753,696 registered Syrian migrants living in Turkey as of October 19th, 2016. Approximately 260,000 of these are residing in 26 camps in ten different provinces, while the majority are scattered throughout Turkey's 81 provinces. The provinces hosting the highest numbers of Syrians are Şanlıurfa, İstanbul, Hatay, Gaziantep and Adana, in that order (DGMM, 2016).

One of the most striking characteristics of the Syrian population in Turkey is that 47% of them are made up of children and young people under 18 (DGMM, 2016). This means that there are some 1.2 million Syrian children and young people in the community. Both for structural reasons, and because of their high numbers, the schooling ratio among Syrians of school age (aged 6-18) has remained very low at around 15-20 per cent. Erdoğan and Ünver (2015) point out that conservative Syrian families from rural areas have a significant tendency to resist sending their daughters to school beyond the age of 12-13, while the low rate of schooling among boys can be put down to the fact that many of them are working, albeit informally. The young population is a significant factor in policies for social harmony, education and employment, and needs to be placed at the centre of policies for the Syrians' integration into society.

Legal Status of the Syrian Migrants

For years, the Republic of Turkey addressed the issue of migration as an important aspect of the construction of the nation state, and it became part of the nation-building process. In the early years of the Republic, groups with close affinities with the Turkish culture and language were encouraged to migrate to Turkey. Under the Settlement Law of 1934, ethnic Turks who arrived in Turkey in the early years of the Republic were accepted as migrants. This law became the basic legislation on migration, determining who could enter Turkey, settle in Turkey and/or apply for the status of migrant. Turkey later also signed the *Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* of 1951, but with a geographical reservation that meant that only persons arriving from Europe could be given *refugee* status. Without lifting the geographical reservation to the Geneva Convention, which Turkey continued to accept on condition that it would apply only to people taking refuge from Europe, the *Asylum Regulation* that took effect in 1994 offered a *temporary right* of refuge for persons from other countries taking refuge in Turkey and applying for refugee status and the right of resettlement in third countries. The *Law on Foreigners and International Protection* of 2013, as well as making arrangements for the entry of migrants into Turkey, their departure and their residence in the country, also determined the scope of the international protection to be provided to persons seeking refuge from Turkey.



Based on this last law, the *Temporary Protection Regulation* No. 6883 of 2014 set out the details of a *Temporary Protection Regime*. The aim of this regulation was to clarify the status of persons living under temporary protection. According to the regulation:

'Temporary protection may be accorded to those foreigners who have been forced to leave their own countries, who are unable to return to the countries from which they have come, and who have arrived at Turkey's borders or crossed Turkey's borders en masse with the aim of finding urgent and temporary protection.'

While the regulation in question encompasses all refugees as far as resources permit, its provisions are currently applied only to the Syrians, who are the only group to which the Government of Turkey has granted temporary protection. (Hayata Destek Derneği [Support to Life Association], 2016)

Persons under temporary protection have the right to remain in Turkey (**Article 25**) and have access to free health services (**Article 27**). The regulation also contains provisions on the waiving of punishments for illegal entry and residence (**Article 5**), non-refoulement (Article 6), and the issue of identity documents for use in applications to be made to attend state schools and to obtain work permits (**Article 22**). It clarifies the processes for obtain work permits (**Article 29**). There is also a clause (**Article 30**) on the provision of free translation services. In spite of the rights envisaged by the Temporary Protection Regulation, Syrian migrants experience various problems in the areas of health services, education, social assistance, the labour market and accommodation.

In the wake of the Temporary Protection Regulation, a *Regulation on Work Permits for Foreigners under Temporary Protection* (2016/8375) was published in the Official Gazette and went into effect on January 15th, 2016. This regulation offers foreigners under temporary protection to be employed in agricultural production and animal-rearing the possibility of exemption from the obligation to obtain work permits, and introduces quotas for the numbers of applications for exemption that may be processed by provisional governorates. The articles of this regulation which relate to seasonal migratory agricultural labour are as follows:

ARTICLE 5 (4) *Foreigners provided with temporary protection who are to work in seasonal agricultural or livestock work are in the scope of exemption from work permits. Applications for exemption from work permits are to be made to the governorate of the province in which temporary protection is provided. The governorate concerned will notify the Ministry of these applications. (5) The Ministry may introduce limits by province and by quota for the foreigners provided with temporary protection who are to work in seasonal agricultural and livestock work.*

ARTICLE 9 (2) *The relevant governorates will be informed of the work permit exemptions granted to those foreigners provided with temporary protection in*

respect of whom approval is granted for employment in seasonal agricultural or livestock work.

ARTICLE 10 (1) *Foreigners provided with temporary protection may not be paid less than the minimum wage.*

The increasing migration of Syrian migrants to Turkey has accelerated the development of the migration regime in Turkey and the adoption of the related legal arrangements, and legal safeguards have been provided governing the rights and work permits of those included in the temporary protection regime. However, although the scope of legal protection has been expanded, the position of Syrian migrants in the labour market in Turkey is mostly confined to informal, low-paid jobs that bring no legal protection or social security. The conditions of the Syrian migrants working in seasonal agricultural production are no exception.

Syrian Migrants in the Labour Market

One of the biggest problems of the Turkish labour market is structural unemployment and informal work. Despite the widespread nature of these issues, on the demand side, employers frequently emphasise that they cannot find workers to work for them. This contradiction shows that the jobs available on the labour market are not in much demand among the workers. The entry of millions of Syrian migrants into a labour market characterised by structural problems of this kind has shown that the widespread informal economy is able to provide migrants with opportunities to work. The frankest statement on the employment of Syrian migrants in Turkey has come from the former minister of Family and Social Policies, Fatma Şahin, who is now mayor of Gaziantep:

The 140,000 Syrians in Gaziantep have been like a tonic for the factories
(*Hürriyet 2014*)

It is increasingly accepted that Syrian migrants are working in almost all kinds of job in Turkey. Different groups of migrants in different economic circumstances are working in different kinds of job. According to the research conducted by Lordoğlu and Aslan in 2015, the Syrians are participating in the job market in three ways:

- The first group is made up of those who have set up their own companies or established joint companies with citizens of Turkey.

- The second group are working as independent traders and artisans.
- The third group, making up the largest mass of the Syrians, are those working for others in return for wages.

This broad mass of Syrians is known to have to work in informal jobs for low pay. The most important factors that make the Syrians attractive in many fields of work are that their pay is very low, and that they take on many kinds of difficulties without objecting because they are obliged to work. The well-known, frequently-emphasized truth is that the Syrian migrants work long hours in low-paid jobs without any security. In this sense, sectors where informal labour is widespread, such as textiles, clothing, agriculture, livestock and construction, generate job opportunities for the Syrian migrants. (Kaymaz and Kadkoy 2016, Reuters 2016)

Migrants arriving from Syria work in seasonal agricultural jobs in almost all parts of Turkey. In large cities such as Gaziantep, Adana, Bursa and İstanbul, they work mostly in textiles and clothing workshops. One of the biggest problems which the Syrians face in working life is the language barrier. For many migrants, not being able to speak Turkish is synonymous with being unemployed. Syrians who had a profession in their own country find themselves unemployed in Turkey because they cannot speak the language (Akdeniz, 2014). With respect to working conditions, the Syrian workers are observed to work for lower wages than local workers. The interviews conducted by Ercüment Akdeniz in İstanbul show that Syrian workers earn TL70-100 less per week than local workers (Akdeniz 2014: 35). The situation in İstanbul is in fact much the same for almost all of the Syrians who are working in various kinds of jobs in all parts of Turkey.

The biggest complaint of Syrian workers in connection with the labour market concerns employers who do not pay their wages or who do not pay them on time. After being paid regularly for 3-4 months, they say that they start to receive very little money or for the most part not to be paid at all (Akdeniz 2014: 23). Another issue is the long working hours. For example, Fatima, a Syrian woman living in Hatay, reported that her husband was sacked from a restaurant where he had been working from eight o'clock in the morning until eleven at night because he asked for a two-hour break (Amnesty International 2014).

The existence of working conditions that fall far short of the conditions of decent work demonstrates that Turkey is not a place of escape for the Syrians but a new place of struggle. Most of the things which Syrian migrants experience in the labour market are similar to those faced by workers who are citizens of Turkey. Their main difficulty is that as there is no record of them working, they cannot claim any rights. For instance, they are unable to make

any claim if they have an accident at work, or if they develop an occupation disease during the course of their employment, and they can do nothing to have sanctions enforced if their employers do not pay their wages. This situation represents an extreme case of labour exploitation. At the same time, it leads to chaos. It is going to be difficult to stop Syrians, who are unable to use legal channels to claim their rights, from causing damage to the employer, the workplace or work equipment. An incident of this kind occurred in a subcontracting workshop in the Çağlayan district of İstanbul. Thirty workers whose wages had not been paid for months took over the machines. However, the employer complained to the police, and the Syrian workers were charged with theft (Akdeniz 2014).

The employment of Syrian migrants, and especially migrant children, in informal “under-the-counter” workshops frequently attracts attention not only in Turkey but also from the international press, due to the international trade marks that are produced in these workshops. According to a Reuters story, Syrian children contribute to the upkeep of their families by working in textiles and clothing workshops for TL150 a week. The migrants receive only half or a third of the wages which a local worker receives for the same job. Child labourers always work for less (Reuters 2016).

Of the Syrian migrants interviewed in a survey conducted by the Hayata Destek Derneği [Support to Life Association] in İstanbul in 2016, 64 per cent said that they earned a living by working for regular wages mostly in textiles, construction and services sectors, while 23 per cent said that they worked for a daily rate in services sectors where they could use their skills (Hayata Destek 2016). During interviews conducted for the same survey in the Bağcılar district of İstanbul, the interviewees reported that as there were many factories and workshops in the district, most of the Syrians were working as labourers in heavy work in sectors like construction and textiles. It was also reported that they received low wages:

In textiles, Turks are paid TL1,500 (about USD500) per month while Syrians are paid TL750 (about USD250). In the construction sector, Turks are paid TL70-100 (about USD23-33) per day and Syrians TL30-40 (about USD10-13).

While there is more and more information available on the position of Syrian migrants in the labour market in general, there have been no specific studies of the work done by the migrants in individual sectors. One of the most original aspects of the present study is that it describes the lives and working experiences of Syrian migrants working in agriculture and investigates in depth the forms and conditions of agricultural work. Before moving on to the findings of the study, the following chapter will examine seasonal agricultural work in Turkey in general and the place of Syrian migrants in agricultural production.



Seasonal agricultural workers in Adana Plain, 2016

CHAPTER 3

Seasonal Agricultural Production in Turkey and Syrian Workers





Seasonal migratory agricultural labour has generally been the work of the social groups at the very bottom of the social hierarchy in Turkey. At first, it was the work done by villagers with no land of their own, or very little. More recently, it has come to be dominated by people without property and members of the urban poor living in the East, Southeast and Mediterranean regions. As a result of the migration from Syria to Turkey, Syrian migrants working in agricultural production have joined the process. These different groups of workers have at various times become the main producers in seasonal agricultural production in Turkey. At one time, landless peasant formed the main group of workers; later families migrating seasonally from the Southeast Anatolia region became the primary source of labour. In the past few years, Syrian migrants have become the key actors, and, as a cheaper labour force, the dynamo of seasonal agricultural labour.

The common denominator of these different groups of workers who have taken the stage at different times is the contribution which the conditions of seasonal agricultural labour have made to their social exclusion. The conditions faced by the workers has not changed much regardless of the group they belong to. Almost all of the groups of workers mentioned here have in their own times faced low wages, insecure work without a contract, long working hours, difficult working environments, unhealthy accommodation, and tough climatic conditions including heat and cold. and have made up the poorest and most victimised sections of society.

More and more studies have been conducted in recent years that provide more information about these conditions and about the agricultural labourers themselves. The growing interest in seasonal agricultural labour stems from the fact that they have become an inseparable feature of agricultural production in Turkey. It has to be added that the increase in the numbers of people working in seasonal agricultural production and the growing volume of surveys and reports about them is at the same time a consequence of the socioeconomic transformation of rural areas in Turkey. In the most fundamental sense, seasonal migratory agricultural labour requires the mobilisation of the poorest sections of society in order to meet the need for labour arising from agricultural production in rural areas. This chapter seeks to shed light on seasonal migratory agricultural labour and on how Syrian migrants experience seasonal agricultural production.

Workers in Seasonal Agricultural Work

Who are These People?

One of the most important consequences of urbanisation and population movements for agricultural production has been the need which they have created for the use of forms of paid labour for at least part of the agricultur-

al production that was formerly carried out as a family. It is in this context that seasonal migratory agricultural labour has in recent years become more visible, and that the workers living in the country have come to have an impact on a large population headed by the owners of fields and orchards. The need for paid labour in agriculture, which was previously met from local sources, has started to be met increasingly through the use of seasonal labourers who migrate from the East and Southeast of the country at certain seasons, working for an average of 4-5 months a year. Seasonal migratory agricultural labour is to be found in many regions of Turkey. The products and regions highlighted by research can be listed as follows: hazelnuts in the Black Sea region, fresh vegetables and fruit in the Aegean, citrus fruits and fresh vegetables in Çukurova, onions, legumes, sugar beet and apricots in Central Anatolia, and products like cotton, pistachios and vegetables in Southeast Anatolia. The workers are generally involved in hoeing and in the picking, drying and packing of these products (MİGA 2012).



Syrian workers in peanut harvest, Adana 2016

Demographic Features

A growing body of knowledge has come into being concerning seasonal migratory agricultural workers in recent years, and researchers have produced detailed analyses of the labourers taking part in seasonal agricultural work as well as their families. The field research on seasonal agricultural workers carried out in 2014 by the *Hayata Destek Derneği* [Support to Life Association] showed that half of the population of seasonal agricultural workers is made up of women and half of men. The findings concerning the size of the families and the age distribution of the migrant population shows that the families are large and the population is young. According to the research findings, the average size of the household is seven, with 50 per cent of the households made up of seven persons or fewer. About a quarter of the households interviewed as part of the

Syrian child working in vegetable harvest, Adana 2016



40%

Needs Assessment Study on Seasonal Agricultural Workers and Their Families Report published by the UNFPA in 2012 indicates that among the seasonal agricultural worker families living in Şanlıurfa and Adıyaman the 40 per cent of the population were aged 14 or under.

study were made up of ten or more individuals. This has been interpreted as indicating that the birth rate among women in families migrating to take part in seasonal migratory agricultural labour is high, but also that close relatives come together in extended families in order to work and migrate in this way. In addition to the large family structure, the report makes clear that the seasonal migratory agricultural labourers constitute a young population. Of the total population of the 168 households included in the survey, 35 per cent belonged to the 19-45 age group, and 11 per cent were 46 or older. The average age of the household members was 22. Thus a young population structure dominated. The ratio of the population under the age of 25 to the total population was 68%, both among women and among men. (Hayata Destek 2014)

Similarly, the report, *Needs Assessment Study on Seasonal Agricultural Workers and Their Families*, published by the UNFPA in 2012 indicates that the age distribution of seasonal agricultural workers living in Şanlıurfa and Adıyaman was even younger. Approximately 10 per cent of the population were under five, and 40 per cent were aged 14 or under. Just 2.2 per cent were 65 or older. The median age of the seasonal agricultural workers was 18 for women and 17 for men. This compares to median ages of 30 for women and 29 for men in Turkey as a whole. Consequently, half of this group was aged 18 or younger. (UNFPA 2012) The same survey draws attention to the fact that the level of education of the population of agricultural labourers is lower than the national average. The net schooling ratio among children of primary school age (6-13) coming from families working in seasonal agricultural labour is 74 per cent for girls and 78 per cent for boys. In high school (ages 14-16), the net schooling ratio was about 23 per cent among girls and 33 per cent among boys. (UNFPA 2012)

The low level of education - and the low schooling rates that will keep the level of education low in future - are also a sign that most of the families are living below the poverty line. Approximately three out of every five families are living below the poverty line. Poverty is higher among families living in the provincial centre of Şanlıurfa, and there is a clear increase in poverty as the number of family members increased. Income poverty also means that the households remain outside the social security system. Of the families studied in the UNFPA survey, approximately 72 per cent held *green cards* (the equivalent of qualifying for their health insurance premiums to be paid by the state today), and only one out of ten reported having agricultural insurance. The majority benefit from passive health insurance but one person out of ten has no social security at all. 11.6 per cent of the families paid for health expenses from their own pockets. As many as 38.8 per cent of the families stated that they received assistance from the state in cash or in kind. Of those receiving assistance, 57.1 per cent were in receipt of fuel aid, 19.8 per cent education support, 17.5 per cent disability allowances and 10.4 per cent food aid. About one in five of the families receiving assistance stated that they received more than one type of assistance, headed by fuel and food aid.

The meaning of the lines:

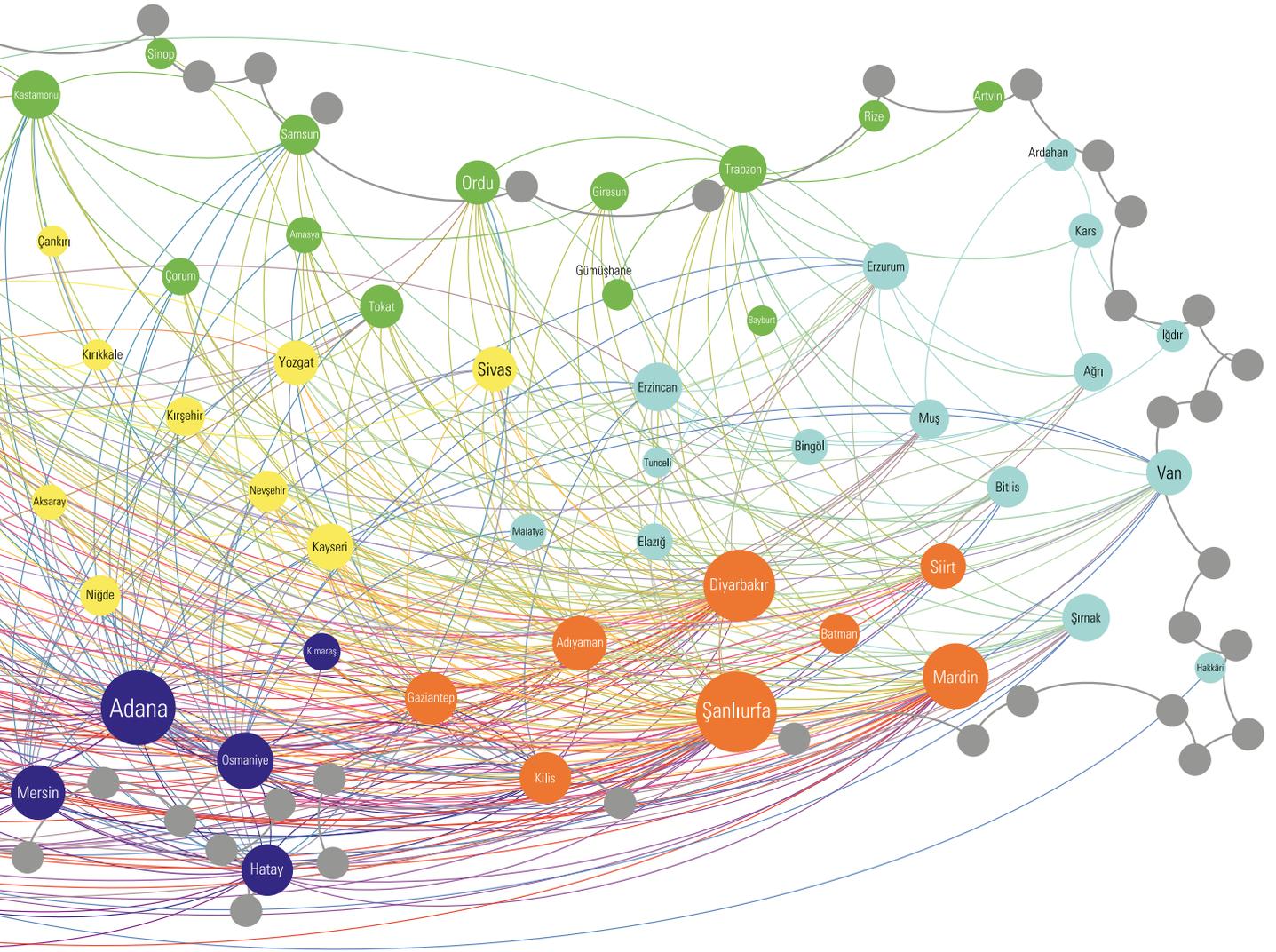
- Marmara Region ●
- Aegean Region ●
- Mediterranean Region ●
- Central Anatolia Region ●
- Black Sea Region ●
- Southeast Anatolia Region ●
- East Anatolia Region ●
- Borders of Turkey ●

Lines leading clockwise away from a province indicate outward migration to the province which they extend towards. Lines coming in anticlockwise show that the province has been a recipient of migration.

For example, the dark blue lines that leave the province of Van in a clockwise direction show that the province is generating migration towards the Mediterranean region. The green lines, also in a clockwise direction, show that Van is a source of migration towards the Black Sea region too. The blue lines leaving the province of Van anticlockwise show that Van is at the same time receiving migration from the Mediterranean region.

The large circles on the map and the lines leading from them are indicators of intensive inward/outward migration.

Source: www.guvenicalisma.org/icerik/haber/dosyalar/ezgi.pdf



Legislation Concerning Seasonal Agricultural Labour

Legislative arrangements for seasonal agricultural labour are insufficient, contributing to its invisibility until recent years. The most notable characteristic of seasonal agricultural labour is the lack of security and protection associated with its exclusion from legal norms. In recent years, a few steps have been taken, due mainly to news of traffic accidents and accidents at work, and to the efforts of international institutions and organizations to bring labour and work in agricultural production and supply chains into line with international labour rights standards. The Prime Ministerial Circular of 2010 on Improving the Working and Social Lives of Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Workers (METIP) can be thought of as an example of this progress and interest (Official Gazette, 2010). However, the proposals and sanctions contained in the Circular on Improving the Working and Social Lives of Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Workers No 27531 (2010/6) that was published by the Prime Ministry on March 24th 2010 and put into effect by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security through the METIP strategy and action plan have not been implemented sufficiently.

Legally, seasonal agricultural workers are not covered by the Labour Law. This is because only agricultural enterprises that employ 51 or more agricultural workers can benefit from the rights provided for in the Law. The rights of workers in agricultural enterprises with less than 51 workers are subject to the Law of Obligations. Since there is no special law on agricultural work, and since no records or statistics are kept on this kind of work, neither is it possible to obtain actual accurate data on the workforce and employment in this field, or reliable information about the working conditions of agricultural workers. (KEİG 2015)





My father can't take care of us all...

A young woman waved at us from a distance. She wanted us to go to her tent too. She must have thought we were distributing aid. We went to her. WE were invited to the tent of 15 year old Leyla. We explained that we were not distributing aid but holding interviews to determine their situation. Leyla was married early. She has a two year old child. She is also pregnant. When asked why she married early she says:

"I have ten siblings and my father has two wives. My father cannot take care of us all, so he married me off early."

She said her husband had gone to Mersin for work. As we completed our interview with Leyla, we once more witnessed how bitter is the life on the plain.



While there is no special law in the Turkish legal system that directly addresses seasonal migratory agricultural workers, the ministries fundamentally responsible for the implementation of related laws are, first and foremost, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, and then the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Family and Social Policies.



The place where the agricultural intermediary lives within the tent area
Adana, 2016

Agricultural Intermediaries and New Legal Regulations

Agricultural intermediaries, whose activities revolve around connecting the owners of fields and orchards with the workers, also act as a mechanism that ensures guarantees, security and smooth operation for both sides. However, this creates a kind of relationship of patronage between the intermediary and the workers, and generally makes the workers dependent on the intermediaries for access to work and income. In effect, the intermediary takes almost all kinds of decisions, and bargains with the employer, on behalf of the workers. This includes arrangements concerning working and living conditions and assurances for the workers' rights. The agricultural intermediaries receive a certain commission in return for these services. Since seasonal migratory agricultural labour is not governed by the Labour Law, the workers are in a weak position in relation to the employers. This situation increases the importance of the intermediaries and the workers' dependence on them. The relationship between the worker and the intermediary is not limited to the work itself. For example, before the seasonal migratory agricultural labourers set out for work, they buy provisions on conditions of payment when they return. This shopping list is given to the intermediary and it is the responsibility of the intermediary to make sure the money is paid to the wholesaler or shopkeeper

when the workers return. That is to say, most procedures related to money are controlled by the intermediary. The Regulation on Labour Intermediacy in Agriculture was updated in 2010 (Official Gazette 10a). However, it has only been possible to register a very small number of intermediaries. In Adana, for example, during an interview with the Provincial Directorate of Labour and the Employment Agency, it was stated that only 29 agricultural intermediaries had renewed their registration in 2016, even though there were known to be hundreds of intermediaries in the province. Moreover, even the few intermediaries that are registered cannot be sufficiently monitored.

Law No. 6715 amending the Labour Law and the Law on the Turkish Employment Agency, which was published in the Official Gazette on May 20th, 2016, amends Article 7 of the Labour Law, relating to temporary labour contracts, and states that temporary labour relations in seasonal agricultural work are to be established through private employment agencies (Official Gazette 2016a). In addition, Article 10 of the same law amends Law No. 4904 on the Turkish Employment Agency, adding the following provisions relevant to seasonal agricultural labour:

'An administrative penalty of ten thousand Turkish liras is to be imposed on those who act as intermediaries in finding work and workers in agriculture without receiving the permission of the Agency or renewing this permission.

An administrative penalty of five hundred Turkish liras per worker is to be imposed on agricultural intermediaries who do not sign contracts with the agricultural workers or do not inform the Agency of the contracts they have signed.'

The general public, and agricultural intermediaries in particular, are still not sufficiently aware of these important legislative changes. It is therefore difficult to make any prediction as to how they will affect the relations between the agricultural intermediaries and the workers that depend on them. A regulation on how private employment agencies are to operate in the light of the legislative amendments took effect on October 11th 2016¹. Article 5 of this regulation states that private employment agencies may also establish temporary labour relationships in agricultural work, but does not refer to the situation of agricultural intermediaries. Uncertainty persists as to whether any changes will be made, in the light of the new law, on the Regulation on Labour Intermediacy in Agriculture which was updated in 2010.

Plainly it will not be easy for the temporary labour relations foreseen in the laws to be established by private employment agencies in the case of seasonal agricultural work. Nor will it be easy for agricultural intermediaries to set up the private employment agencies referred to in the law. Developments will need to be watched closely.

¹ www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2016/10/20161011-1.htm (Accessed 12.10.2016)



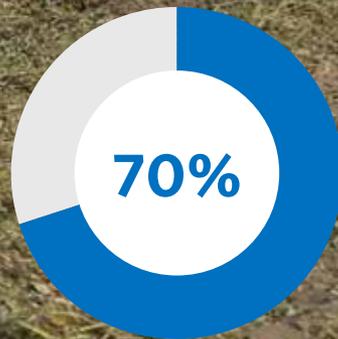
Working Conditions

It has long been known that seasonal migratory agricultural workers face harsh working conditions and do not enjoy any legal protection. There are many studies attesting to this. When asked about the length of their working hours, the proportion of those who say that they work for less than 8 hours a day is only 12 per cent. 45 per cent work for between 9 and 11 hours per day, and 45 per cent for more than 11 hours. It would not be incorrect to say that working conditions are generally from dawn to dusk. The study by the Hayata Destek Derneği [Support to Life Association] from which this information on working conditions is taken also indicates that almost 70 per cent of the workers work for 7 days a week while 24 per cent work for 5 or 6 days (Hayata Destek, 2014). A survey conducted by the Development Workshop in 2016 showed that migrant workers were working for 10 hours a day, 7 days a week. Agricultural production continues for at least 10 hours of the day. The workers start to work as soon as there is daylight and finish work as it starts to get dark. One of the exceptions to this is in the picking of citrus fruit. All in all it is apparent that seasonal migratory agricultural labour involves long working hours. One underlying reason for the intensive nature of the work is that the labourers are paid on the basis of the number of days they work, the area of land they cover or the volume of the produce which they harvest. Another reason why the workers labour for long hours without even one day of rest is that they have to work for more than one landowner in the places to which they migrate, and must therefore complete work in one field or orchard as soon as possible in order to move onto another.





45 per cent of seasonal migratory agricultural workers work for between 9 and 11 hours per day, and 45 per cent for more than 11 hours.



workers were working for 10 hours a day, 7 days a week



Syrian migrants are playing an increasing role in many areas of seasonal agricultural production. In its report of 2016, the Development Workshop underlined the growing presence of Syrian migrants in Mersin and Adana, where citrus fruits are grown. The same report found that Syrian migrants in this region worked in seasonal agricultural production for lower wages relative to local labour. Other studies point to an important change in the profile of the labour force in Adana, Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa and Hatay, where cotton is grown, as seasonal agricultural labour becomes the main activity of Syrian migrants. In the Aegean region too, Syrian labourers can be found working in the production of vegetables, citrus fruits and other plant products. The drama of workers travelling to Afyonkarahisar to pick cherries was widely reported in the newspapers (Milliyet 2015). In recent years, Syrian workers have been taking part in agricultural activities, particularly cherry picking, in districts of Afyonkarahisar like Emirdağ and Sultandağı. Turkish and Syrian workers who migrated to the Sultandağı district to pick cherries were provided by the district governorate with accommodation in a disused prison. The reports said that the accommodation did not properly meet the workers' need for shelter or their other needs, as it had not been renovated to make it suitable for inhabitation (Hayata Destek [Support to Life] 2014).



Syrian young worker carrying tomatoes, Adana 2016

Participation of Syrians in the Seasonal Agricultural Production Process

The view is often emphasised that Syrians are displacing local labour because they work for lower pay. News stories to this effect frequently appear in the media. Syrian migrants can be said to have increased the supply of labour, and this can be said to have created an intra-class conflict between local labourers and Syrian migrants. For this reason, the entry of Syrians into the seasonal agricultural workforce has prevented any increase in daily wages and at the same time caused the amount of work available to each family to decline in comparison with the past. The amounts of money which families earn from their labour has therefore fallen. This situation both exacerbates the exploitation of labour and increases the tension between different groups of workers. (Hayata Destek [Support to Life] 2014)

A similar emphasis is to be found in the *Report of the Parliamentary Research Commission Established to Investigate the Problems of Seasonal Agricultural Workers*. The report of the commission set up in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM, the Parliament of Turkey) notes that Syrian migrants in particular have caused wages to fall. It also states that:

Employers treat foreign workers as a store of cheap labour, and employ them even though they have no work permit documents. It has been observed that persons of foreign nationality accept lower pay and harsh working conditions because they have no other option. This situation leads to risks both from the point of view of the labour markets and in terms of health and social problems, and significantly complicates the provision of services. (TBMM 2015:176)

It is not hard to predict that the existing problems arising from the participation of foreign migrant workers in seasonal migratory agricultural labour will increase and multiply in future.

Syrian Agricultural Workers in Çukurova

The Development Workshop report, *Present Situation of Foreign Migrant Workers*, considers the living and working conditions of Syrian migrants in the Çukurova region. The story of seasonal agricultural labour in the region can be regarded as an indication of the social change that has taken place there from the past to the present. Agricultural labour, which was previously undertaken by poor local people, was gradually left to workers arriving from the East and Southeast of the country, especially the provinces of Mardin, Diyarbakır, Batman, Hatay, Şanlıurfa and Adıyaman. In the past few years, the process of dynamic change has continued, and large numbers of Syrian labourers have come to take part in this temporary form of work. In Mersin and Adana, in particular, very significant numbers of Syrian migrants are observed to have come to work in the production and harvesting of vegetables, greenhouse plants, cotton, citrus fruits and ground nuts. It has even been remarked that the arrival of the Syrians in

the region has had a positive impact on agricultural output, and that by reducing the costs of labour they have brought about an increase in the level of production. One greenhouse owner interviewed for the aforementioned study stressed that the Syrians had caused wages to fall, adding that it had become easier to find cheap paid labour, and that for this reason when the Syrians came they had started to cultivate 500 square metres of land plastic greenhouse land as opposed to 200 square metres previously.

Especially in Mersin, local attitudes to the presence of the Syrians are more positive than in other regions, and it is generally underlined that the Syrians have become accustomed to Turkey. One interviewee explained this as follows:



Migrant worker working in citrus fruits harvest, Adana 2016

“
Syrians are getting used to Turkey.
Turks are getting used to Syrians.
Things seem to be going well.”
”

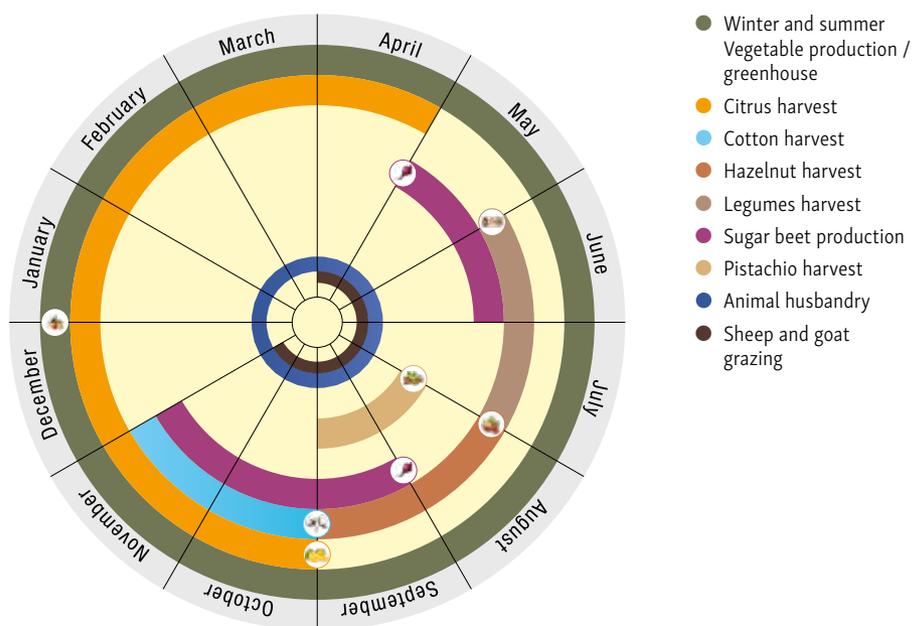
Besides the fact that the Syrians provide cheap labour for agriculture, this positive attitude can also be attributed to the additional business which they have brought to local traders and the local economy in general. The presence of the Syrians has also caused housing rents to rise. This has been a pleasing development for home-owners. Notwithstanding the positive attitude, the Syrians are known to continue to face a long list of difficulties. It is often remarked that 10-15 people may live in a single room that used to be a stable in conditions not suitable for habitation.

A division of labour has emerged among the available workers with respect to the various tasks that need to be conducted in seasonal agricultural labour. For now, Syrians are generally included on the bottom rungs of this division of labour, and are in demand for jobs that do not require particular competence. Tasks which require technical knowledge and skills such as spraying, pruning and the stringing up of cucumbers in greenhouses are performed by experienced local workers. The wages paid for jobs of this kind are higher than those paid for other tasks. While experienced seasonal workers from Şanlıurfa and Adıyaman work in tasks that require large numbers of workers and need to be done quickly, and that require a certain amount of work experience, such as the harvesting of peppers and cucumbers, the Syrians are generally concentrated in areas of work which do

not require any special qualifications – jobs such as cropping citrus fruits, preparing soil, gathering vegetables like melons, water melons and tomatoes, picking cotton, transporting and sowing. For the time being, there is not much demand for Syrian workers for tasks such as the harvesting of peppers and cucumbers. However, they can be expected that to move into most of these areas in years to come, and to shift to more skilled tasks as their experience in agricultural production develops.

An agricultural intermediary interviewed for the same study explained that he was involved in recruiting agricultural workers for citrus fruit orchards, that he had 200 workers working for him, and that 70 per cent of these workers were Syrians. He said that the arrival of the Syrians had put a brake on rising labour costs, and that they had even shown a declining trend over the past few years. He referred to the Syrians as people who ‘carry the economy of Turkey on their backs’, due to their role in the production of the region’s export products. He underlined that agricultural activity took place all year round in Çukurova (Figure 2), that there was work for anyone who wanted it, and that he personally would be able to employ another 200 workers, but that he was not going to deal with such large numbers. It has been noted that the Syrian workers have come into the labour market in the Çukurova region at a time when opportunities for employment have increased in and around Şanlıurfa on account of the introduction of irrigated agriculture, resulting in a smaller influx of seasonal migratory agricultural workers from these areas, and a consequent increase in labour costs. In this sense, the Syrian workers have been seen as a lifeline that will carry the region’s vigorous agricultural sector forward.

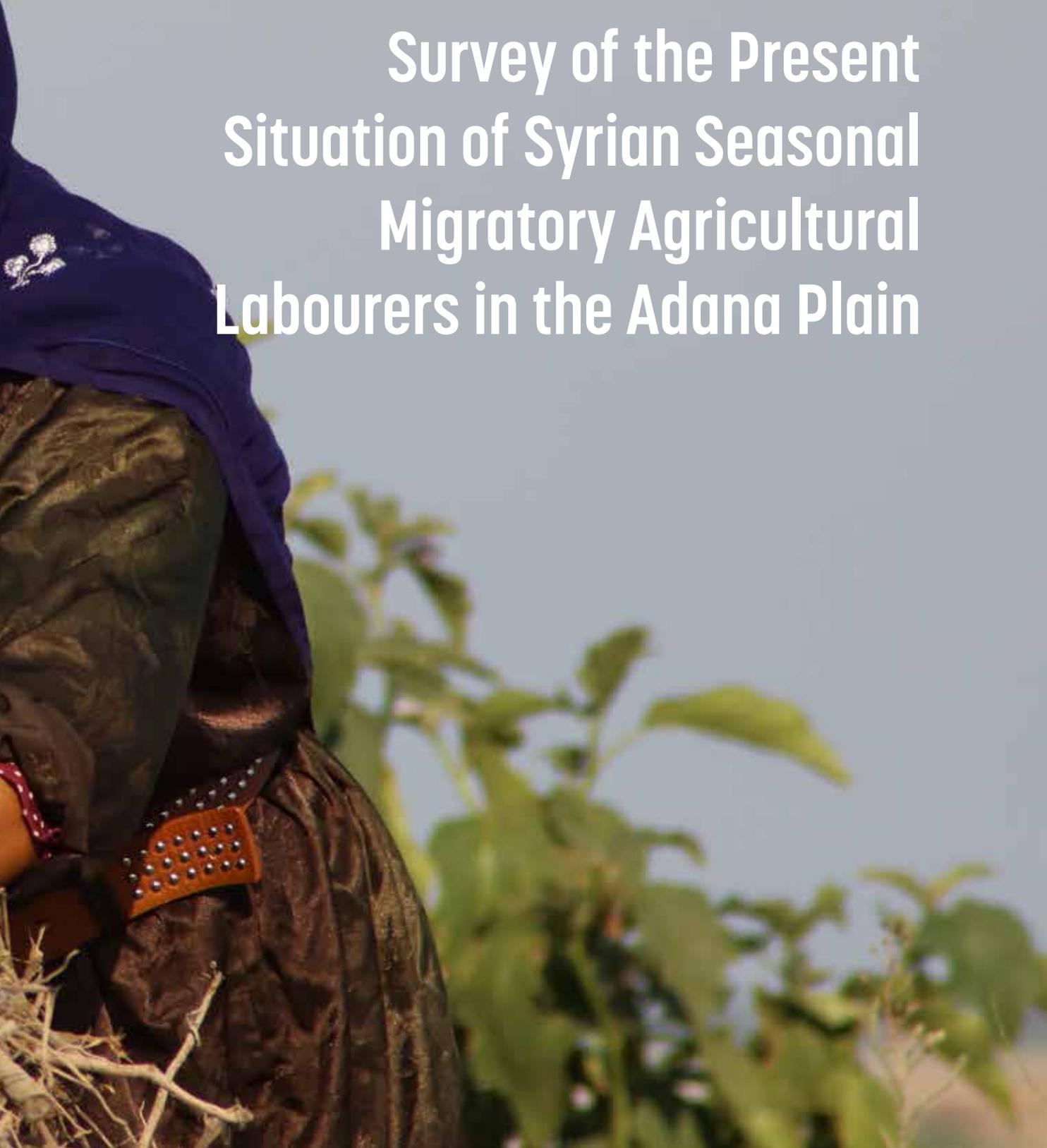
Figure 2. Jobs carried out by Syrian migrant workers by month and product





CHAPTER 4

Survey of the Present Situation of Syrian Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Labourers in the Adana Plain





The fertile lands of Çukurova have historically been both a source of wealth and the home of people who lead bitter lives for the sake of a mouthful of bread. As of the early 21st century, most of those leading bitter lives on these fertile lands are Syrians who have fled the war in their country and come to Turkey. This report intends to identify the working and living conditions of Syrian migrants who work as paid agricultural labourers in Çukurova, to make a wider population aware of these issues and to ensure greater efforts for more decent working and living conditions.

The amount of agricultural work available and the ease of accessing agricultural work for migrants has made the province of Adana a centre of attraction for migrants. According to August 2016 data from the General Directorate of Migration Management (DGMM), there are 149,540 Syrian migrants under temporary protection in Adana. This makes Adana the fifth province of Turkey in terms of the number of Syrian migrants located there. The survey that constitutes the source of this report was carried out in the Karataş, Ceyhan, Yumurtalık and Yüreğir districts of Adana, with 266 Syrian households consisting of 1,655 individuals living in tents on agricultural land and engaging in seasonal agricultural labour on a local or migratory basis. The data derived from the survey study and the results of face to face interviews with representatives of public institutions, academics, professional organisations, agricultural intermediaries and NGOs have been used throughout the rest of the report to focus on the migrants' demographic characteristics, migration routes, living and working conditions, access to services such as education and healthcare, and basic needs.

Who are the Syrian Migrants?

When Turkey began to face a large inflow of Syrian migrants many reports and studies about them began to be published. However, when asked who these *Syrian migrants* are, images are often conjured up of a little girl trying to warm her hands on the exhaust of a minibus, the baby Aylan who drowned in the Aegean, and children begging at junctions. It is possible to find different faces of victimisation in many newspaper articles and study reports. These faces are sometimes of those working in textile workshops, sometimes of a young man waiting to be picked up at a labourer's market for a daily pay rate of 20 liras, and sometimes of a man doing heavy labour in Turkey who was a violinist back home.

Other than the image of a single individual, this report aims to depict the lives of a Syrian migrant group who work in seasonal agricultural production in Adana and generally live in tents made of plastic and cloth. An attempt has been made to identify the socioeconomic profile of this group, as well as the conditions of agricultural labour and tent life.

Demographic Characteristics

Of the 266 households interviewed, 78 per cent have migrated from a rural area of Syria. Their affinity for agricultural work and ability to endure life in tents is partly related to their rural background. The sex distribution of all household members shows that 50.5 per cent are male and 49.5 per cent are female. This sex distribution points strongly to a pattern of migration of whole families. One of the most salient aspects of the flow of refugees towards western Europe is that it consists of young male asylum seekers, while in Adana the group studied had migrated and continued to live as family units.

The Syrian migrants in Turkey are a young population, and 47 per cent consist of children under the age of 18 (DGMM, 2016). Findings from the study have revealed similar data about the Syrians living on the Adana Plain. While the average age of men representing the 266 households interviewed was 38.6, the average age of women was 32.2. For all household members (N: 1655) the average age of men was 19.8 and the average age of women was 17.7. The sample was younger than the average for the Syrian population in Turkey, with 52.7 per cent of all household members consisting of those younger than 18. Only 15 per cent of the population was older than 30. Approximately a quarter of the population was of the age of compulsory education (Figure 3).

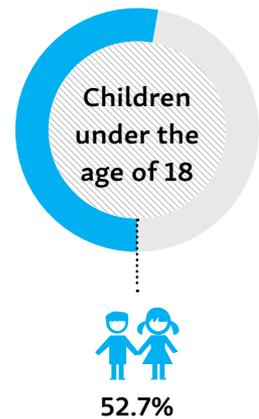
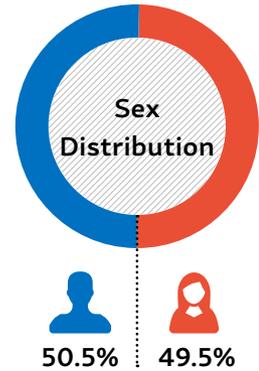
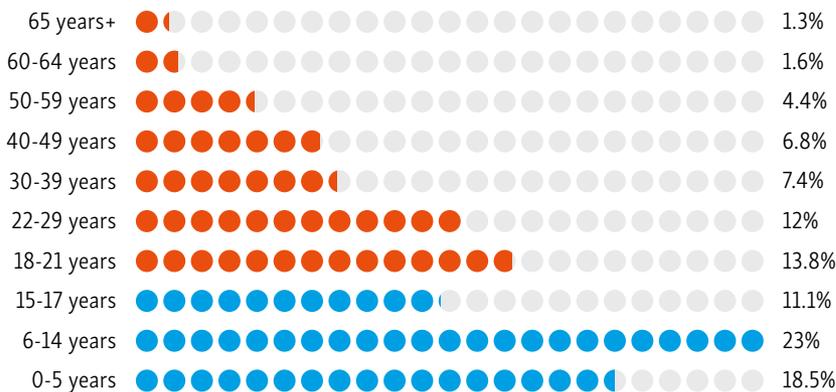


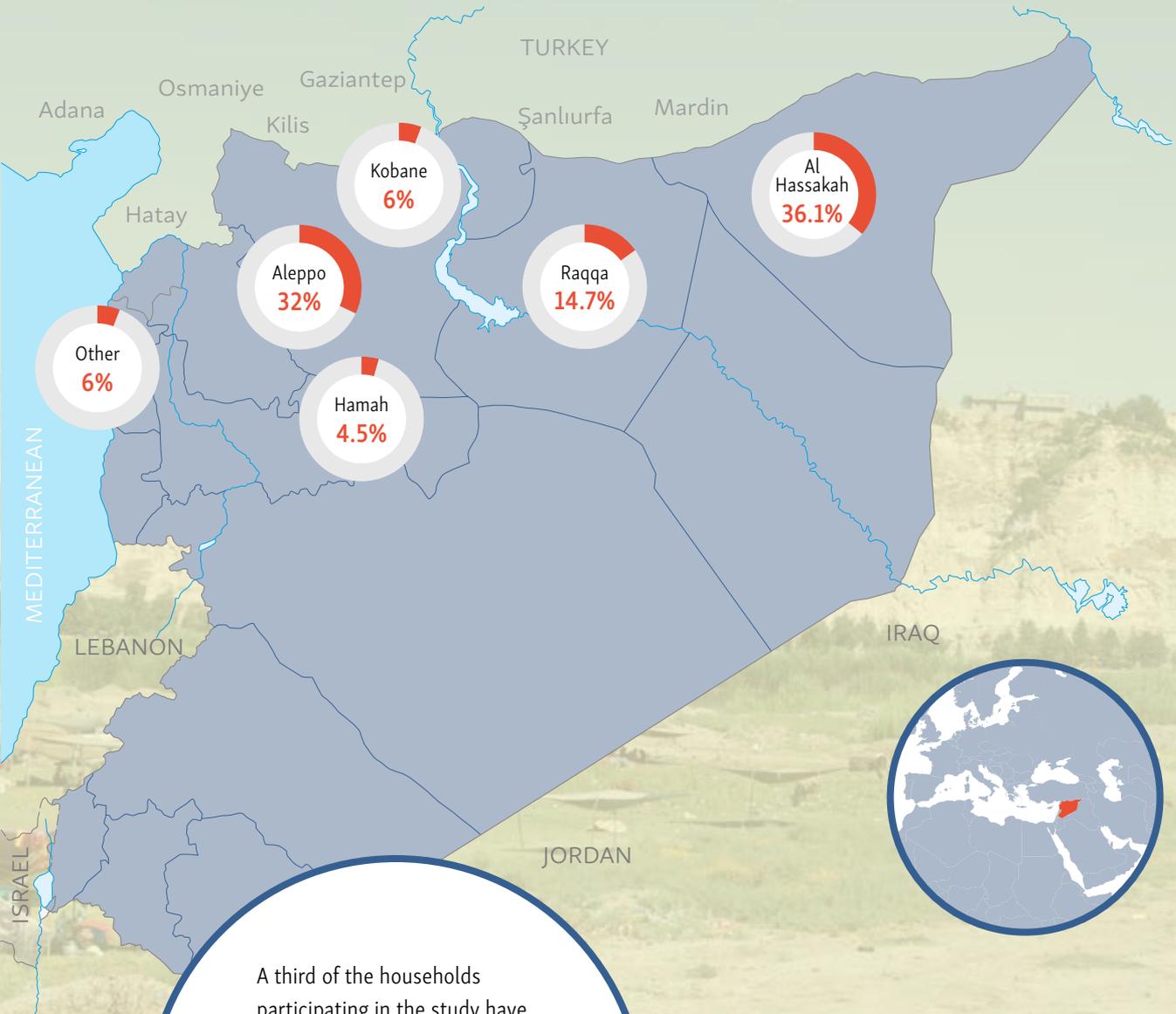
Figure 3. Age Distribution of household members participating in the survey



Educational Status

The education section of the survey included questions about the participants' level of education before they came to Turkey. The ed-

Map 5. The Governorates of Syria where Syrian migrants surveyed used to live



A third of the households participating in the study have migrated from the northeastern governorate of Al Hasakah and another third from Aleppo. Others come from centre-west Hamah, central Raqqa and from Kobane, which is close to the border with Turkey (Map 5).

educational status of the surveyed population is quite clear. Low levels of education and illiteracy are very common. Almost half of the group is illiterate and the proportion of those who dropped out of primary education is 23.7 per cent. Only a fifth of the total number of interviewees have completed a primary school education (Table 4).

Table 4: Educational status of persons who represented their households in the survey (%)

Educational status	Sayı	Yüzde
Illiterate	130	48.9
Literate but did not attend school	11	4.1
Graduated from primary education	53	19.9
Dropped out of primary education	63	23.7
Used to be in primary education	3	1.1
Graduated from high school	4	1.5
Used to be in high school education	1	0.4
University graduate	1	0.4
Total	266	100.0

Levels of literacy among men and women are almost the same. Male primary school graduates are more numerous than female graduates. Drop-out rates among men were nearly twice as high as for women. This may be due to greater male registration in primary school, leading to a higher number of drop-outs. As the level of education rises, the number and proportion of people for each category falls, as can be seen in Figure 4. Low levels of education and illiteracy are the basic educational outcomes that characterise the persons interviewed.

Turkish Language Skills

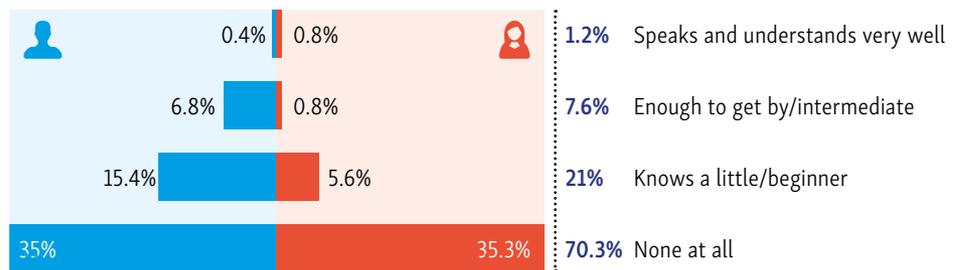
For migrants to be able to speak the language of the host community is of vital importance for their harmonisa-

Figure 4. Education status of persons interviewed as part of the study by sex (%)



tion. Language skills are very important for acquiring information regarding available work and for entry into more qualified positions in the labour market. Around 70 per cent of the Syrian migrants interviewed stated that they do not speak Turkish at all. The proportion of those who do not speak Turkish at all does not vary by sex. Among those who speak a little Turkish or enough to get by, the proportion of women is lower than men (Figure 5). It may be concluded that the social capital of the study group, in terms of speaking Turkish, is low, and that as the younger generations do not attend school, they will have difficulty speaking Turkish well enough in the future.

Figure 5. Level of Turkish language skills of Syrian migrants by sex (%)



A brief look at the demographic characteristics and Turkish language skills of the Syrian community shows that the population is young and the migration process has not disrupted the family unit-based structure of the group. A young and dynamic population structure might be viewed as op-



Syrian migrant worker in tent area, Adana- 2016

Syrian migrant woman working in tomato harvest, Adana - 2016

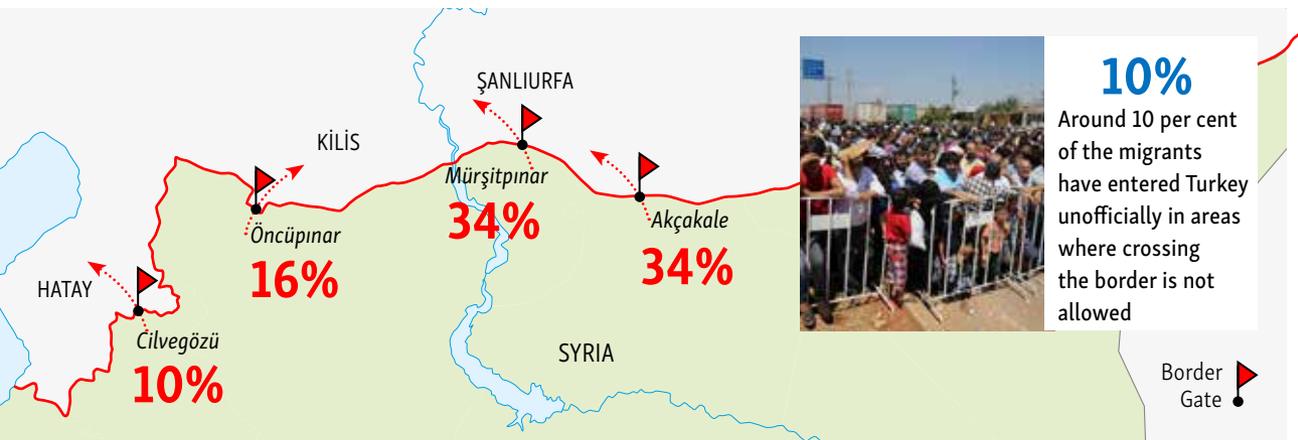


portunity as well as a threat. While a young population is advantageous for the labour market, it also presents Turkey with the risk of a large population that has not benefited sufficiently from education and other basic social rights and services and lives in constant poverty and social exclusion. The migrant population in particular, as well as the segments of the local population who live beneath the poverty line, have the potential to be locked into deep poverty. This could also be an indicator of future tensions and conflicts between different groups of poor people. As an already low-educated population has lost all access to the formal education system through migration, their chances of breaking the circle of poverty appears to have become even slimmer.

Migration Routes and Being a Migrant

Forced migration constitutes the background to the bitter lives of Syrian migrants. Migrants who are the victims of forced migration has had to migrate to save their lives and therefore Syrian migration is neither a voluntary movement of people, nor does it have the economic motivations often attributed to it. The Syrian migrant agricultural workers who live in tents in Adana generally arrived in Turkey between 2012 and 2015. 33 per cent of those interviewed had arrived in 2015, which was the year with the most entries from Syria. There has been a sharp decline in the number of arrivals in 2016. A two third (68 per cent) of the migrants entered Turkey through the Akçakale and Mürşitpınar border crossings in the province of Şanlıurfa. Entries through the Öncüpınar border crossing in Kilis constituted 16 per cent of all entries, while entries via Hatay Cilvegözü constituted 10 per cent. Around 10 per cent of the sample reported that they had not used a border crossing. This group seems to have entered Turkey unofficially in areas where crossing the border is not allowed (Map 6).

Map 6. Border crossings used by Syrian migrants to enter Turkey



Findings regarding the family-based migration pattern mentioned above can be seen in Table 5. Half of the interviewees crossed the border with their spouses and children, while others said that they were accompanied by members of their wider families and relatives. These findings are in keeping with other findings regarding forced mass migration and show that families have had to abandon their homes en masse.

The proportion of those who reported being placed in an accommodation centre after crossing the border was only 7.5 per cent. This is consistent with the latest data regarding temporary accommodation centres. Accord-

ing to August 2016 data from the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), only 253,971 Syrian migrants resided in the temporary accommodation centres (AFAD, 2016). That not many migrants are directed towards temporary accommodation centres shows that there is no significant level of control over border crossings. The border crossings were opened to entries, but arrivals were accepted without directions or registration. Most of those who were placed in temporary accommodation centres stayed in the Şanlıurfa Suruç Accommodation Centre. Among the interviewees who were placed in temporary accommodation centres, the shortest stay was for at least a month and the longest stay was for 18 months. The main reason for leaving temporary accommodation centres, for almost all the participants, was to find work.

50 per cent of those who were not placed in temporary accommodation centres came directly to Adana, while 28.6 per cent went to Şanlıurfa. When asked why they came to these provinces after crossing the border, participants stated that job opportunities were a factor of attraction. The presence of relatives and associates in these provinces is a significant factor that enables migrants to have information about the location and to hear about job opportunities. In the provinces to which the migrants travel, information regarding work, housing and other opportunities comes primarily from associates and relatives who have settled there first (Table 6).

Table 5. Persons accompanying migrants crossing the border

Who was with you as you Crossed the Border?	Number	Distribution (%)
Just myself	8	3
Just my spouse	10	3.8
Just my parents	2	0.8
My spouse and children	124	46.6
Just my siblings	7	2.6
My mother, father, siblings and my own family	45	16.9
My parents and my siblings	12	4.5
My own family and close relatives	40	15
Just myself and my children	18	6.8
Total	266	100



Table 6. Reasons for preferring particular locations after crossing the border

Reason for choice of location	Number	Distribution (%)
Family was there	4	1.6
Friends/relatives were there	29	11.8
Due to job opportunities	168	68.3
Previous familiarity	1	0.4
Presence of people who could help the migrant and their family	5	2.0
No special reason	31	12.6
Other	8	3.3
Total	246	100

Syrian migrant woman washing cloths with the water obtained from irrigation canal, Adana-2016



Figure 6. Identity and registration status of household members covered by the survey (%)

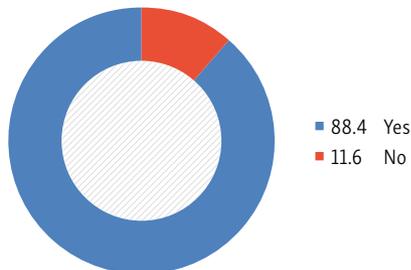
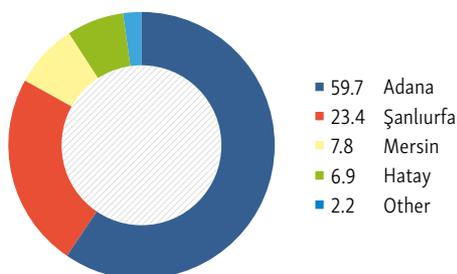


Figure 7. The provinces in which Syrian migrants participating in the study were registered



Syrian migrants are registered under the temporary protection regime and are issued special identity numbers beginning with the code number 99. The General Directorate of Migration Management, via its provincial directorates, is the official body in charge of registration. During registration, basic information about the migrants is recorded (name, surname, place and year of birth) and the information is confirmed through an identity document if the migrant has one. Biometric data is also taken during registration and individual migrants are issued with a Temporary Protection Identification Document¹. This document gives migrants the right to reside in Turkey, as well as access to basic healthcare and education services.

88.4 per cent of the 1,655 individuals covered by the survey had registered with the migration authorities. However, 11.6 per cent were still residing in Turkey without identity documents. It is not known whether this high ratio is unique to the sample, or what proportion of the total Syrian population in Turkey is registered (Figure 6).

Syrians are expected to reside in the provinces where they have been registered and are only allowed to make use of public services in their province of registration. For the Syrians, it is therefore important which province they are registered in. In this regard, among the Syrians interviewed, 59.7 per cent were registered in Adana, while 23.4 per cent were registered in Şanlıurfa (Figure 7).

Syrians are only able to access education, healthcare and other public services if they apply for these services in their province of registration. For example, for those migrants who are registered in Şanlıurfa but living in Adana, access to healthcare is limited to emergency services, unless they go to Şanlıurfa. In short, migrants find it very difficult to

¹ For more information see the DGMM's Announcement on Foreigner Identification Documents for Syrians, www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/suriyelilere-%E2%80%9Cyabanci-kimlik-numarasi%E2%80%9D-verilmesine-iliskin-duyuru_350_360_8912_icerik

access these rights when they settle in other provinces. However, as the survey results show, 40 per cent of the agricultural labourer families have come to Adana in spite of being registered in other provinces. Some have changed their province of registration and settled in Adana. One Syrian family interviewed during the survey, who had come from Şanlıurfa to Adana to work under the guidance of an agricultural intermediary, stated that they transferred their registration to Adana when they arrived. Their primary motivation for changing their province of registration was to seek aid from the governorate and other bodies for one of their children, who has a disability.

While there are significant benefits in continuing to live in one's province of registration, large numbers of migrants are observed to have relocated to Adana from their provinces of registration. The availability of more job opportunities in Adana is the main factor affecting the decision to move. Among the Syrians included in the survey who had moved from their province of registration, 48 per cent said that their main reason for doing so was finding a job, while 47 per cent said they had come to work in a job which they had found while still living in another province (Figure 8).



Syrian migrants fleeing the civil war in their country arrived in Turkey in the greatest numbers in 2015, together with their families. A large proportion have identity documents that give them the right to reside in Turkey and access to certain social services. Those coming to Adana after being registered in other provinces have migrated to Adana for better work opportunities.

Syrian Migrant Labour in Agricultural Production: A Fork in the Path or More of the Same?

The Development Workshop's *Present Situation Report on Foreign Migrant Workers in Seasonal Agricultural Production in Turkey* shows that the employment of foreign workers in agricultural labour has created a hierarchy among migrant labourers in which Syrians are at the bottom. The report emphasises that seasonal migrant agricultural work has always been carried out by the poorest people in Turkey and that it is a dynamic field that is influenced by urbanisation and social transformation. Paid agricultural work that initially employed landless or poor peasants has in time come to be performed by other groups of poor people too. As those with the lowest income levels gradually climb up the hierarchy, the *poverty of the previous groups* is taken up by other groups. The aforementioned report describes seasonal migrant agricultural work as a *stop on the poverty road*. As a stop at which different groups are on watch at different times, poverty has mostly affected the urban poor in southeastern and eastern provinces of Turkey, some of whom have an urban background, and some of whom have been forced to leave their villages during the conflict and have relocated in towns without land or property. These people come mainly from the provinces of Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman, Siirt, Hatay, Van, Diyarbakır, Batman and Mardin. Syrian migrants are now slowly emerging on this scene. The greatest impact of these new actors on the seasonal agricultural labour market in Turkey has been their competition with the local workforce, the *rivalry of the poor* (Development Workshop, 2016).

This study by the Development Workshop finds that Syrian migrants are at the bottom in the hierarchy of workers, and receive the lowest pay. Following this analysis, the present report takes a closer look at Syrian migrant agricultural labourers in the province of Adana. It will examine the transformation of seasonal agricultural production by Syrian migrants who settle for lower wages, and who may be starting to become the main actors of seasonal agricultural production, replacing domestic workers from southeastern Turkey. To this end, the working experiences, relations with agricultural intermediaries, pay, working hours and wage periods of a group of Syrians living on the lowest rung of the seasonal agricultural worker hierarchy are analysed below.





İbrahim, the school teacher from Raqqa

İbrahim escaped heavy fighting in Raqqa in 2013 with his wife, daughter and five sons, leaving other close relatives behind and came to Suruç in Şanlıurfa. They stayed at the camp there for three months. Later they took to the road for work. They made it to the fertile lands of Çukurova. İbrahim has groin hernia. He cannot do heavy work. He also has a minor problem with his right foot. Three of his sons and his daughter are younger than 18. While one of his younger sons is returning from work, he fell of the tractor trailer and is hit by a pickaxe on the left shoulder. He suffered a broken arm and an open wound. He was operated on immediately. He probably won't be able to work for three to four months. Another son breaks his foot, once more in a tractor accident. He too can't work. As İbrahim is sick, the whole burden of the household falls on the shoulders of his 16 year old son. He makes TL45 (USD15) a day and has to support a family of eight. This allows for spending TL5.6 (less than USD2) per day per member of the household. Some of the money is used to buy two litres of milk every day from a nearby village, so that the bones of the injured brothers will heal more quickly. Going to the village takes a long walk. If they had a bike, they could shop at the village more easily. The labourers tent camp where the schoolteacher İbrahim and his family stay is one of the largest and most isolated on the plain. This settlement neither receives social aid, nor is there any effort being made to improve living conditions. There are hundreds of refugee children who cannot read or write. İbrahim says he can teach children at the tent site how to read and write in 3-4 months, if he had some small means. However, no one offers him the means. Bitter lives continue in poverty and deprivation. A generation is working as child labourers and growing up without an education, in poverty and deprivation.



Figure 9, concerning the work experience of Syrians prior to their migration, indicates that most of them were either unemployed, worked on a daily or seasonal basis, were unpaid household workers or were self-employed. An important proportion of the Syrian men (20 per cent) are found to have worked as seasonal and daily labourers in Syria. In addition, 12 per cent of women also worked as seasonal or daily labourers and 21.4 per cent were employed as unpaid household workers.

Figure 9. Work backgrounds of Syrian migrant workers by sex (%)



Even though most of those living in the tent sites were children, the proportion of household members reported to be working as agricultural labourers was 45.4 per cent. Others reported not being able to work as agricultural labourers for various reasons. More than 70 per cent of the agricultural workers stated that they had had the same occupation for the last two years. 14.3 per cent had worked as agricultural labourers for the last three years. The data indicate that Syrian migrants and most of those living in tent sites have been employed as agricultural workers since they arrived in Turkey (Figure 10).

Most of the Syrians stated that they work as agricultural labourers because they cannot get other work or do not have a profession. A factor that should be borne in mind here is that crowded families with many children employ many members of the household, including children, in agricultural labour as a way of maximising their daily income. It was remarked that it would be difficult to find work so quickly in sectors other than agriculture, and that working for a salary would not be advantageous, as it is difficult to meet the needs of a household of 8-9 people with a single income.

On the Adana Plain, migrants mainly work as agricultural labourers in the production of melons/watermelons, vegetables (harvesting and hoeing), peanuts (ground nuts) and cotton (hoeing/spraying), citrus fruits (harvest-

Figure 10. Period of work as an agricultural labourer (%)

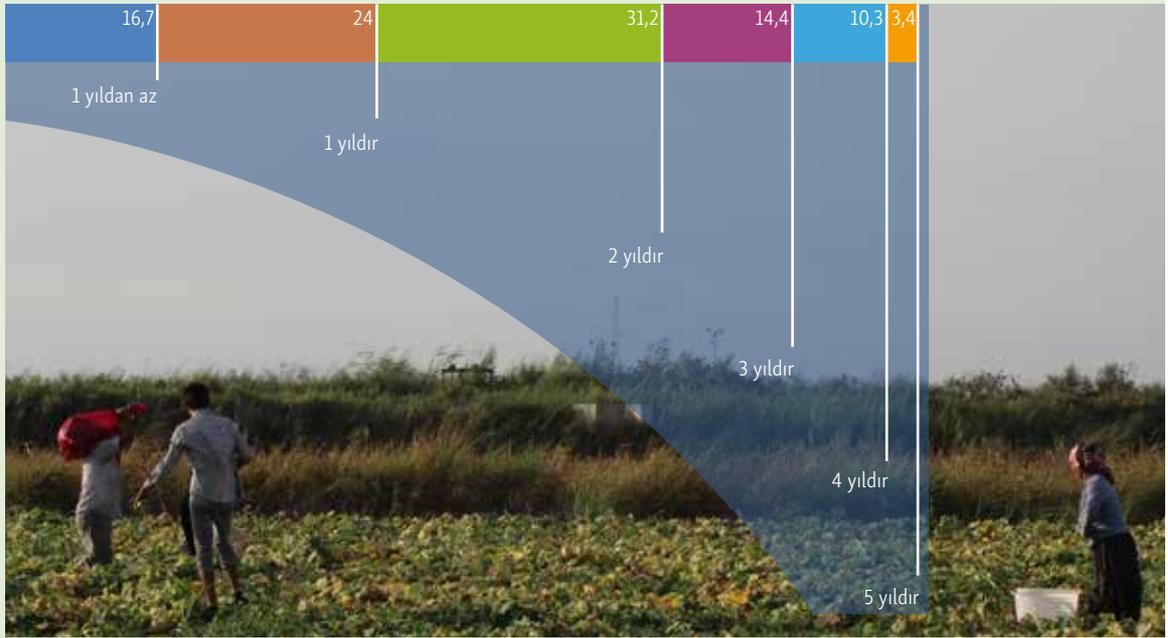


Figure 11. Reasons for working as an agricultural labourer (%)

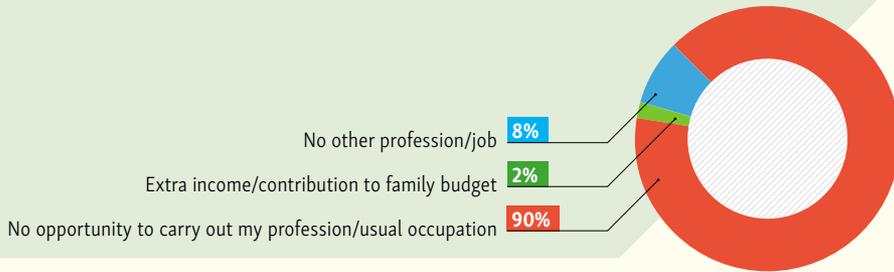
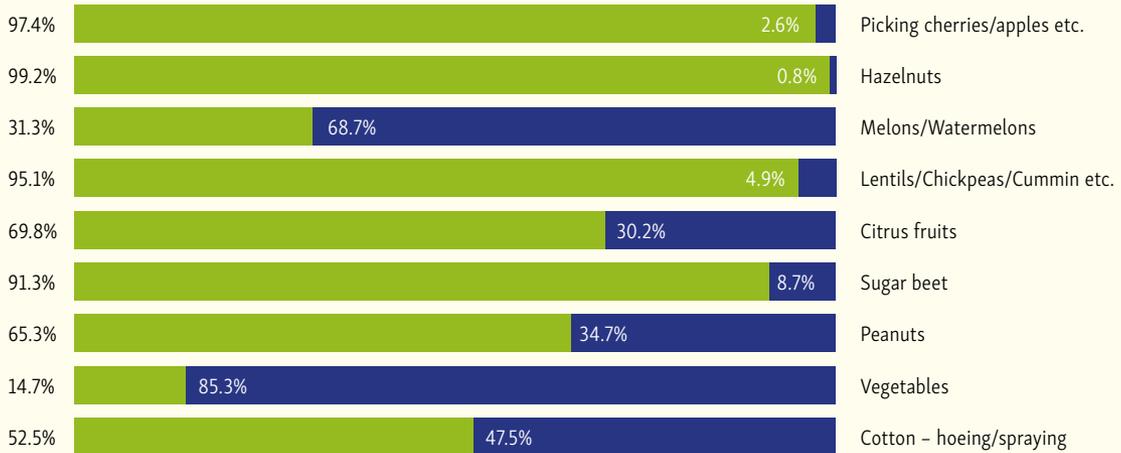


Figure 12. Agricultural Products (%)



ing) and legumes such as lentils and chickpeas. The diversity of the product range shows the need for agricultural workers providing cheap labour for the continuation of agricultural output in the arable lands of Çukurova in particular and Turkey in general (Figure 12).

The emergence of Syrians as the mainstay of agricultural labour on the Adana Plain has led to lower labour costs, as Syrian migrants provide cheaper labour, and a lower intake of local workers from the provinces of eastern and southeastern Turkey. It is often stated that the local seasonal migrant agricultural labourers, especially those from Şanlıurfa, now tend to remain in their home provinces anyway, finding work thanks to the onset of irrigated agriculture in and around Şanlıurfa. The impact of this trend on agricultural labour in Adana has been rising costs and the falling supply of local workers. In view of these developments, the increasing flow of Syrian migrants serves to meet the labour force gap and to reduce labour costs - or in some cases to mitigate rising labour costs. Producers on the Adana Plain have made use of Syrian migrants to solve their labour supply problems and now have access to a greater pool of labour willing to work for lower pay.

With Syrian migrants becoming the main actors in agricultural labour on the Adana Plain, there has been a significant change in seasonal migrant agricultural labour in Turkey. Agricultural production, which used to be carried out by workers arriving in Adana from other provinces of Turkey, is now being carried out by migrant workers from Syria who live in Adana almost all year round. This has resulted in other provinces that were sources of labour for seasonal agricultural production in Adana sending in fewer workers. Over the last few years, agricultural production in Adana has been carried out mainly by Syrian migrants who live in Adana.

Agricultural Intermediaries

Agricultural intermediaries play a vital role in organising seasonal agricultural production. They are an institution that has historically been used to ensure the continuity of production in large arable areas such as the Adana Plain. They function like employment agencies. Besides their mediation role in bringing workers and employers together, agricultural intermediaries also fulfil many other functions, ensuring that workers live close to the fields where the work takes place, that they are transported to work and that they are able to obtain food and meet their other needs. In return for their services, intermediaries get 10 percent of the gross wages fixed for labourers. They are also said to take a cut from the net pay received by the workers. Ag-

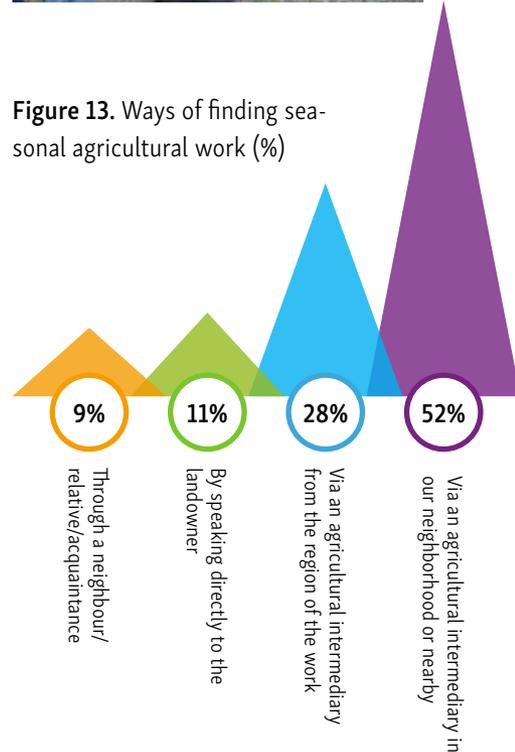
gricultural intermediaries are generally depicted as people who re-produce exploitative labour relations in seasonal agricultural production and who make desperate workers dependent on them in a relationship of patronage. Given the high commissions they receive and the cuts they take from workers' pay for providing supplies and transport, this claim may well be true.

Most Syrians interviewed for the study have found the agricultural jobs they work in through agricultural intermediaries. Finding work through agricultural intermediaries is a rational choice given that the Syrians seldom speak the local language and have little knowledge of how to proceed with work relationships. Agricultural intermediaries ensure the mobility of workers and their access to work. Although 20 per cent of the participants in the survey stated that they had found their jobs themselves, either directly or through friends/relatives, observations confirm that even these groups have a relationship with intermediaries. In ensuring the continuity of work and solving problems of daily life when necessary, intermediaries play an important role in the lives of labourers (Figure 13). The findings of the survey show that almost all the agricultural intermediaries are from Turkey. This finding suggests that Syrian migrants have not yet made sufficient progress in producing intermediaries from among themselves. As the linguistic capacity of migrants increases in the near future, it may be expected that individuals among them will emerge on this scene, and that Syrian agricultural intermediaries will become more common.

The importance of agricultural intermediaries in organising the work and lives of workers is apparent from the responses provided by participants in the survey. Only 12.7 per cent of those interviewed stated that the intermediary does nothing for them. According to the survey results, the most important responsibility



Figure 13. Ways of finding seasonal agricultural work (%)



of the agricultural intermediaries is to procure means of transportation. This may refer to travel between provinces, as well as to transport to and from the fields within the same province and to travel to healthcare institutions in cases of illness or injury. Intermediaries are essential for Syrian agricultural workers, given that they take care of access to healthcare, provision of supplies and relations with employers, and furthermore that Syrian migrants often do not speak Turkish. The fact that workers borrow from intermediaries is a sign of economic dependency (Figure 14).

Figure 14. The most Important responsibilities of agricultural intermediaries according to interviewees (%)



Agricultural intermediaries play a key role in the management of supply and demand for labour in agricultural production. Not only do agricultural intermediaries direct labourers towards fields where there is a demand for them, they also ensure their mobility to different provinces. One agricultural intermediary interviewed in Adana said he had sent some of his Syrian workers who are resident in Adana to work in Kayseri and Ankara. Furthermore, agricultural intermediaries meet the food and transport needs of workers while they are working. For Syrian migrants without language skills, agricultural intermediaries play an even more crucial role, helping them meet needs such as healthcare. The dependence of Syrian migrants on agricultural intermediaries raises the issue of exploitation of labour.

Working Hours

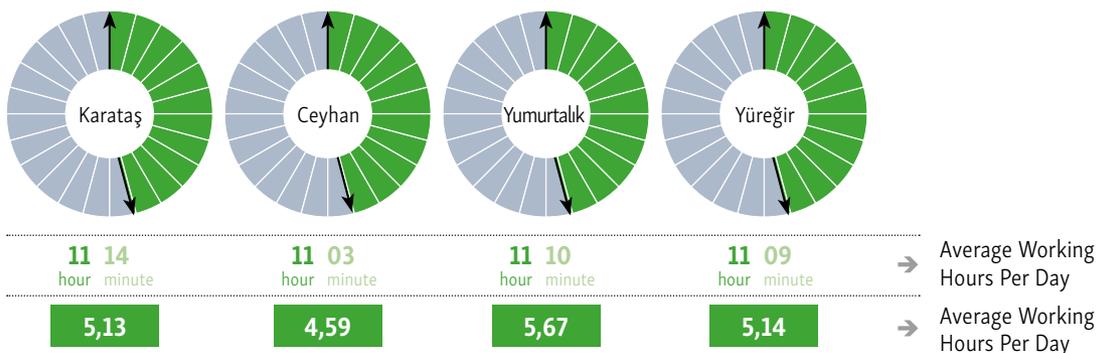
In addition to the relation of dependency which the agricultural workers have with the agricultural intermediaries, long working hours further exacerbate the exploitation of labour. One of the issues most commonly discussed in seasonal agriculture is the long working hours that arise from the need to pick the produce before its spoil and the time constraints on the harvest. These characteristics of the work lead workers to spend the whole day in the fields, from sunrise to sunset. Data from the survey supports this observation. Workers may have to work for up to 11 hours in a day (Figure 15).

Figure 15. Average working hours per day and days per week



The distribution of findings by district shows that there is no difference in average working hours and that the average working day is between 11 and 12 hours. The average number of working days in a week was found to be five days (Figure 15). The information about working days was deduced from a question about the week prior to that in which the survey took place. In this context, it has to be remembered that the survey was carried out during late July – a time when seasonal agricultural work in Adana was at its lowest, and significant numbers of Syrian migrants had travelled to other provinces for work. The average of five working days is not a result of a weekend regime, but of a lack of work. Seasonal agricultural workers generally work for seven days a week in agricultural jobs, and do not work only when they are ill, when they cannot find jobs or when weather conditions are unsuitable (Figure 16).

Figure 16. Average working hours per day and working days per week by district



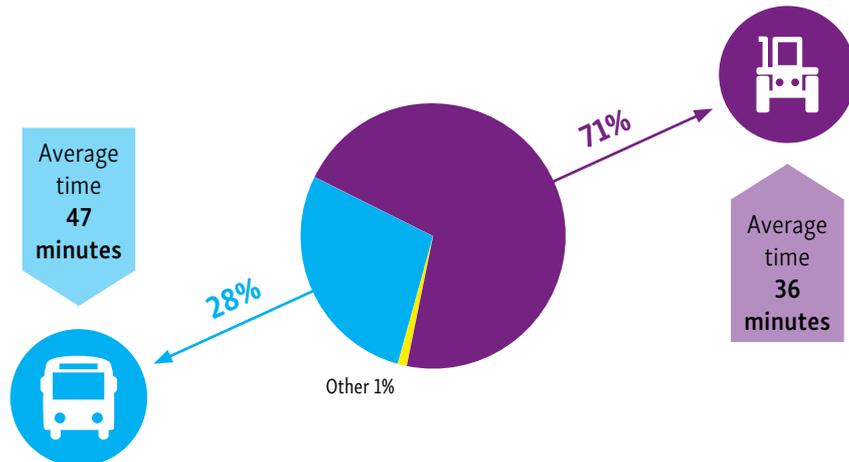
The time which workers spend getting to the fields where they are to work is also an important factor when it comes to calculating how much of the day workers spend in work-related activities. Workers tend to spend, on average, between half an hour and an hour getting to the fields. Taking the return journey into account as well, this means that nearly two hours a day are spent travelling to work (Figure 17).

Figure 17. Average duration of travel to place of work (single trip) by district (minutes)



Tractors and minibuses are the most common means of transport to the field (Figure 16). Bicycles and trucks are also sometimes used. While there is no significant difference from district to district in the forms of transport used to travel to work, tractors were used the most in Karataş, and minibuses were used the most in Yüreğir. The average time spent travelling to the fields was 36.7 minutes for those travelling by tractor and 47.5 minutes for those travelling by minibus.

Figure 18. Means by which workers travel to the fields (%) and average time (minutes)



Pay Rates

Guidelines for the rates of pay of seasonal agricultural workers in Çukurova are set by the Çukurova Association of Agricultural Intermediaries after consultations with agricultural intermediaries. The guidelines are finalised after a joint meeting of firms that export fresh fruit and vegetables, the local chambers of agriculture, and the farmers' unions, which are the professional organisations of the landowners. The rates are renewed every August and apply for a year. In August 2016, gross daily pay per worker was set at TL55. TL5 of this amount is to be paid to the intermediary and TL50 to the worker.

In talks held with organisations in Adana as part of the study, it was stated that the daily gross pay rate for agricultural workers between August 2015 and July 2016 was TL49.5 (approximately USD17). Of this, TL4.5 (approximately USD1.5) was to be paid to the agricultural intermediaries and TL45 (approximately USD 15.5) was to be paid to the worker. However, the survey results show that in practice Syrian migrant workers received lower net pay. Migrants were found to be working for less than the generally agreed amount, and to be earning TL38-40 (approximately USD13-14) a day (Tables 7 and 8). The hourly pay for workers working for more than 10 hours a day is TL4 (approximately USD1.4).

Reportedly, Syrians working on the Adana Plain are sometimes paid by the kabala or götürü methods. The same applies to local workers who work in citrus fruit production. Workers are generally engaged for a job as a family or team. For example, ten people from the same family or a team of 35 might work on the same job. In the citrus harvest, a team of 30-35 people are paid their daily wage in exchange for picking enough fruit to fill up the hold of a truck in a day. In the pepper harvest, each worker is paid a day's wage for collect-

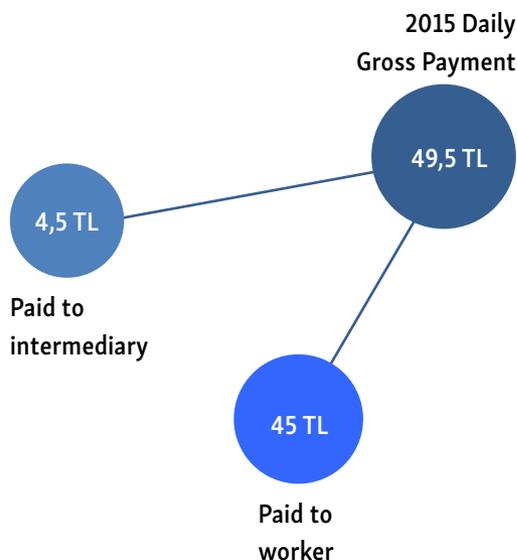


Table 7. Daily Average Pay of Syrian Workers by Sex

Sex	Average Daily Pay (TL)	USD
Male	38.77	13.36
Female	38.61	13.31
Total	38.70	13.34

Table 8. Daily Average Pay of Syrian Workers by District

District	Average Daily Worker Pay (TL)	USD
Karataş	39.23	13.52
Ceyhan	34.44	11.87
Yumurtalık	37.40	12.89
Yüreğir	40.27	13.88
Total	38.70	13.34

1 USD: 2,9 TL

ing 11 bags of peppers. Even in agricultural work where the output is undefined, employers expect the workers to achieve a certain performance. In hoeing, for example, a worker will be expected to hoe a set area, and in weeding, the area to be weeded by a worker in one day is determined in advance. The daily wages are only paid in exchange for the high work rate required to meet these targets.

Seasonal migrant agricultural workers who earn an average net income of TL40 (USD13.79) per day will earn a net income of TL1,200 (USD414) if they work without a break for 30 days including weekends and official holidays. No social security premiums or income tax are deducted from this net amount. However, it is still below the national minimum wage for 2016, which is TL1,300 (USD448).

Of the workers in the survey, 67 per cent stated that they did not receive any advance before starting work while 33 per cent said they did receive an advance. Workers generally find out about their pay rates from the agricultural intermediary or his aides. This is another indicator that work is not available other than through an intermediary. Of the interviewees, 78.9 per cent said that they knew about their pay before they started work (Table 9). Especially for Syrian workers, agricultural intermediaries have the greatest say in identifying the level of pay. During the field study, it was reported that workers were paid different amounts, ranging from TL33 to TL40, depending on the attitudes of the agricultural intermediaries concerned.

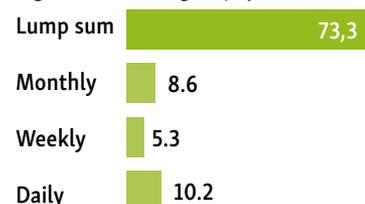
In agricultural production, workers' pay is generally calculated by the day and paid to the workers later. Most workers (73.3 per cent) reported that they get paid after the work has been completed. Only 10.2 per cent of workers were paid daily (Figure 19).

Workers generally receive their pay from the agricultural intermediary after the produce has been sold off by the employer. For example, those workers who work in cauliflower sowing in September will only get paid after the field owner has sold the cauliflowers in January and paid the ag-

Table 9. Sources of information on pay level for workers (%)

Source of Information	Number	Distribution (%)
Employer	14	5.2
Agricultural intermediary, assistant, foreman	247	92.9
Still does not know	5	1.9
Total	266	100.0

Figure 19. Timing of payment





Syrian migrants working in peanut production, Adana 2016

agricultural intermediary the labour costs. Agricultural intermediaries give workers a card for every day they have worked. These cards are sometimes accepted in lieu of cash by the food wholesalers or 'mobile markets' that visit the settlement and work closely with the agricultural intermediary. Most cards state that there will be no payment made if the card is lost. Despite the card system, some agricultural workers complained that they are not paid on time, resulting in significant financial difficulties. Some workers said that they had never been paid for days which they worked, and said that they were being taken advantage of by the landowner or agricultural intermediaries. There are also some agricultural intermediaries who have not been able to obtain their pay from the landowners.

In summary, in 2015-2016, Syrian migrant workers on the Adana Plain were paid an average daily wage of TL38 (USD13). This is the net pay of the worker once the commission of the agricultural intermediary has been accounted for. However, most labourers do not always receive payment in cash, as expenses such as supplies purchased from the agricultural intermediaries, rent, and power and water charges, are deducted from their pay. Furthermore, payment is delayed for long periods, and landowners only pay their workers after they have sold off the produce and been paid for it. This can result in a delay up to four months in being paid.

“

Money is a piece of paper, but labour? Uncle Hasan's labour has become a piece of paper.

At the tent site that sits right next to the shanty town in Adana, everyone except for the family of the agricultural intermediary are Syrians. We sat in the tent of Uncle Hasan and other families came to see what we were there for. We shared the tea made with little to spare. Uncle Hasan is grateful that Turkey is protecting them, that it has opened its borders for them. He says Turkey is the greatest nation on earth and may Allah protect it.

It has not been long since he has settled in Adana and he says that they will spend the winter in the tent site and work as long as they can get jobs. His is a household with ten children and even putting food on the table takes a lot of income. He told us they had arrived in Adana recently, that they cannot find work and cannot get paid even if they find work. With a leap, Uncle Hasan goes up to the bridge and opens a pencil case that was on the fridge. It is full of pay slips with the names of agricultural intermediaries written on them. There are almost more than 100 cards of different colours. Each of them stands for a day of unpaid labour. They sit in the pencil case, as though to show that Uncle Hasan's and his families labour is nothing but a piece of paper. As it has no value, there is no reason to hide it or keep it under lock. The pieces of paper lie there, where anyone can see or take them. Pieces of paper which represent days of labour.

”



Disputes with the Agricultural Intermediaries

Before starting work, agricultural workers make an oral contract with agricultural intermediaries about pay. When asked whether they have had any disputes with landowners or employers during their work, 8 per cent of those interviewed replied in the affirmative (22 people – Figure 20). Among these, the most common cause of dispute was the timing of payment (77.3 per cent). Other disputes concerned the amount of pay and working hours.

The fact that disputes are mostly related to pay indicates that the workers are not sufficiently informed about their pay and the commissions of agricultural intermediaries. It should also be noted that while the *Regulation on Work Permits for Foreigners Under Temporary Protection* has introduced a working permit waiver for work in agriculture and livestock, it has not defined the conditions of the waiver. To apply for the working permit waiver, one has to have the right to temporary protection and to apply with a temporary protection identity number. However, the procedures foreseen in the regulation and the related implementation guideline² are rarely followed, and migrants who work without waivers face serious exploitation in the labour market. The worst form of exploitation is not being paid for work done. Studies on the work of migrants in Turkey have drawn attention to the unpaid wages of labourers (Dedeoğlu and Ekiz Göçmen, 2011). It is very probable that agricultural workers also face this kind of exploitation.

The responses given to a question about how disputes are resolved indicate that the main method of resolving disputes is to talk about them. It should be said that many disputes go unresolved. Only 9 per cent of workers who had had disputes said that they had tried to solve them through the intervention of the gendarmerie. Some workers said they had sought the aid of village foremen (*muhtars*) or made use of physical force. Some had resorted to the aid of the agricultural intermediary. As pay disputes are generally caused by agricultural intermediaries, the agricultural intermediary is not seen as a figure likely to resolve disputes (Figure 21).

Figure 20. Whether or not workers have had a dispute with employers (%)

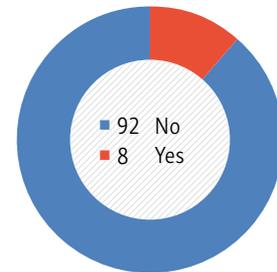
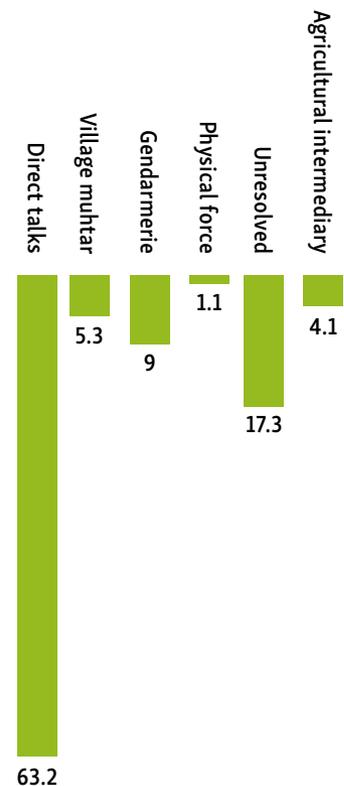


Figure 21. Dispute resolution practices of agricultural labourers (%)



² For more detailed information on this topic, reference may be made to the implementation guide prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, www.calismaizni.gov.tr/media/1035/gkkuygulama.pdf (Accessed 11 September 2016)





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Children bearing children in their arms

In tent sites where agricultural labourers take shelter, while adults are at work in the fields during the day, the children take the reins. The number of children is many times that of adults. The agricultural labourers of the future will probably come from these tents, from the same unsuitable living conditions. Agricultural labourers are the grown up versions of the children who take care of their younger siblings while they themselves can barely walk and run around barefoot on stony ground difficult to walk on even in boots. Agricultural labour is not even in the future, but in the present of these children, who have no chance but to grow up quickly as they pick up the work left to them by adults, whether it be the heat of the summer or the cold of the winter.

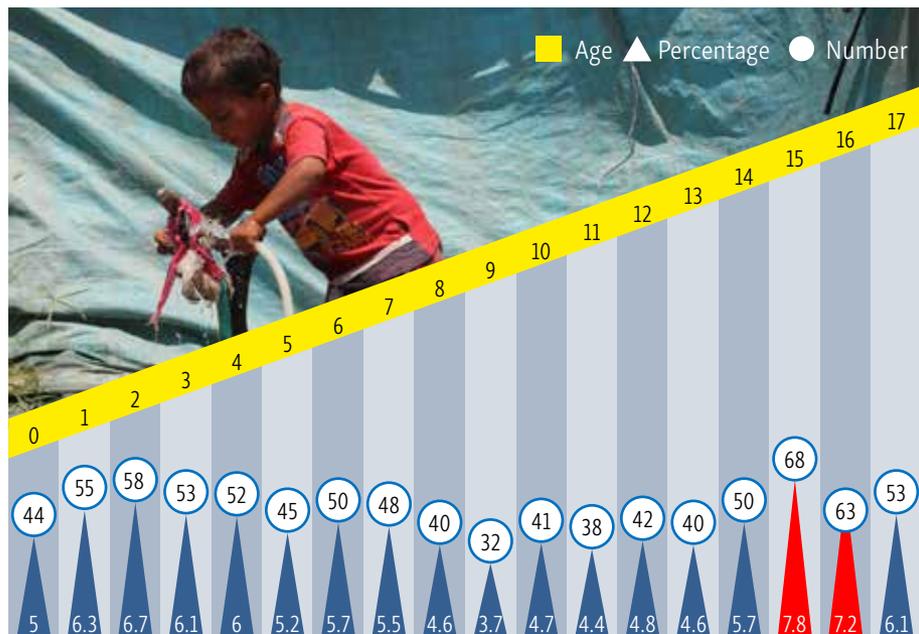
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Syrian Child Labour and Agricultural Production

The Development Workshop's *Present Situation Report on Foreign Migrant Workers in Seasonal Agricultural Production in Turkey* draws attention to the prevalence of child labour among Syrian seasonal migrant agricultural labourers, underlining that the basic condition for the survival of families under the extraordinary circumstances of forced migration is to have as many members of the household as possible earn an income. Among the Syrian migrant workers interviewed in the citrus orchards of Adana were children barely over the age of ten. In the same orchards, children were seen carrying heavy loads of citrus fruit to trucks alongside groups of young people working in the harvest. The view is widely held among the Syrian migrant population that agriculture is young people's work, and that such heavy and rapid work cannot be done by the elderly. Together with the low rate of schooling among the Syrian migrant groups and the lack of access to education services, this way of thinking results in many children working - in fields in rural areas, and in manufacturing and on the street in urban areas (Development Workshop, 2016).

A similar trend can be observed among the groups of Syrian migrants living in tents on the Adana Plain. 53 percent of the members of the households that form the source of this report were children under the age of 17 (Figure 22). During the survey, no children of school age were encountered who

Figure 22. Age distribution of children of Syrian households covered by the study (%)



actually attended school. Although there has been much debate about the problems faced by Syrian children in gaining access to education, it appears that even if and when sufficient educational opportunities are provided, the participation of these children will remain low, because their families are constantly on the move, and because child labour is so widespread.



According to the interviews, there were 565 children between the ages of 6-17 in the households surveyed, and 240 of them were working. While none of the children in the 0-5 age group worked, 42 percent of children in the 6-17 age group were working as agricultural labourers. Child labourers made up 32 per cent of all workers. Children in the 15-17 age group were most likely to be working. The proportions of boys and girls who work are almost equal. In the light of these findings, it may be said that a third of the working members of the Syrian households covered by the study are children.

In large families, child labour represents an opportunity to increase household income. Furthermore, the perception among Syrian families that agricultural labour is a job for the young can result in very young children working in the fields. Interviews also showed that agricultural intermediaries who find work for very young children think that they are helping poor families. The employment of children is generally rationalised through excuses such as “They were very poor, I gave them work, they worked for their bread.” Agricultural intermediaries who employ children justify their actions on the grounds that they are supporting the household budget and helping the child to grow up as an experienced agricultural labourer. In oth-

er words, in the world of agricultural production, child labour is generally seen as a way of aiding poor families.

Table 10. Children's Participation in Agricultural Labour (aged 17 and under)

Are the children working as agricultural labourers at present?		Sex		Total
		Boys	Girls	
Yes	Number of children working	118	122	240
	Percentage of all children working	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%
	Proportion of the total population (%)	13.5%	14.0%	27.5%
No	Number of children not working	330	302	632
	Percentage of all children not working	52.2%	47.8%	100.0%
	Proportion of the total population (%)	37.8%	34.6%	72.5%
Total	Total number of children	448	424	872
	Percentage of all children	51.4%	48.6%	100.0%
	Proportion of the total population (%)	51.4%	48.6%	100.0%

As can be seen from Table 10, 49.2 per cent of working children are boys and 50.8 per cent are girls. The distribution of working boys by age group shows 33.9 per cent of them to be aged between 6 and 14, 22 per cent to be 15 and 44.1 per cent to be 16 or 17. Of working girls, 41 per cent are aged 6-14, 20.5 per cent are 15 and 38.5 per cent are aged 16-17.

Of all working women, 36 per cent are girls between the ages of 6-17. This finding is in line with the results of previous studies on child labour in agriculture and with the disproportionate weight of the agricultural sector in child labour (Development Workshop, 2014). Another fact which the data point to is that girls are more often put to work in the fields before getting married at an early age. To think of women's labour as consisting simply of work in the fields would be an underestimation. It is a fact that girls who do not work in the fields play an important part in the re-productive work of the household. Girls take on many responsibilities at an early age, including carrying water, cooking, care of siblings, elderly and disabled relatives, and cleaning (Figure 23).

The prevalence of child labour among Syrian migrant agricultural workers and the dependence of households on income from child labour are clear to see in the findings of the study. The households' need for cash income, low pay and children's lack of access to education are the main factors that contribute to child labour within this group.



Figure 23. Girls' employment in agriculture by age group (%)

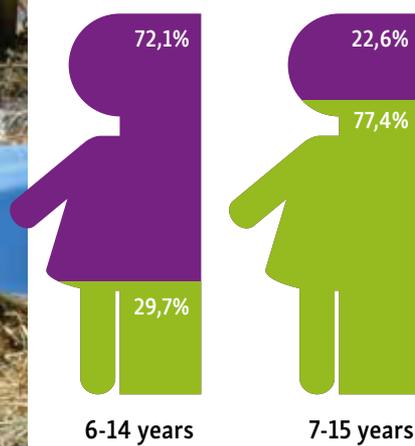
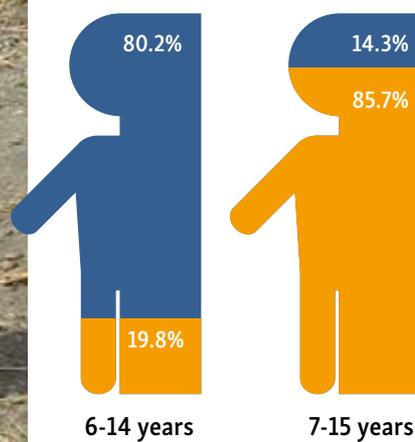


Figure 24. Boys' employment in agriculture by age group (%)



Women in Tents and Fields



Young Syrian women in tent areas, Adana 2016

Child labour and women's labour are among the most frequently discussed aspects of seasonal migrant agricultural labour in Turkey. In addition to the long working days they spend labouring in agriculture, women face a heavy burden of re-productive activities, such as cooking, baking bread, cleaning and child care, all of which have to be carried out in very difficult conditions. This imposes a high cost in terms of time and effort (Çınar 2014, Kezban et al. 2015). Women work for 16-18 hours a day on average and their main helpers in the long working day are their daughters. Girls too shoulder much of this heavy burden. They cook, bake bread, carry water, fetch firewood, light fires and clean up tents. They also have to take on responsibilities for the care of younger siblings (KEİG 2015). Woman seasonal agricultural workers generally lack insurance and social security. They specifically lack maternity insurance. A range of factors including inadequate hygiene, low socioeconomic status, early marriage and adolescent pregnancy, frequent multiple pregnancies and births, lack of access to antenatal and post-natal healthcare services, home deliv-



Figure 25. Age distribution of women covered by the study (%)



eries and inadequate nutrition contribute to health risks and can cause death among mothers and newborn babies.

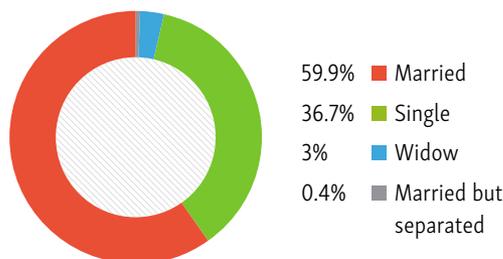
In addition to the heavy reliance on women's labour in seasonal agricultural production, the central role of women in international migration movements has led to the coining of the term *feminisation of migration*. The undue burden of migration and agricultural production on women has been observed in the present study on migrant workers in seasonal agriculture in Turkey. The fact that the Syrian migration flow to Turkey is characteristically family-based places women at the centre of this flow. Just as they are at the centre of the migration flow, they may also be seen as central to the struggle of the migrants for survival.

Of the members of the households covered by this study, 49 per cent are women. The age distribution of these women shows them to be very young. 21.8 per cent of the female population is made up of girls between the ages of 6-14. With the addition of the under-fives and girls aged 15-17, 51.7 per cent of the female population consists of girls (Figure 25). Girls under the age of 14 make up 40 per cent of the young female population. The populations of the tent settlements include many young women, which signals a major potential for population growth. Integration policies will therefore be crucial in determining the fields of work of these groups and their harmonisation with society in Turkey. In the years ahead, these groups will present problems and opportunities in terms of employment and the growth of new generations - issues which will have a significant role in shaping the structure of Turkey itself.

Women's Marital Status

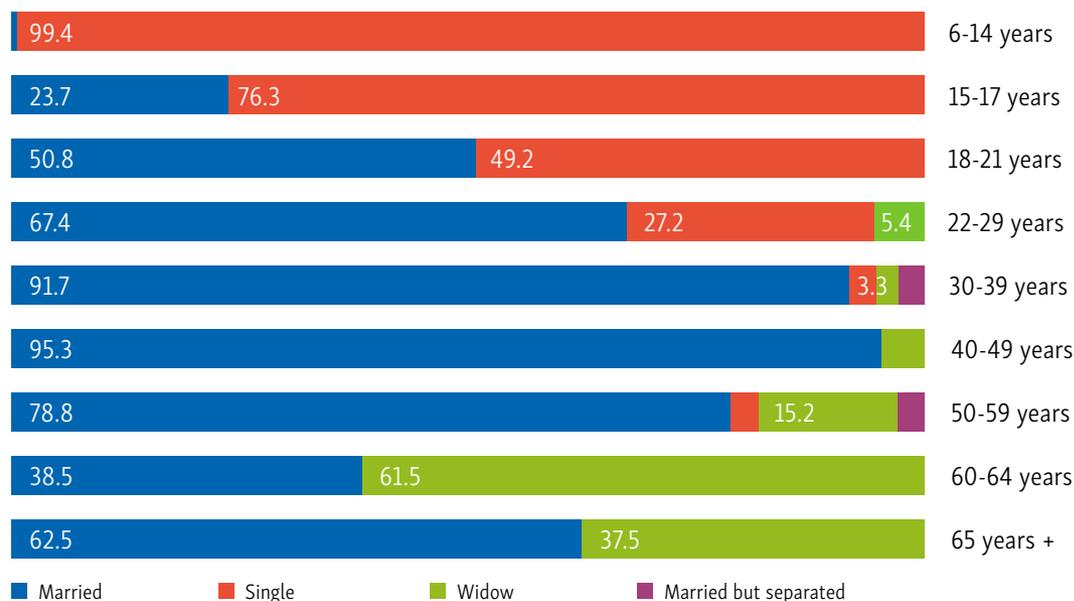
Most women covered by the study were unmarried. The proportion of married women was 36.7 per cent. Another 3 per cent of the female population consists of widowed women (Figure 26). The average age of married women was 32, while the average age of widowed women was 50.7.

Figure 26. Women's marital status (%)



Given the young population, it is not surprising that unmarried women are in the majority. However, early marriages are common among migrant women living in the tent sites included in the survey. The youngest married girl in the population surveyed was found to be 13. Girls between the ages of 13-17 made up 7.6 per cent of all married women. The survey has revealed that marriages within the 15-17 age group and child marriages in general are very common among the migrants. Child marriages may be seen as the outcome of a traditional rural social structure. The proportion of women between the ages of 18-21 who are married is 50 per cent. However, probably due to the war, the spouses of 5.4 per cent of the women in the 22-29 age group are deceased. The majority of women in the 30-39 and 40-49 age groups are married, while the proportion of widows increases from the 50-59 age group onwards (Figure 27).

Figure 27. Marital status of women by age group (%)

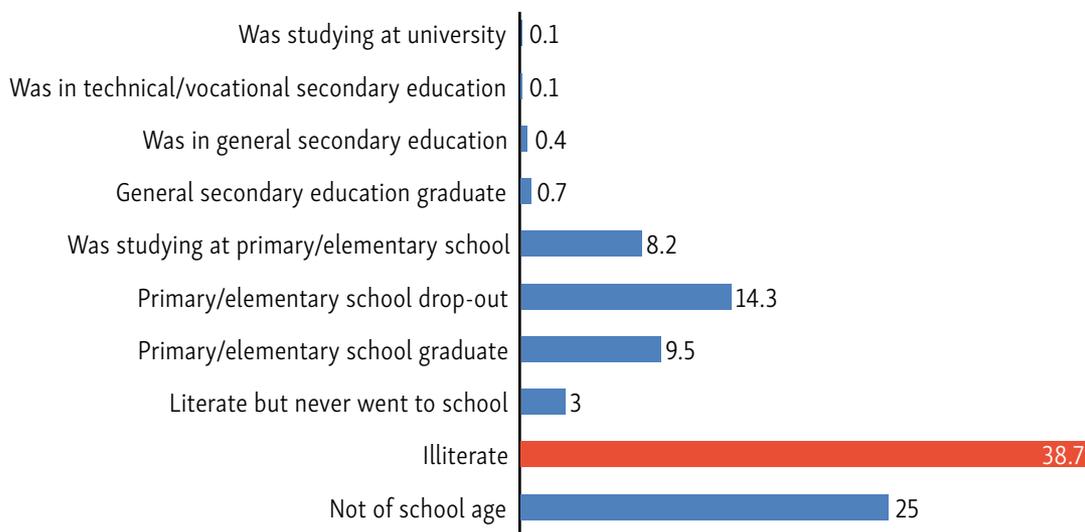


Women's educational status

The data obtained provide important findings regarding the educational status of women. Low educational levels are the norm. Nearly 40 per cent of the women are not literate. Hardly any women have completed primary school and continued with their education beyond that level. About 15 per cent started primary education but dropped out for reasons not related to the war. The high rate of illiteracy among women is an indicator not just

of lack of access to education services in Turkey but also of most women having been denied an education in Syria. The average age of the illiterate women was 29. The inability of women to access educational services either in Syria or in Turkey is an outcome of the status given to women by traditional gender roles and shows that in rural Syria, women did not have access to education (Figure 28).

Figure 28. Women's educational status (%)



As mentioned above, the main reasons for the women's low level of education are that they come from rural parts of Syria and mostly worked as unpaid family workers. The proportion of women who have dropped out of education is also high at 14.3 per cent. Women who dropped out of school constitute the largest group after illiterate women, when girls who are not yet of school age are left out. The average age of the women who have dropped out of education is 23. The groups covered by the study gave up, or were made to give up, on their education long before the current conflict.

Women's Working Status

At the time the study was carried out (July-August 2016), 40.5 per cent of the women were working in seasonal agriculture. The non-working female population (59.5 per cent) gave different reasons for not working, although re-production activities such as cleaning, child care, cooking, baking bread and fetching water were the most common. The findings may be summarised as follows:

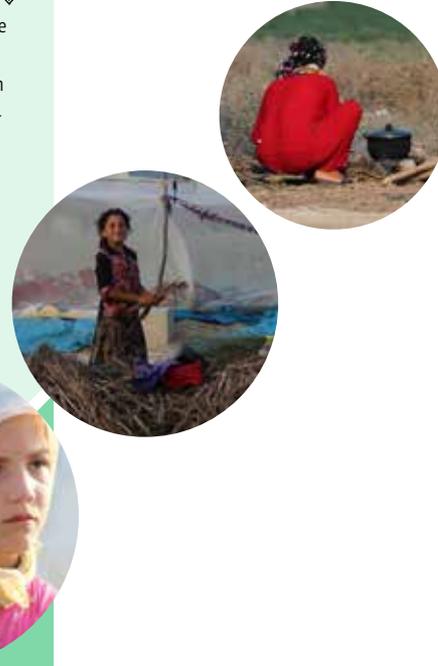
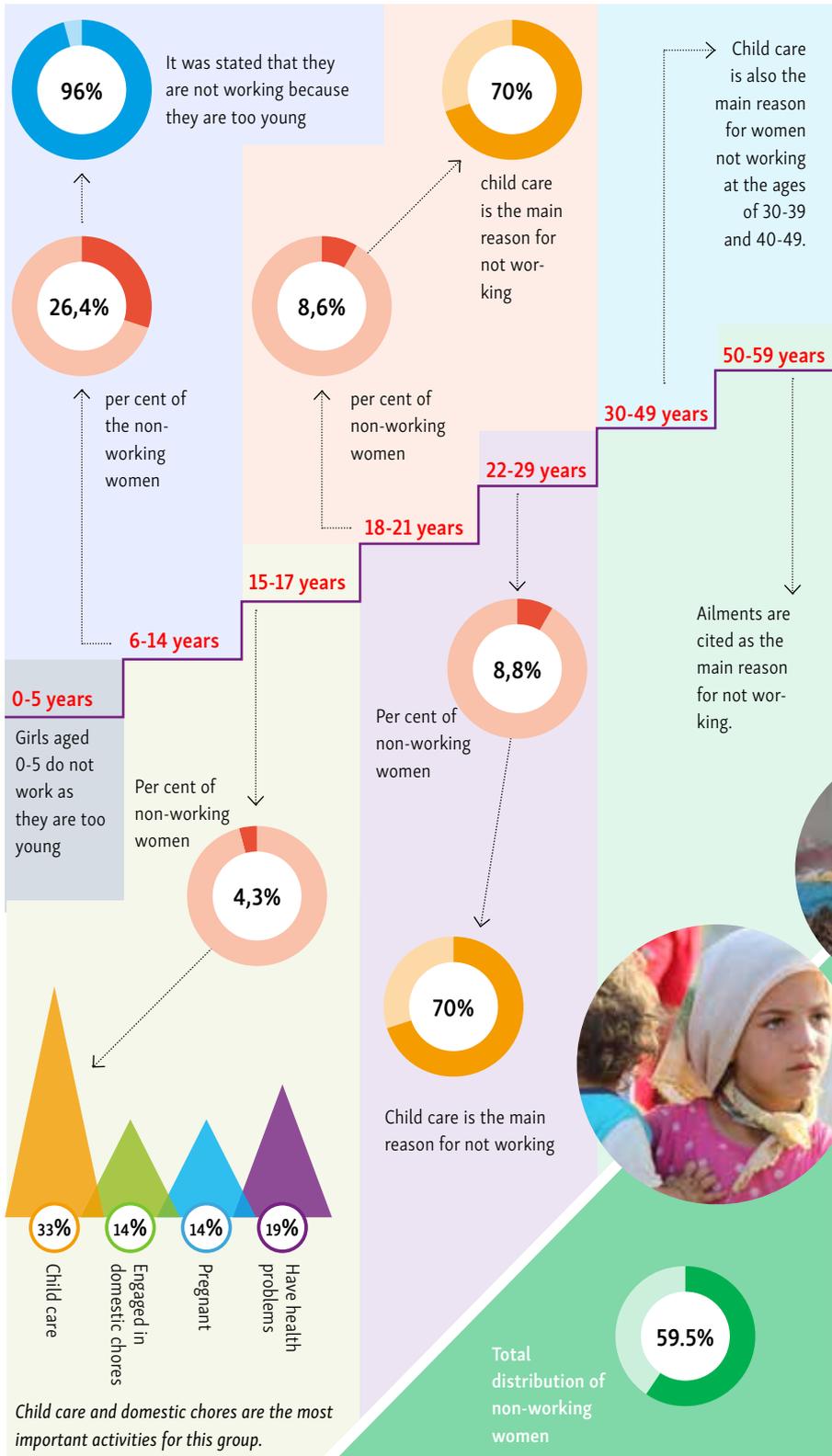
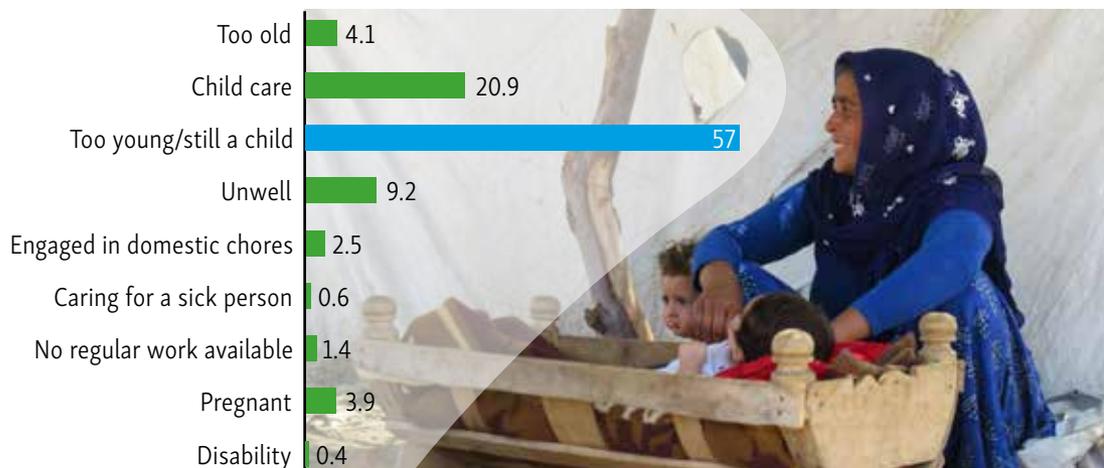


Figure 29. Reasons for women not working (%)

As the most widespread reason given for women not working was child care (Figure 29), the survey included a question on who takes on child care responsibilities in the household. In the case of 76.6 per cent of households with children, the answer to the question of who takes care of the children while others are working was “an adult in the household” (Table 11). Within the household, child care is undertaken almost entirely by women, with 96.2 per cent.

**Table 11.** Person Caring for the Children during Work Hours (%)

Who takes care of the children?	Number	Distribution (%)
No one	30	14.4
An adult from the household	160	76.6
One or more of the children	11	5.3
A sitter from outside the household	2	1.0
A paid sitter	1	0.5
Other	5	2.4
Total	209	100

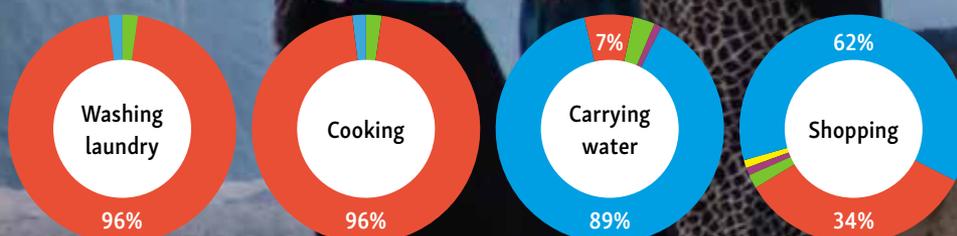
While child care may be seen as the collective responsibility of the family, it is undertaken predominantly by women. It involves the active participation of both the elderly women and the young women in the family. The lack of institutional child care services, which in Turkey are difficult even for the average household to access, makes child care a communal responsibility in tent sites, and it is often handed over to older children. With no one taking care of them, children grow up in the company of their peers.



Children who no one looks after

In tent sites children run around from morning to evening. They create their own games and their own toys. Whatever attracts their attention around the site becomes their toy. Care is considered to be providing food for the children most of the time. It is a bit different with newborns, but as soon as a child can walk, he or she becomes the communal child of the tent site. There is no shortage of peers, as there are lots of children of all ages. Care for the newborn is important and demands attention but households have neither the economic nor the cultural resources for this. Traditional methods therefore play an important role. Having someone outside of the household on rotation to look after the children is common practice. It is also common for working women to take their newborns to the field with them. Children taking care of other children is what 'no one takes care of them' sometimes means. Eight or ten year old girls go around with babies in their laps. An adult of the household taking care of the children comes to the same thing, as 12-13 year olds are considered adults. It is once more children taking care of the children.

Figure 30. Domestic work undertaken by men and women (%)



The domestic distribution of labour between men and women also shows that women are generally engaged in traditional housework and child care activities. Washing laundry and dishes, cooking, baking bread, cleaning and taking care of the elderly are jobs that are generally carried out by women. The main domestic jobs of men are shopping and water carrying. As might be expected, in households engaged in seasonal agricultural labour, women have a twofold burden: they have to work in the fields as well as take the lead in the re-production of the family. Men have been observed to be more active in the public activities of the household. Shopping and in some cases taking children to the hospital are jobs undertaken by men. Taking children to the hospital is the only activity that women and men do together. Contacts with agricultural intermediaries, the neighbourhood foremen (*muhtar*) and other individuals from the local community are either handled by men or simply not allowed to women. This is an indicator that money matters fall under the jurisdiction of men and that women are obliged to depend on, or cannot live without, men (Figure 30).



The fact that women engage in production activities without any reduction in their share of the re-productive burden - their double responsibility - increases their working hours. It must be emphasised that the work load of women who live in tents and participate in agricultural production is very heavy. It must be emphasised that the workload of women who live in tents and participate in agricultural production is very heavy. These women not have running water or adequate kitchen and bathroom facilities and equipment, and are devoid of the benefits of electricity. Accordingly, they find the activities which they carry out for the re-production of their families, such as cooking and baking bread, washing dishes and laundry, and caring for their children and meeting their sanitary needs very tiring and time-consuming. Washing needs to be done with carried water, which is warmed up by collected firewood. The burden of these activities falls disproportionately on the shoulders of women and girls.

Shelter and Living Conditions Is it Just the Actors Who are Changing?

Seasonal migrant agricultural workers often face problems of housing and shelter in the places where they go to work. Temporary shelter facilities have been established throughout Turkey for seasonal migrant agricultural workers as part of the Improving the Working and Social Lives of Seasonal Migratory Agricultural Workers (METİP) project, and are overseen by public institutions. METİP camps are in general tent sites with power and constant running water with limited sanitation and bathing facilities for the residents. About 1,000 persons live in each camp. The locations set aside for pitching tents are generally empty plots by irrigation canals or roads, which carry the risk of drowning or traffic accidents for both children and adults. There is no data on how many Syrian migrants make use of shelter facilities provided at METİP camps. During the field study in Adana Plain, it was observed that Syrian agricultural workers had pitched their tents through their own means on plots allocated to them and were sheltering in these tents in very negative conditions. Some tents contain toilets provided by METİP.

Sites for the accommodation of seasonal migrant agricultural workers are usually chosen from among locations that are distant to settlements, out of sight and near to the fields. This isolation serves to separate the living quarters of the local population and the migrant/temporary workers. People whose labour is required are thus prevented from taking part in daily life by discriminative settlement sites. As they are others who need to be kept out of sight and assumed not to exist while they are not working, their isolated settlements are usually tent sites. The isolated nature of the living spaces of seasonal agricultural workers has the same causes and consequences for both local and Syrian migrant workers. In this sense it may be said that the shelter problems of Syrian migrant workers living in tents are similar to the problems experienced by other seasonal agricultural workers, and that their poor standards of living are comparable.

Most of the Syrian migrants covered by the study who resided at tent sites were living in tents they had made themselves out of sheets of plastic. Only 10.2 per cent have cloth tents. (Figure 31) One of the negative impacts of plastic tents is the way in which they exaggerate the impact of the summer heat and winter cold. For insulation against the heat, plastic sheet tents are often covered with dry branches and reeds. Only one person interviewed said that the household lived in a house made of briquettes.

The most widespread pattern of settlement among the sample population is a group of tents pitched in or on the outskirts of the base vil-

lage/neighbourhood (41 per cent). Such settlements are a common sight in Ceyhan and Yüreğir. The greatest number of tent sites by water canals are in Karataş (19.5 per cent). Tent sites are often established by canals or roads, where children especially are at risk of car accidents or drowning (Figure 32).

Households may inhabit more than one tent depending on their population (Figure 33). While households with a single tent make up 77.8 per cent of the total, those with two tents make up 16.2 per cent, those with three 4.5 per cent and those with four 1.1 per cent. One household reported having seven tents (Figure 34). This household had 19 members. In households with one tent, the average number of people living in the tent is 5.6. Figure 30 depicts the positive relationship between number of tents inhabited and the average household size. As the number of members of the household increases, so does the number of tents (Figure 33).

The findings of the study reveal that the average tent size is 15.8 square metres and that the average number of people living in a tent of this size is 5.6. Among those households which stated that they live in a single tent, the average number of children is around three. In other words, there is 2.8 square metres of space per individual in these tents. Tents generally contain a small kitchen area and a small area to store household items. This makes the amount of space available to each person even smaller. Since all members of the fam-

Figure 31. Materials used for tents (%)

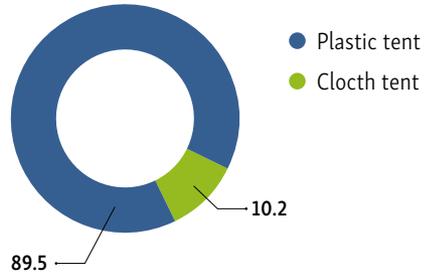


Figure 32. Distribution of tent settlements by district (%)

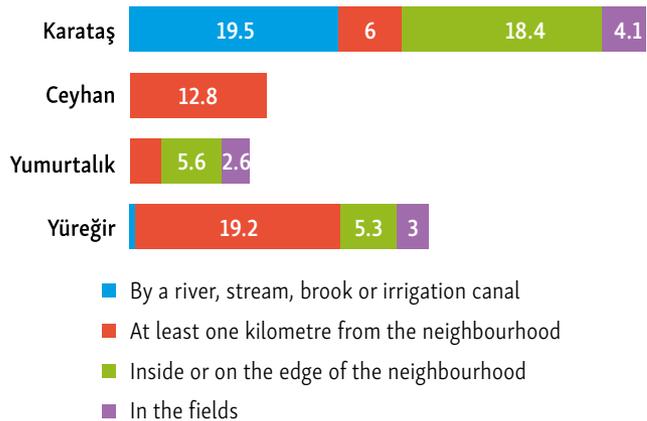
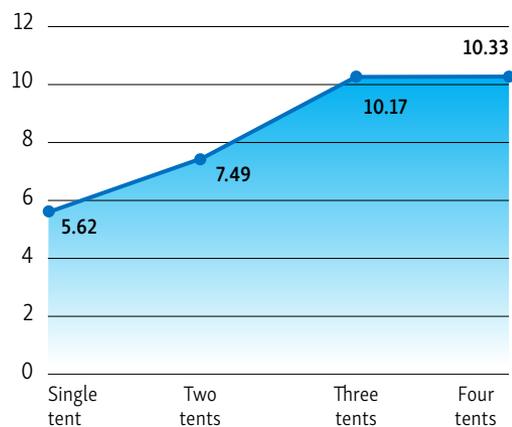


Figure 33. Number of tents inhabited by household and average household size



ily live in the same small space, and especially since adults and children live and sleep in the same area, there are cases of negligence and abuse. The fact that family members do not have their own private spaces has a negative impact on the lives of both adults and children.

The majority of the interviewees (89.1 per cent) said that they pay no rent for the tent area³, while 33.8 per cent of households stated that they pay nothing for the services used in the tent site, and that no payment is expected. Only 5.6 per cent reported paying for everything (rent, water and power). Most of these households live and work in Karataş. The proportion of families paying only for power is 28.2 per cent. Only 2.6 per cent of households pay for both rent and electricity, while 26.3 per cent pay for both water and electricity. Figure 32 shows the distribution by district of the payments which households have to make in connection with their accommodation.

Among the families living in Karataş, 41.4 per cent pay for power and 9.4 per cent pay for rent, water and power. Only 6.2 per cent of the households in Karataş are not asked to pay for any of the costs related to accommodation. By contrast, nearly all of the households in Ceyhan (91.2 per cent) and more than half of those in Yüreğir (68.9 per cent) reported not having to meet any of these costs. In

³ The sites where tents are pitched are usually areas of publicly owned land identified by intermediaries, land/orchard owners or sometimes village foremen.

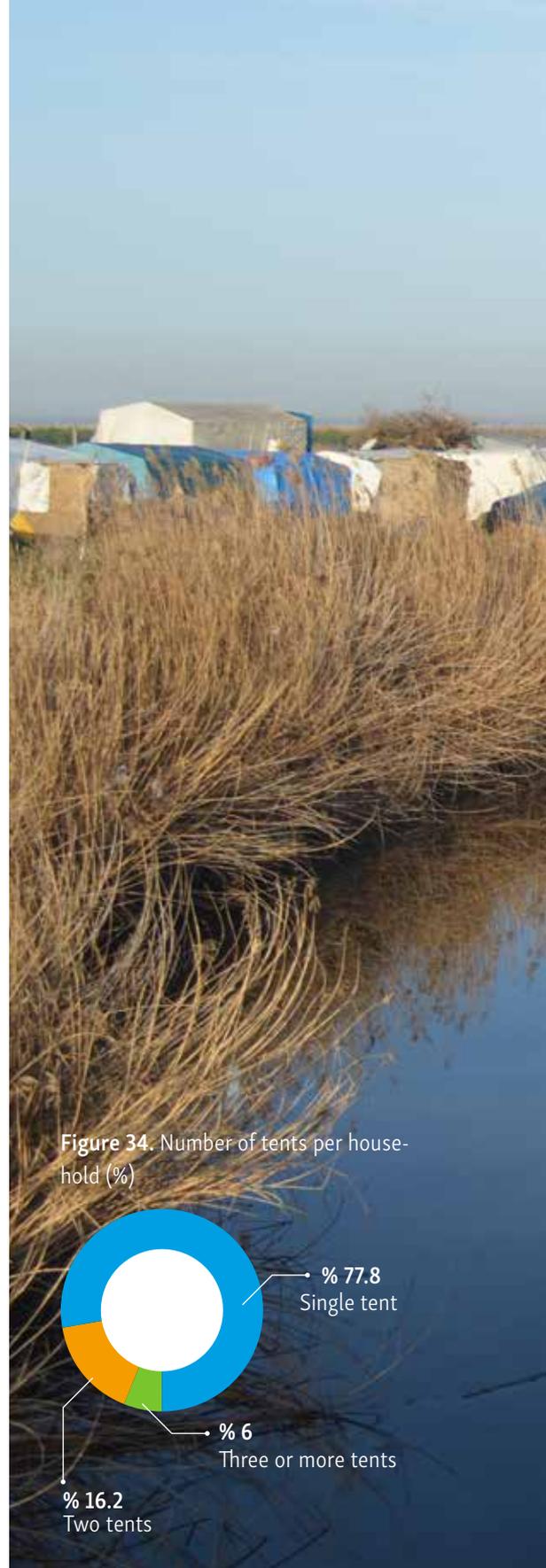
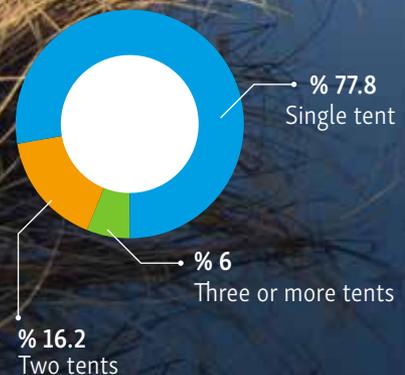


Figure 34. Number of tents per household (%)





Children at the edge of the canal

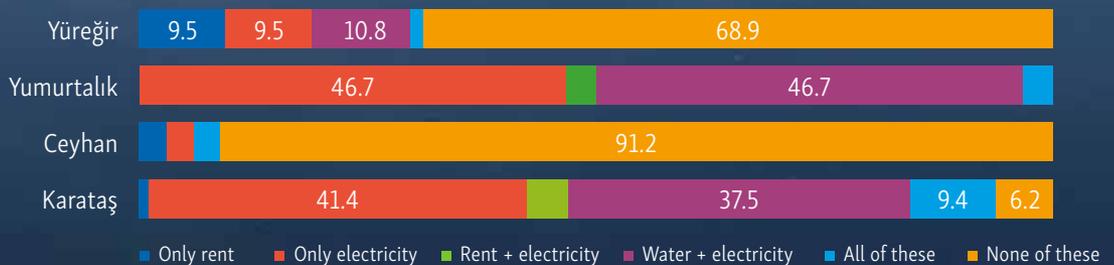
Three year old Mohammed who clasps the bread with two hands, the happy child Fatma who brings hope with her eyes, children who play in the canal regardless of the scorching heat, 16 year old Hamut who one night woke up from his dream under falling bombs, twins who spend their childhood working in the fields...

The labourers camp where bitter lives are led; early hours of the morning. By the canal. Children, women and the elderly who work for twelve hours a day under the blistering heat in fields stretching out as far as the eye can see.

At the labourers' tent camp, a woman with three children in struggling to protect her two-year old from flies, as though she had not struggled enough... Speaking with her reveals heart wrenching stories. They came to Adana, fleeing Aleppo. As she recounted a sorrowful and difficult life she was ashamed, while she told of how her husband worked from morning till dusk, she was feeding her hungry children tomatoes and bread. She said that they could not get milk for her four month old baby, that the money they earned was barely enough for their survival. She spoke of the difficulties of living in a tent, the inadequacy of toilets, the difficulty in bathing, the lack of running water. She also mentioned the danger her children were exposed to by the canal.



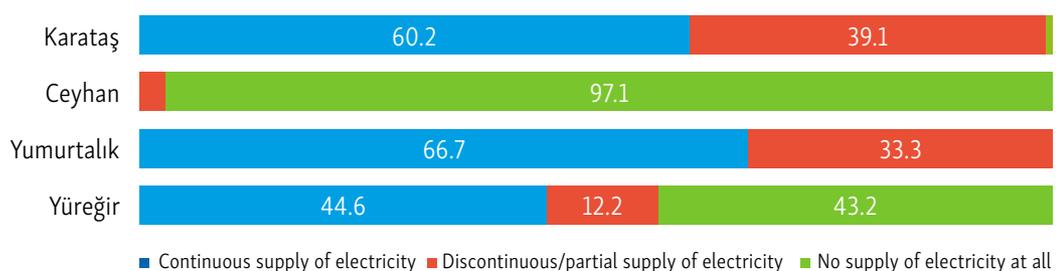
Figure 35. Distribution by district of payments related to accommodation (%)



Yumurtalık, most households pay only for power (46.7 per cent) or for power and water (46.7 per cent).

The tent settlements in Ceyhan and Yüreğir have the lowest rate of access to a power supply. In the Emek neighbourhood in Ceyhan, 97 per cent of the households in the tent settlements reported having no power. In Yüreğir, this ratio is 43.2 per cent. The difficulties of living without power in today's world are clear and do not require much comment. While temporary power cuts can be a major problem in urban life, lack of power in tent sites causes major problems with communications, security, food preservation and similar basic needs. Although no major problems were observed with respect to access to electricity outside of Ceyhan and Yüreğir, 39.1 per cent of the households in Karataş and 33.3 per cent in Yumurtalık stated that their tent sites do not have power all the time (Figure 36).

Figure 36. Power supply situation in tent sites by district (%)



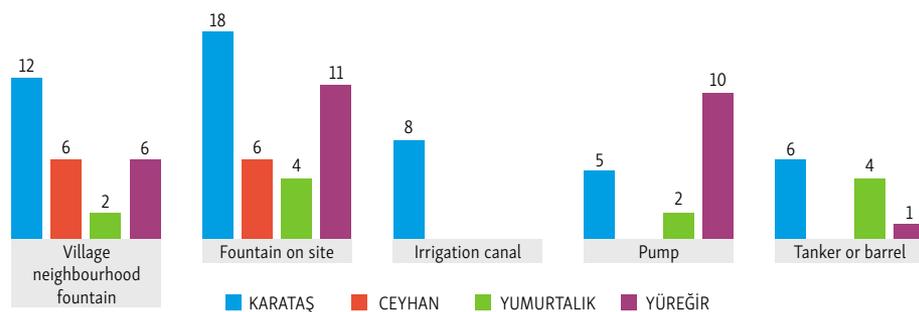
In tent settlements, drinking water comes mostly from communal fountains on the tent site (38.3 per cent). Many other settlements make use of village/neighbourhood fountains (27.1 per cent). The situation is similar for water for other uses. In most cases, utility water is obtained from communal fountains on the tent site (38.7 per cent) and village/neighbourhood fountains (26.7 per cent). These percentages do not vary much by district. In Karataş, the irrigation canal is used for drinking water. The many plastic water barrels observed in the households indicate the way in which water is carried and transported. None of the tent sites are connected to the water network or have constant running water. The fact that the settlements consist of tents makes this impossible. Drinking water in the fields is stored in tankers (87.2 per cent) and barrels (85.7 per cent).

The toilets in the settlement sites are ramshackle and unsanitary, built by migrants using their own means. This type of toilet, with the waste collected in a closed pit, is the most widespread in all districts and tent groups



and (56.8 per cent). Another significant finding is that 21.4 per cent of the households interviewed defecate in the open. In the fields, toilet needs are met in the open in 94.7 per cent of cases. There are no significant differences among the districts in respect of sanitation (Figure 37).

Figure 37. Distribution of water sources by district (%)





In terms of household items, 35 per cent of tents have TVs and 30 per cent have satellite dishes. Mobile phones are very important for migrants and around 60 per cent of households have mobile phones. This shows the importance of communications for migrants. Households usually produce their tents themselves (68 per cent) and the proportion of those who have manufactured tents (16 per cent) is very low. The ramshackle shanty houses (*gecekondu*) built on empty plots by those migrating from rural areas to towns within Turkey, which have left a mark on Turkey’s history of urbanisation, are now being replaced in significance by tents pitched by migrant agricultural workers in empty sites in rural areas. This may be described as the *gecekondu-isation* or tent-isation of rural areas.

Figure 38. Toilet conditions by district in tent sites (%)

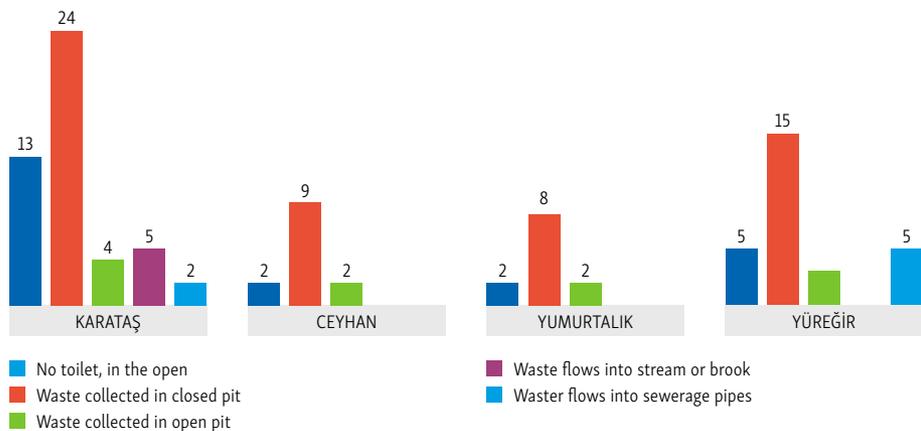
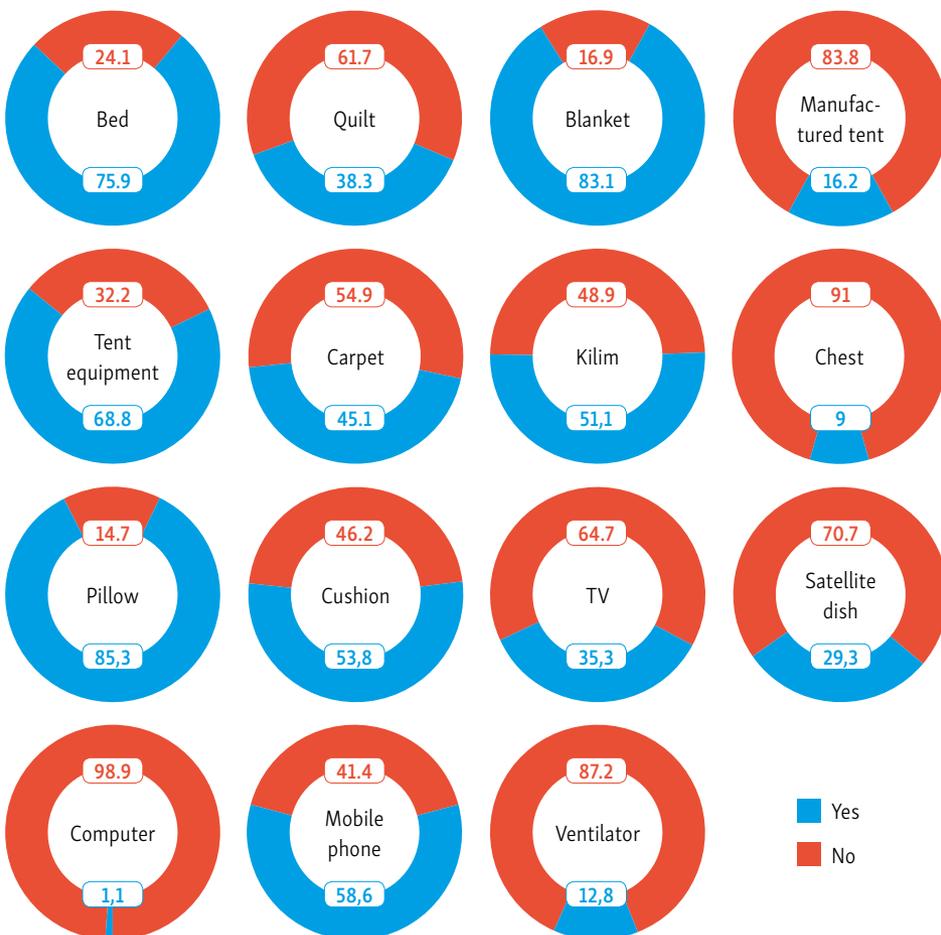


Figure 39. Household items (%)



Graph 39 lists the belongings of families living in tents. 24 per cent of families do not have beds, 61 per cent do not have pillows, 16 per cent do not have blankets, 80 per cent do not have manufactured tents, 54 per cent do not have carpets and 49 per cent do not have rugs. Most families can be said to live in deprivation. The proportion of families with ventilators is 87 per cent, as Adana gets very warm in the summer. Televisions and satellite dishes are owned by only a third of families.

The data collected on the kitchen items owned by the tent households indicate that they have very limited means for cooking. Small gas canisters are the most accessible means of cooking and heating. Women were observed to cook over small gas canisters and despite the very warm climate, very few households were found to own a refrigerator. Without even wire cabinets to store food, 88 per cent of households stated that

food is not stored but left out in the open. This indicates either that families prepare food separately for every meal or that they eat food that is going off because there are no adequate storage arrangements (Figure 40).

In terms of food supplies, households generally have bread/pastry, tea, vegetable oil, sugar, rice and vegetables. They do not even have legumes which can be stored dry. Very few have reported having onions, potatoes or coffee, the last of which is consumed traditionally even by the poorest Syrians. Storage conditions and high prices mean that very few households possess protein-rich foods or fresh fruit (Figure 41).

“

Unable to pursue their rights... 200 days' worth of work gone with absent intermediaries

The field study team approached a tent in the plain for an interview, seeking permission. The family was eating lunch. They were invited to join them immediately. What they have to eat drew their attention. The tray contains bulgur prepared only with tomato paste and lunch for a family of eight consists of it. They had very tepid water which they drew from a pump.

A short conversation was held before the head of the household was asked interview questions. The first issue brought up by the head of the household was the assistants of agricultural intermediaries not paying daily wages. Almost two hundred days worth of pay of the family was not paid. This makes almost TL8,000 (USD2,750). They say they were not given the wages by the assistants who ran away. They have found no means for a solution and even if they went to the gendarmerie they would be turned away, or not be able to tell them their problem because of the language barrier. They recount many stories of households not being paid on the plain, just like them. During the interview they stated that as they were registered in Şanlıurfa, they could not go to the hospital in Adana-Karataş and had to buy their own medicine.

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Figure 40. Kitchen equipment (%)

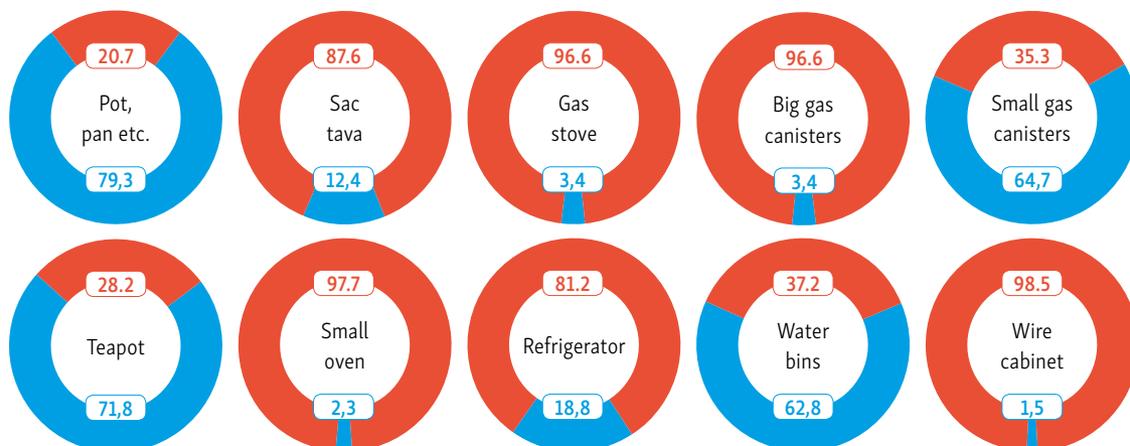
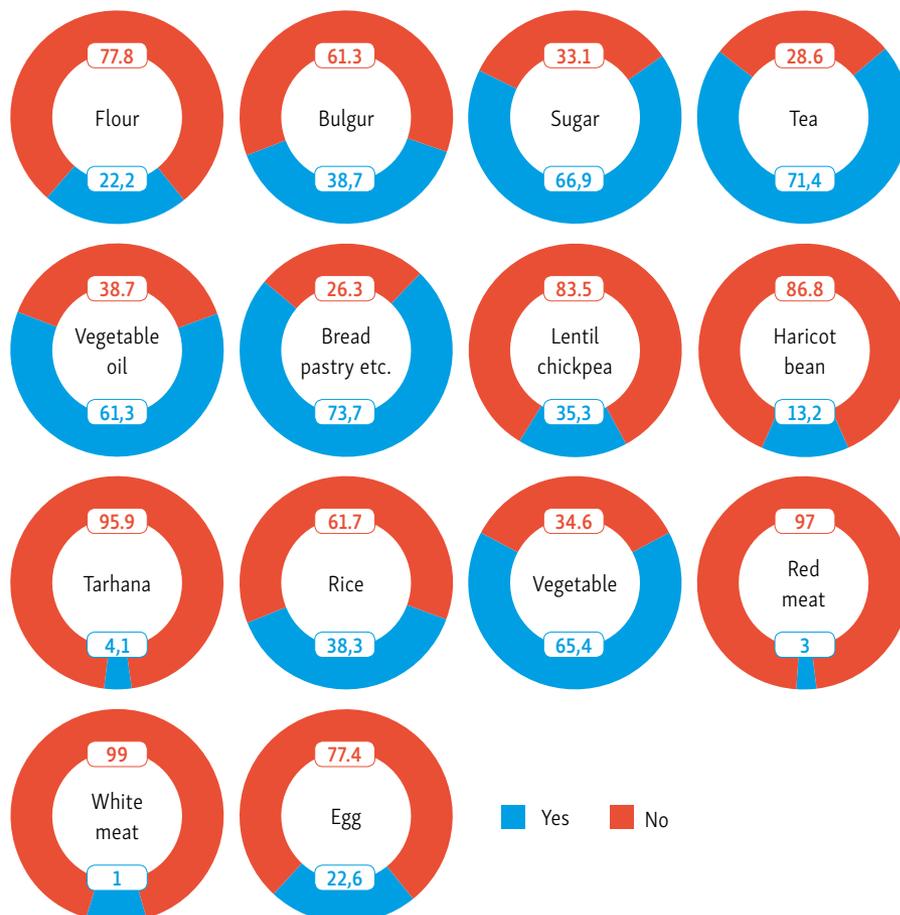


Figure 41. Food items (%)



Education Rights and Services: Integration or Ghettoisation?

Migrants' access to education and to education services is of great importance in ensuring that they can participate in the labour market by improving their potential and providing for their social integration. As previously stated, the attitudes of the families towards child labour play an important role in the Syrian migrants' lack of access to education services. Other factors include the distance from tent settlements to schools and the still low level of provision of the education system in Turkey for reaching migrants and the consequent low schooling rates. For these reasons, almost all children of school age remain outside the school system.

Of households with school-aged children (60.5 per cent of the total), 97 per cent did not have children attending school. According to those interviewed, the most important reasons for this were financial difficulties (52 per cent), distance to schools (25 per cent), legal obstacles (11 per cent), the children's unwillingness to go to school (5.6 per cent) and other reasons (also 5.6 per cent). The "other reasons" included language issues and unwillingness of officials to help to send children to schools.

The families covered by this study, who live in tents and work in agricultural production, are not a part of the education system in Turkey. As already mentioned, their level of education in Syria was also very low. When the population is analysed in terms of level of education, the illiterate form the largest group within both sexes. (Figure 42)

Figure 42. Education status of household members by sex

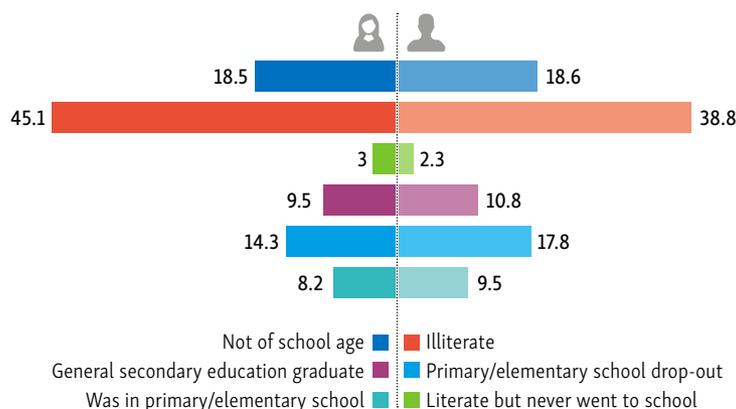


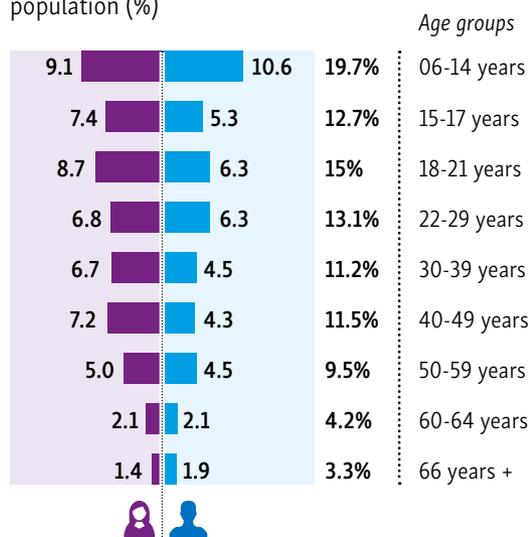
Figure 39 shows the general education status of the households included within the scope of the study. While illiteracy is 38.8 per cent among male household members, it is 45.1 per cent among female household members. For both sexes, being illiterate is the most common level of education. There is no significant difference between the sexes at other levels of education. An examination of the educational status of household members shows that levels of education fall rapidly after primary education. As will be described later, the experience of war and migrant status are important determinants of educational status for certain age groups.

The large proportion of illiterate people is related both to low levels of education prior to migration and to the fact that many school-aged children have not had access to school services. The illiterate population accounts for nearly 35 per cent of all household members and constitutes the largest group. Children aged 6-14 form the largest group within the illiterate population with 19.7 per cent. Except for the 6-14 age group, illiteracy is higher among women in all age groups. Considering that the average age of children in the 6-14 age group is about 10, it can be said that these children's education has been a victim of the war. These children were about to start school when the conflict, which has now lasted for more than five years, began. From the information presented here about the levels of education of children, it can be deduced that children are the group that have been most affected by the conditions of war and migration. (Figure 43)

A detailed examination of the data pertaining to the age group 6-14, composed of school-age children who should be in school demonstrates that this is the population growth that



Figure 43. Age and sex distribution of the illiterate population (%)



has been affected the most by war and migration. Children in the 6-14 age group make up nearly 23 per cent of the population of all the households surveyed. Of the children of this age group, 53 per cent are boys and 47 per cent are girls.

Table 12. Educational Status of Children aged 6-14 (%)

Educational status	Number	Distribution (%)
Illiterate	225	59.1
Literate but has not attended school	5	1.3
Primary education drop-out	35	9.2
Was attending primary education	116	30.4
Total	381	100.0

As shown in Table 12, the illiteracy rate is 59 per cent. Child illiteracy is high due to problems such as not having reached school age before coming to Turkey, and then not having had access to education since migrating from Syria. The rest of the children have been unable to continue their education after migration to Turkey, even though they are of school age, or were unable to start school before leaving Syria for reasons related to the war. The average age of illiterate children in the 6-14 age group is 8.8. Considering that the civil war in Syria has been going on since 2011, it is clear that these children are its victims in educational terms too. Among the literate children in the 6-14 age group, 30.4 per cent are made up of those who were forced to discontinue their education due to the war. At present, almost none of these children are in education. This rate should be seen as a clear indicator of the negative influences that war has on children in terms of education. Of the children in this age group, 9.2 per cent indicated that they had dropped out of education. Here, the status of “drop-out” is reserved for those children who have given up their education, or who have been made to give it up, for any reason except war and migration. In other words, those who are described as having dropped out are children who have stopped participating in education independently of the war situation in Syria and the experience of migration. Children whose education has come to a necessary halt as a result of having to abandon their country due to the war are described as “drop-out” their education – i.e. their education “was continuing”. The mean age of children in the 6-14 age group covered by the study who fall into this category is 12.8.

Table 13. Educational Status of Children aged 6-14 by Sex

Sex		Education Status (Syria)				Total
		Illiterate	Literate but has not attended school	Elementary/ Primary school drop-out	Was attending elementary/ primary education	
Boys	Number	119	4	13	66	202
	Proportion of boys (%)	58.9	2.0	6.4	32.7	100.0
	Proportion of children of same education status (%)	52.9	80.0	37.1	56.9	53.0
	Proportion of all children (%)	31.2	1.0	3.4	17.3	53.0
Girls	Number	106	1	22	50	179
	Proportion of girls (%)	59.2	0.6	12.3	27.9	100.0
	Proportion of children of same education status (%)	47.1	20.0	62.9	43.1	47.0
	Proportion of all children (%)	27.8	0.3	5.8	13.1	47.0
Total	Number	225	5	35	116	381
	Proportion of all children (%)	59.1	1.3	9.2	30.4	100.0
	Proportion of children of same education status (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Proportion of all children (%)	59.1	1.3	9.2	30.4	100.0

When the educational status of the 6-14 age group is examined by sex; the level of illiteracy is seen to be almost equal among girls and boys. The numbers quitting school due to war is also almost equal between the sexes. When it comes to dropping out, girls have dropped out of school of their own will or for reasons other than war at a higher rate than boys. 52.9 per cent of illiterate children are boys and 47.2 per cent are girls (Table 13).

The literate population accounts for 39.5 per cent of all household members. Literate female household members make up 18 per cent of the population, while male members make up 21.5 per cent of the total.

The average age of drop-outs from primary school, who consequently hold no educational qualification, is 25 for men and 23 for women. The average age of girls who had their education in Syria interrupted by the war and who mostly cannot go to school in Turkey was 12.5 and of boys 12. These averages show that Syrian children were separated from school during the early years of their education.

Access to Healthcare Services and Needs: “The Ambulance Won’t Come”

When asked whether they experience health problems due to seasonal agricultural work, 68.8 per cent of the households of Syrian seasonal migrant agricultural labourers, who live and work in poor conditions fully exposed to the elements, reply in the affirmative (Figure 44).

Sunstroke is the biggest health problem afflicting the workers. It is followed by flu, bites and stings from pests and insects, diarrhoea, food poisoning, and backache. Almost all of these health risks are due to the impact of poor living and working conditions. Many of the problems listed, such as sunstroke and stinging, are health issues arising while at work. Since the workers, have to bend over constantly while working, are exposed to the elements for long periods of time, and are in frequent contact with fertiliser and chemicals, it is clear that occupational ailments will emerge in many individuals in future. The main reason why such ailments are not reported more often at present is that the agricultural workers are drawn from the younger population.

Figure 44. Health problems experienced in households (%)



Health problems resulting from agricultural labour are encountered at a similar rate in the tent groups in different districts. Other problems reported include high fever, risk of miscarriage, muscle pain and stomach problems.

60 per cent of workers said they would go to hospital in case of illness or work related accidents. This shows that a significant number of migrants have access to healthcare. However, they face issues with transport and having to wait for the agricultural intermediary to take them. There are also migrants who sometimes try their own cures. Other migrants said they would wait for the agricultural intermediary to take them to hospital, or call an ambulance.

A large majority stated that they themselves cover all costs of treatment. Some migrants stated that they prefer to see Syrian doctors due to linguistic problems. According to all the participants, there is no medicine cabinet or first aid kit in their settlements or the places where they work (Table 14).

Table 14. What Workers Do in Case of Illness or Work Related Accident

What do you do in case of illness or work related accident?	Number	Distribution (%)
We treat it ourselves	18	6.8
We go to the general practitioner	5	1.9
We go to the hospital	161	60.5
Mobile health crews provide treatment	3	1.1
There is no treatment / we don't do anything	5	1.9
We use traditional medicine	2	0.8
We take care of it ourselves or go to the hospital depending on the situation	63	23.7
Other	9	3.4
Total	266	100.0



AN ASSESSMENT OF THE STATE OF HEALTH OF SYRIAN MIGRANTS LIVING IN THE PROVINCE OF ADANA

Adana is one of the first places where Syrian migrants settled outside the Southeast Anatolia region. Ever since 2011, Syrian migrants have been coming and going to this region continuously for purposes of work. The following initial evaluation of the health of the Syrian migrants in the province and of their access to health services has been made on the basis of observations made and interviews conducted in the last six-month period between March and August 2016 in an AFAD temporary accommodation centre and in six different places where Syrian migrants working in seasonal agricultural labour have set up their own accommodation.

View of the State of Health of Syrian Migrants in the District Centre of Karataş

About 1,000 Syrian migrants were observed to be living in tents in the district centre and in the immediate vicinity, but that about 600-700 of them were registered. It was ascertained that the migrants receiving primary health services from the Karataş Family Health and Community Health Centre generally applied to be examined as whole families, that 50-60 of them received outpatient services every day, that the groups making most use of the service were under-fives and pregnant women, and that the most frequently-observed diseases were skin conditions, upper respiratory tract diseases, acute gastroenteritis, parasites and anaemia in that order.

The migrants were found to have no problems in reaching health services. They frequently applied to primary health institu-

tions in order to obtain medicines. The Syrians themselves stated that they had better and more frequent access to primary health services than in their own country.

Health Profile of the Migrants in the Centre of the Tuzla Neighbourhood and Environs

About 5,000 Syrian migrants are said to be living in tents in the centre of the neighbourhood and the surrounding areas. There are reportedly many unregistered migrants. The migrants receive primary health services from the Tuzla Family Health Centre. Pregnant women, children under five and women aged 15-49 apply to be examined most commonly. About 100 persons receive outpatient services every day, with children under five and pregnant women applying most frequently. The most frequently-observed diseases were acute gastroenteritis, diseases of the upper respiratory tract, skin conditions, parasites and anaemia, in that order.

It was observed that there was no difficulty in access to health services, and that women aged 15-49 frequently applied for pregnancy monitoring and advice. The main reason for the frequency of applications for examination and advice from pregnant women is thought to be the fact that they are dealt with by woman doctors in the Family Health Centre. It has been reported that some migrants, especially those living in tents located far from the Family Health Centre, have difficulty reaching health services. Migrants living far from the neighbourhood need to make use of transport vehicles if they are to travel from their camp sites to the Family Health Centre from which they are to receive services. For this they are

dependent on agricultural intermediaries, who are able to provide such transport. They can only go to the centre if the agricultural intermediary approves.

Health Profile of the Refugees in the AFAD Camp in the District of Sançam

While there is a constant turnover in the AFAD-run temporary accommodation centre, the number of Syrian migrants there was found to be about 11,000. Four doctors provide continuous outpatient services in the health services unit established in the camp. Since April 2016, as the records are well kept and in an electronic environment, it has been possible to prevent duplicate medicine purchases by those examined officially (with identity documents) using the electronic prescription system. For this reason, pharmaceutical costs were found to have fallen. About 200-400 people are provided with outpatient services in the health unit every day. The groups that apply most frequently are children under five and pregnant women, and the five most frequently observed illnesses are diseases of the upper respiratory tract, skin conditions, anaemia, parasitic diseases (the most common being threadworm) and urogenital infections.

The migrants were found to be experiencing no difficulties in applying for health services

and accessing the services, and were observed to apply to the health institutions frequently. They had no problems in obtaining medicines, and their health problems stemmed mostly from personal hygiene habits.

Conclusion

It is clear that the living conditions and access to health services of the migrants living in tent settlements which they have set up by themselves in and around the Tuzla neighbourhood in the district of Karataş, which have hardly any infrastructure, are very different from those of the migrants living in the temporary accommodation centre in the district of Sançam. This affects the different illnesses that are observed, access to health services and the frequency with which health services are used. For this reason, it would be easier from the point of view of access to, and take-up of, health services if the migrants could all be registered and provided with accommodation in accommodation centres with adequate infrastructure. If the migrants can be settled in this way, it will also be possible to reduce health expenditures through early diagnosis and treatment of those who fall ill. Regular services in the camps, such as cleaning, maintenance and waste control, could also prevent any possible communicable diseases.

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What are the Basic Needs?

In addition to examining the present situation of seasonal migratory agricultural workers living in tent settlements on the Adana Plain, this study also includes the determination of the most urgent needs of the Syrian migrants with respect both to their living conditions and to their working conditions. For this reason, the persons interviewed during the survey work were asked to list their urgent needs in various areas. Specifically, they were asked what they needed most in the areas of shelter, working life, education, institutional services and health.

With respect to shelter, the most common demand was for the provision of decent accommodation. This was followed by improvements to toilets and bathroom facilities and safe ways of draining away waste water from the area around the tents. Since there is no electricity at all in some of the tent settlements, calls for a power supply and related needs also featured prominently.

The accommodation needs of seasonal migratory agricultural workers living in tents set up by the sides of roads, fields and canals are very wide-ranging. At the same time, the non-provision of some basic services in these areas, such as water and power supplies, makes life particularly difficult for those living there, and renders the agricultural workers and their children vulnerable to various risks, accidents and diseases. Living like this obliges the income-poor agricultural workers to work even harder in order to meet their basic needs, and this in turn creates time poverty. It needs to be underlined that the troubles of these migrants faced with both income poverty and time poverty, are even greater than those of the local seasonal migratory agricultural workers (Table 15).

Table 15. Infrastructure Needs of the Tent Settlements included in the Survey (%)

Most Commonly Voiced Needs Related to Infrastructure in the Tent Settlements	Total Number of Responses	Distribution (Per Cent)
Electricity	89	11.3
Toilets	162	20.5
Bathroom	87	11.0
Waste water drainage	57	7.2
Play areas for children	9	1.1
Waste collection	16	2.0
Clean water and drinking water	74	9.4
Heating in winter	58	7.4
Decent shelter (regular/prefabricated housing etc.)	214	27.1
Transport to town or shops	23	2.9
Total	789	100.0

The needs of the Syrian migratory agricultural workers with respect to **working life** revolve mainly around pay and working hours. These needs expressed by the migrants, who work for lower pay than local workers, are also a statement of their place in the hierarchy of agricultural labour. The Syrian migratory workers are more dependent on agricultural workers, and the intermediaries charge higher commissions from them than are normally foreseen for workers. Moreover, the intermediaries also receive a separate income by supplying the migrant workers with consumer goods like food and drink. In other words, a large part of the incomes of the agricultural workers actually reverts to the intermediary. In effect, the migrant workers are tied to a way of working that condemns them to double exploitation (Table 16).

Table 16. Most Commonly Voiced Needs Related to Work (%)

Most Commonly Voiced Needs Related to Work	Total Number of Responses	Distribution (Per Cent)
Working hours	137	34.2
Length and frequency of breaks	55	13.8
Transport to the place of work	3	0.8
Wages	186	46.5
Lack of a work permit	19	4.8
Total	400	100.0

In the case of **education**, the issue most commonly raised was either the lack of schools or the lack of access to the schools for the migrant children. Another urgent need that was mentioned frequently was the need for language courses to help the migrants to improve their Turkish language skills. Skills development and vocational training for adults were also included among the urgent needs of the migrants, in order to enable them to get better jobs (Table 17).

Table 17. Most Commonly Voiced Needs Related to Education (%)

Most Commonly Voiced Needs Related to Education	Total Number of Responses	Distribution (Per Cent)
Lack of schools for children of school age and/or transport problems etc.	118	37.0
Support for schooling/stationery for children's education	49	15.4
Skills and vocational training for adults	53	16.6
Turkish language classes	99	31.0
Total	319	100.0

With respect to **health**, the most burning issue was access to doctors and medicines. The most urgent health needs that had to be overcome for the migrants living in tent settlements also included the difficulty of intervening in emergency situations, and transport problems in reaching health facilities (Table 18).

Table 18. Most Commonly Voiced Needs Related to Health (%)

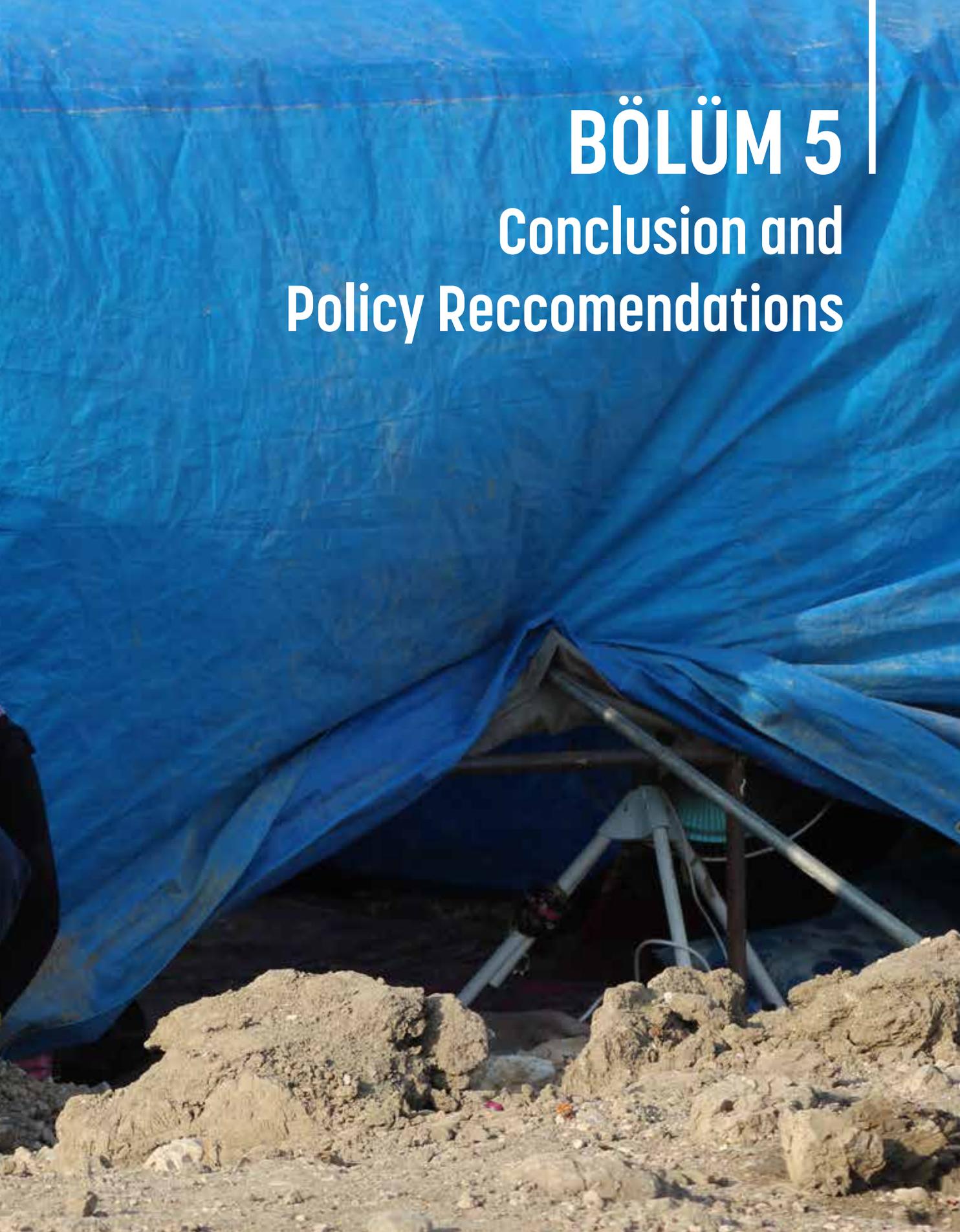
Most Commonly Voiced Needs Related to Health	Total Number of Responses	Distribution (Per Cent)
Access to primary health services (family doctor, health centre)	51	9.1
Finding specialist doctor, access, communication etc.	138	24.7
Access to medicine	150	26.8
Problems of transportation to hospitals and/or other health institutions	121	21.7
Difficulties in emergencies and emergency interventions (ambulances, mobile health teams etc.)	99	17.7
Total	559	100.0

As stated in the introduction to this report, the Syrian migrants living in and around Adana benefit very little from **social assistance**. In these circumstances, the issue most commonly raised under the heading of institutional services was the question of access to assistance programmes of this type (54.6 per cent). The second most frequently mentioned issue was information on legal matters and procedures (26.3 per cent). Many other matters were raised too, from enrolling in school to obtaining identity documents and from the rights of migrants to understanding these rights. When the low proportion of Turkish speakers among the migrants who form the object of this research is taken into consideration, it is clear that this population will experience problems of “access” when it comes to legal matters and procedures, even when simply claiming their own rights (Table 19).

Table 19. Most Commonly Voiced Needs Related to Institutional Services (%)

Most Commonly Voiced Needs Related to Institutional Services	Total Number of Responses	Distribution (Per Cent)
Registering/obtaining identity documents	50	12.4
Accessing to social assistance and welfare programmes	220	54.6
Information etc. related to legal matters and procedures	106	26.3
Access to public institutions and agencies	27	6.7
Total	403	100.0



A photograph of a blue tarp covering a structure on a dirt ground. The tarp is wrinkled and covers most of the frame. In the foreground, there are several large, irregular mounds of light-colored soil or sand. The background is dark, suggesting the interior of the structure covered by the tarp. The text is overlaid on the right side of the image.

BÖLÜM 5

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

This study of the *Present Situation of Syrian Seasonal Migrant Agricultural Workers on the Adana Plain* has examined the present living and working conditions of Syrian migrant workers who work in agricultural production in the selected districts of Karataş, Ceyhan, Yumurtalık and Yüreğir on the Adana Plain in Çukurova. It has revealed the demographic characteristics of a particular group of Syrian migrant workers living on tents on the Adana Plain, the ways they migrated, the characteristics of their households, the labour which they perform (what jobs they do, the wages they earn, their working conditions, the role of intermediaries, the numbers of household members working), the main difficulties they face and their coping strategies. Attention has also been paid to child labour and the situation of the women living in the tent settlements.

The community of Syrian migrants living in tent settlements on the Adana Plain make up a young population. More than 50 per cent of the group who took part in the survey are children aged 18 or under. In most cases, the migrants came to Turkey together with their families. They generally come from parts of Syria where rural production dominates. Another striking aspect of the group is their low level of education. As many as 48% of those who responded to the survey were illiterate. The rate of illiteracy is similar for both women and men. This shows that the people surveyed did not receive any education in Syria. Since their migration, they have been living in an environment in which their children are not integrated into the education system, but are completely excluded from it.

The Syrians are observed to have registered their identities officially in Adana and Şanlıurfa. Those who live in Şanlıurfa have come to Adana to work. The many employment opportunities and the availability of work in agriculture in almost every month of the year makes the Adana Plain an attractive location for the migrants. The fact that work is easier to find in Adana has led some Syrians to transfer their registration to the province and start to live there. Like local workers, the migrants find agricultural employment through agricultural intermediaries. The intermediaries are of critical importance for directing the supply of agricultural labour towards the demand. Their importance continues to be critical for the access of the Syrian migrants to agricultural jobs and the spatial mobility which they have developed for this purpose.

The agricultural intermediaries organise almost every aspect of the migrants' lives. They are usually involved in arranging the work the migrants will do, determining where they will camp, meeting their basic needs such as food, providing transport to the fields and orchards where they work and ensuring their access to institutional services like health. The

intermediaries can also cause lead the workers and their families into difficulties. Sometimes they do not pay wages on time, or in full, or at all. Many agricultural intermediaries make a profit by taking a cut of the agricultural workers' wages. Besides this commission, they may also charge the workers high prices for the provisions, transport services, camping sites, electricity, water and other goods and services which they supply or arrange.

Syrian agricultural workers work for lower wages than local agricultural workers. Low wages are the main factor behind the spread of Syrian workers in agricultural production. For the migrants, agricultural work has the potential to provide a higher income than they would get from the other kinds of work available, particularly as several members of large families can work. Agricultural work involves long working hours and harsh working conditions. The living conditions in the tent settlements add to the difficulties.

Agricultural production is generally a struggle to get by which is undertaken by the poorest segments of society. Whatever social group carries out this work, the working and living conditions serve to re-produce their poverty and social exclusion. However, it is women and children who shoulder the worst of the burden of agricultural production and living in tents. This study shows that children start to take responsibility for the subsistence of their families from an early age, while among all the family members it is the women who undertake a disproportionately wide range of tasks.

It will only be possible to regard migration as having a potential for development, and at the same time to integrate the migrants into society, if strong policies are adopted and put into practice, if the basic needs of the migrants - such as their needs for education, health and shelter - are met, and if employment opportunities are generated and decent living conditions assured, giving each and every migrant the chance to demonstrate her or his potential. Viewed from this angle, it is clear that the migrants featured in this study do not have sufficient access to public services like education, health and shelter, that they are resigned to agricultural work which is often not properly rewarded as a way of meeting their basic needs, and that with the small income they obtain from this work they endured a bitter life.



Policy Recommendations

- 1. *Social adaptation programmes:*** The Syrian migrants have been living in Turkey and making their livings in the labour market - mostly in informal, low-paid work without security or protection, especially in agriculture - for a long time now. As the duration of their stay in the country lengthens, and the conflict situation in Syria drags on, it is becoming less and less likely that they will go back there. For this reason, programmes should be developed to further their social adaptation, particularly for the seasonal migratory agricultural workers who make up the least known segment of the Syrian migrant population. Through these programmes, they would be able to learn Turkish, improve their vocational skills and live in closer harmony with Turkey's society. There should also be a focus on activities aimed at improving their communications with agricultural landowners and intermediaries and the communities they live alongside. All firms, public institutions and professional organisations that are part of the supply chain should develop and implement plans and programmes for social adaptation. As a part of the process of social adaptation, arrangements should be made for Syrian young people and children, in particular, to benefit from the social and cultural opportunities provided by towns and cities within the framework of an organised programme.
- 2. *Ensuring access to education for children of school age:*** This report has underlined that none of the Syrian children living in tents are going to school and that child labour is widespread. In the light of these findings, enabling these children to reach education services will not only reduce child labour but will also have many benefits for the migrant group in terms of the social adaptation of the children. To this end, arrangements should be made to organise bussing in such a way as to include the Syrian children, to re-open closed-down village and neighbourhood schools for Syrian children and to set up schools in tents in the tent settlements.
- 3. *Preventing child marriages:*** The report points out that marrying girls when they are still children is a widespread social tradition, and draws attention to the need for both public institutions and civil society organisations to provide the necessary support and make the necessary efforts to prevent this.
- 4. *Registering the activities of agricultural intermediaries:*** There is a need to make sure that agricultural intermediaries are registered and that they make official written agreements with the workers whom they

employ. Among the Syrian migrant workers examined in this study, not a single one was found to have made an official application to work before starting to do so. Registering the activities of agricultural intermediaries will also ensure that large numbers of Syrian migrants make applications to work beforehand. In addition, activities should be carried out to reduce the dependence of the Syrian migrant workers on the agricultural intermediaries who provide them with access to agricultural jobs and look on them as cheap labour. The Syrians should be assured of receiving the same wage as everybody else, and a complaints line should be established for Syrians who are not paid. Besides, initiatives should be undertaken to make sure that the prices of the basic necessities which many agricultural intermediaries supply to Syrian workers is not above the market price. Work should be done to ensure that the rights of the Syrians as consumers are also protected, and consumer organisations should move to address this issue.

5. ***Developing the skills of young people:*** Practical training programmes should be made available to develop the skills of Syrian young people in aspects of agricultural production such as driving tractors, pruning, use of agricultural chemicals, ploughing and sowing. Moreover, in supplying services to meet the needs of the Syrian migrants, priority should be given to employing young Syrian migrants in the agencies that meet these needs.
6. ***Reducing the workload of women:*** The tasks of providing care and domestic services that are placed on the shoulders of women are especially tiring when they have to be carried out in a camp or tent environment. The workload of women could be alleviated, to some degree at least, by developing innovative programmes and projects to meet the need for care services through initiatives within the community, and by establishing facilities for common use, such as kitchens and laundries, which would support women in the provision of domestic services. It would also be beneficial to provide the migrants with services such as the distribution of hot meals on certain days of the week to the areas where the tents are located.
7. ***High-protein nutrition:*** The food available to the Syrian seasonal migratory agricultural workers, and particularly their protein intake, is inadequate to boost their physical resilience or to ensure the healthy development of the children. Importance should therefore be attached and priority given to improving their nutritional status with a focus on high-protein meat and milk products especially for infants and children making use of the production of the milk and livestock cooperatives in the regions where the seasonal migratory agricultural workers live. This would also contribute to local rural development and prioritise an

economy of solidarity that would strengthen social adaptation and acceptance. In addition, the Syrian migrant families could help to secure their own food security if they are enabled to engage in small-scale crop production, livestock rearing and poultry production. Initiatives should also be taken to make it possible for them to engage in small-scale, urban agriculture on Treasury land, which could also generate some income. First and foremost, arrangements should be made for educational activities to develop the home economy skills of the Syrian families with respect to food security, and for the supply of the necessary inputs.

8. ***Improvement of living and working conditions:*** Efforts need to be made to bring conditions in the tent settlements where the Syrian migrant agricultural workers live into line with their needs, including clean water, electricity, waste water infrastructure, toilets and tent spaces. There is a need to ensure continuous running water, establish common laundries, and construct closed toilets with adequate arrangements for disposal of the waste. Provision should also be made for children to make better use of their spare time in their living environments. In order to reduce social isolation in the tent settlements, bicycles could be provided to young people and adults, depending on their requirements and their own contributions. In settlements without electricity, equipment should be provided to permit solar power production for public lighting and domestic power needs. First-aid sets should be made available in working environments and first-aid training should be given to agricultural intermediaries and supervisors. Shady places should be created where the workers can rest.
9. ***Humanitarian assistance:*** Most of the Syrian migrants engaged in seasonal migratory agricultural labour do not have any access to the accommodation, clothing, food and cash support that is provided to others by way of humanitarian assistance. The main reasons for this are that the Syrians in this situation live far from city centres, they move around depending on the availability of work, and humanitarian organisations are not very aware of them. Accordingly, work should be undertaken in conjunction with civil society organisations to ensure that humanitarian assistance also reaches this group of Syrians.
10. ***Information and psychosocial support:*** This study has also made clear that the Syrian migrants are not sufficiently informed about their rights. They should be provided with regular information about education and health services, identity documents and social assistance. In addition, mobile forms of psychosocial support services should be made available to the Syrians in the *tent settlements*.

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YA UMUTU
BITER

ANNEXES



Annex 1: Survey Form

Improving the Health and Protection of Vulnerable Syrian and Marginalized Migrants in Southern Turkey Project

HOUSEHOLD/FAMILY SURVEY

Dear participant,

This study seeks to identify the present situation and determine the needs of Syrian temporary refugee families/households who take part in seasonal agricultural migration. The study intends to identify to what extent the basic living requirements of Syrian refugee households who engage in migrant seasonal agriculture, and are in Çukurova for this purpose, are met, to determine how adults and children are affected in terms of education, healthcare and employment, and to contribute to various action plans and programmes to improve the living conditions of households/families and children. It will also work towards increasing the visibility of this segment of society. The study is being funded by the European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) and the Irish non-governmental organisation GOAL GLOBAL and is being implemented by the Development **Workshop Cooperative** based in Ankara.

It is of the greatest importance for the scientific validity of the study and the formation of local, national and international policies in this area that you should answer the questions in this interview in which we would like you to participate sincerely. Responses to the questionnaire will be kept confidential and will only be used for the present situation and needs analyses. The questionnaire has been designed to take between 30 and 35 minutes. We would like to thank you for your contributions to the study

*Development Workshop Cooperative
Study Team*

Survey No : (To be filled in by the team leader)
 Date : / / 2016
 Interview Location :
 (*Field, tent site, coffeehouse etc.*)
 Province :
 District :
 Neighbourhood :

Interviewer:

1 Which Governorate of Syria did you live in before arriving in Turkey?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|--------------------------------|---------|
| 1 Daraa | (.....) | 2 Deir ez-Zor | (.....) |
| 3 Aleppo | (.....) | 4 Hama | (.....) |
| 5 Al-Hasakah | (.....) | 6 Homs | (.....) |
| 7 Idlip | (.....) | 8 Quneitra | (.....) |
| 9 Latakia | (.....) | 10 Ar-Raqqah | (.....) |
| 11 Rif Dimasqh | (.....) | 12 As-Suwayda | (.....) |
| 13 Damascus | (.....) | 14 Tartus | (.....) |
| 99 Does not want to respond | (.....) | (Proceed To Question 3) | |

2 (.....) where you lived, what is the settlement structure like?

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|--------------------------------|---------|
| 1 Village (rural) | (.....) | 2 Urban (town/district/cities) | (.....) |
|-------------------|---------|--------------------------------|---------|

3 When did you first enter Turkey as a refugee/migrant?

..... (Month/Year)

4 Which border or border crossing did you cross through into Turkey?

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|---|---------|
| 1 Karkamış (Cerablus) | (.....) | 2 Yayladağı (Keseb) | (.....) |
| 3 Cilvegözü (Bab el-Hava) | (.....) | 4 Öncüpınar (Azez) | (.....) |
| 5 Çobanbey | (.....) | 6 Nusaybin (Kamışlı) | (.....) |
| 7 Şenyurt (Derbesiye) | (.....) | 8 Akçakale (Tel Abyad) | (.....) |
| 9 Ceylanpınar (Resulayn) | (.....) | 10 Mürşitpınar (Ayn el-Arab) | (.....) |
| 96 I don't know | (.....) | 97 I didn't enter through a border crossing | (.....) |
| 98 Other (please state)..... | | 99 Does not want to respond | (.....) |

5 Which members of your household or extended family accompanied you as you crossed the border. (More Than One Option May Be Ticked)

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|---|---------|
| 1 Just myself | (.....) | 2 Just my spouse | (.....) |
| 3 Just my parents | (.....) | 4 My spouse and children | (.....) |
| 5 Just my siblings | (.....) | 6 My parents, siblings and (.....)
my own family (<i>spouse and/or children</i>) | |
| 7 My parents and my siblings | (.....) | 8 My own family and close relatives | (.....) |
| 9 My friend(s) | (.....) | 98 Other (please state) | |
| 99 Does not want to respond | (.....) | | |

8 Have members of your family or relatives joined you in Turkey after your arrival?**(There May Be More Than One Response)**

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|
| 1 My spouse | (.....) | 2 My children | (.....) |
| 3 My spouse and children | (.....) | 4 My siblings | (.....) |
| 5 My parents | (.....) | 6 My parents and siblings | (.....) |
| 7 My parents and my own family | (.....) | 8 My relatives | (.....) |
| 9 No one has joined me | (.....) | 98 Other (please state) | |

9 Do you still have family members and relatives living in Syria who have not joined you?**(There May Be More Than One Response)**

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|---------|
| 0 No | (.....) | | |
| 1 My spouse | (.....) | 2 My children | (.....) |
| 3 My siblings | (.....) | 4 My spouse and children | (.....) |
| 5 My parents | (.....) | 6 My close relatives | (.....) |
| 98 Other (please state) | | 99 Does not want to respond | (.....) |

10 Where do you permanently reside in Turkey?**(If there is no permanent residence, mark NONE)**

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| 10.1. Province | |
| 10.2. District | |
| 10.3. Village/Neighbourhood | |

11 In which other provinces have you lived before arriving in Adana?

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 11.1. Province of..... | 11.1.1 duration (months) |
| 11.2. Province of..... | 11.2.1 duration (months) |
| 11.3. Province of..... | 11.3.1 duration (months) |
| 11.4. Province of..... | 11.4.1 duration (months) |

12 Why did you not stay in the province where you are registered?

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1 I got a job in another city | (.....) |
| 2 I left to find work | (.....) |
| 3 I left to work | (.....) |
| 4 I left to be with relatives and friends | (.....) |
| 97 No special reason | (.....) |
| 98 Other (please state)..... | |

13 What was your main occupation in Syria before you arrived in Turkey? (Single Response)

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 1 Wage, Worker – Private Sector (Regular) | (.....) |
| 2 Wage, Worker – Public Sector (Regular) | (.....) |
| 3 Salary, Office Worker – Private Sector (Regular) | (.....) |
| 4 Salary, Civil Servant– Public Sector (Regular) | (.....) |
| 5 Self Employed (Irregular, When Work Available) | (.....) |
| 6 Self Employed (Regular) | (.....) |
| 7 Employer | (.....) |
| 8 Unpaid Family Worker | (.....) |
| 9 Paid By Work (Seasonal, Temporary) | (.....) |
| 10 Unemployed/Looking For Work | (.....) |
| 96 Other (Please State) | (.....) |

14 Since you have arrived in Turkey, which other jobs have you held other than seasonal agricultural work?

- Job 1**
- Job 2**
- Job 3**
- Job 4**

15 For how long have you been a seasonal agricultural worker? (Since arriving in Turkey)

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--------|--------------------------|--------|
| 1 Less than a year | (....) | 2 A year | (....) |
| 3 Two years | (....) | 4 Three years | (....) |
| 5 Four years | (....) | 6 Five years | (....) |
| 97 Does not know | (....) | 98 Cevap vermek istemedi | (....) |

16 Does not want to respond (....)**16.1 How many people stay in tents belonging to your household? (....)****17 Number of adults (18 and over)..... people****17.1 Number of children (ages 0-17)..... people****18 Household demographics** (The total number of people here must be consistent with responses obtained above)

(Note: Please refer to the code number legend provided on the last page for questions 18.1/18.5/18.6 and 18.8)

No	18.1 Relation to head of the household	18.2 Name	18.3 Age	18.4 Sex 1 Male 2 Female	18.5 Marital status	18.6 Education status (Educational degree obtained before leaving Syria)	18.7 Do they work in seasonal agricultural work (AT THE MO- MENT)– Please ask for all ages from 6 up and for only those living in tents. 1 Yes 2 No	18.8 If not, why not?	18.9 Do they have ID regist- ration? 1 Yes 2 No
1	Himself/ Herself								
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11									
12									
13									
14									
15									

Ask for children of the household who are of primary and secondary school age (6-14).

19 Do the children attend school at the moment?

- 1 Yes, they all do (.....)
 2 No, none of them do (.....) (Proceed to Question 22)
 3 Some of them do (.....)

20 How many children attend school?

Male (.....) Female (.....)

21 What sort of schools do they attend? (There May Be More Than One Response)

- 1 State schools (.....)
 2 Temporary education centres (State/ AFAD) (.....)
 3 Private schools established by Syrians (.....)
 4 Temporary education centres or private schools established by associations, foundations charities etc. (.....)
 98 Other (please state) (.....)

22 What is the most important among the reasons for non-attendance? (Single Response)

- 1 Economic conditions/hardship (.....)
 2 No suitable school nearby (.....)
 3 Legal obstacles (.....)
 4 Does not want to go to school (.....)
 5 She is not sent because she is a girl (.....)
 6 Disabled/special needs (.....)
 98 Other (.....)

23 What is your native language?

- 1 Arabic (.....) 2 Kurdish (.....)
 3 Zaza (.....) 4 Domari (.....)
 98. Other (please state)

24 Which other languages do you speak? (NB: Must use the language in day-to-day affairs.)

- 0 None (.....) 1 Arabic (.....)
 2 Kurdish (.....) 3 Zaza (.....)
 4 Domari (.....) 5 Persian (.....)
 6 English (.....) 7 Turkish (.....)
 98 Other (please state)

31 What household goods and durable goods do you own at the tent?

Household and White Goods	Owned: 1 Not owned: 2	Household and White Goods	Owned: 1 Not owned: 2
31.1 Bed		31.2 Quilt	
31.3 Blankets		31.4 Hazır çadır	
31.4 Self-supporting tent		31.5 Tent materials (boards, sticks, plastic etc.)	
31.6 Carpets		31.7 Rugs	
31.8 Trunk		31.9 Pillows	
31.10 Floor cushions		31.11 Television	
31.12. Receiver dish		31.13. Computer	
31.14. Mobile phone			
98.1 Other (please state)			
98.2 Other (please state)			
98.3 Other (please state)			

32 What kitchen items do you own here?

Kitchen Items	Owned: 1 Not owned: 2	Kitchen Items	Owned: 1 Not owned: 2
32.1 Pans/pots etc.		32.2 Sheet iron	
32.3 Gas stove		32.4 Large canister of gas	
32.5 Small canister of gas		32.6 Teapot	
32.7 Small oven		32.8 Refrigerator	
32.9 Water barrels		32.10 Cupboard with wire shutters	
98.1 Other (please state)			
98.2 Other (please state)			
98.3 Other (please state)			

33 Do you have animals where you pitch your tent?

1 Yes (.....)

2 No (.....) (Proceed to Question 35)

34 How many of which animal? (“0” if none)

Animal	Number	Animal	Number
34.1 Sheep		34.2 Goats	
34.3 Cows		34.4 Chicken	
34.5 Turkeys		34.6 Ducks	
34.7 Geese		34.8 Dogs	
34.9 Cats			
98.1 Other (please state)			
98.2 Other (please state)			
98.3 Other (please state)			

35 Where is your place of accommodation located?

- 1 By a river, stream or canal (.....)
- 2 In or on the border of a neighbourhood (.....)
- 3 At least one kilometre away from a neighbourhood (.....)
- 4 In a field/orchard (.....)
- 5 Near drinking water (.....)
- 6 In the district centre (.....)
- 98 Other (please state) (.....)

36 What is the nature of your temporary accommodation unit? (Single Response)

- 1 Plastic tent (.....)
- 2 Cloth tent (.....)
- 3 Depot-storage unit (.....)
- 4 Workers’ residence (.....)
- 5 Briquette residence (.....)
- 6 Brick residence (.....)
- 7 Out in the open (.....)
- 8 Wooden or vegetable booth/shelter (.....)
- 98 Other (please state)

37 What is the size of the accommodation space? (Estimated data to be collected based on interviewee statement) (NB: Permission to be sought beforehand if it is necessary to enter the tent)

..... square metres

37.1 Do you pay rent for your tent site?

Yes (....)

No (....)

38 What is the power situation in the residence/tent?

1 Constant power (....)

2 Limited duration/partial power (....)

3 No power at all (....) **(Proceed to Question 40)****39 Who pays the power bill?**

1 We do (....)

2 Field/orchard owner does (....)

3 Agricultural intermediary does (....)

4 No one does (....)

5 The person letting the place does (....)

97 I don't know (....)

98 Other (please state)

40 Where do you keep your food?

1 Food is not stored; it stays in the open or in boxes (....)

2 There is a cupboard (wire or closed doors) (....)

3 There is a refrigerator (....)

4 Under the ground (....)

98 Other (please state)

41 How do you meet your drinking and clean water needs in general?

In the tent, place of accommodation	At place of work : field or orchard
41.1 Drinking water	41.3 Drinking water
1 Village/neighbourhood fountain (....)	1 Village/neighbourhood fountain (....)
2 Field fountain (....)	2 Field fountain (....)
3 Well (....)	3 Well (....)
4 Water canal (....)	4 Water canal (....)
5 Water pump (....)	5 Water pump (....)
6 Field/orchard owner or employer (....) has it brought in in barrels or tankers	6 Field/orchard owner or employer (....) has it brought in in barrels or tankers
97 I don't know (....)	97 I don't know (....)
98 Other (please state)	98 Other (please state)

42 What is the toilet situation in your place of accommodation and in the field/orchard?

42.1 42.1 Accommodation	
1 There is no toilet, waste goes out in the open	(.....)
2 There is a toilet, waste collects in a closed pit	(.....)
3 There is a toilet, waste collects in an open pit	(.....)
4 There is a toilet, waste flows freely	(.....)
5 There is a toilet, waste flows into the river	(.....)
6 There is a toilet, waste flows into the sewage system	(.....)
98 Other (please state)	
42.2 Field or orchard	
1 There is no toilet, waste goes out in the open	(.....)
2 There is a toilet, waste collects in a closed pit	(.....)
3 There is a toilet, waste collects in an open pit	(.....)
4 There is a toilet, waste flows freely	(.....)
5 There is a toilet, waste flows into the river	(.....)
6 There is a toilet, waste flows into the sewage system	(.....)
98 Other (please state)	

43 Where does waste water from bathing, kitchen work etc. flow to?

- | | | | |
|-----------------|---------|--------------------------|---------|
| 1 Flows freely | (.....) | 2 Into the canal | (.....) |
| 3 Into the pit | (.....) | 4 Into the sewage system | (.....) |
| 97 I don't know | (.....) | 98 Other (please state) | (.....) |

44 What do field/orchard owners demand of you in return for accommodation/shelter (Single Response)

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------|
| 1 Just the rent | (.....) | 2 Just the power costs | (.....) |
| 3 Just the water costs | (.....) | 4 Rent + power | (.....) |
| 5 Rent + water | (.....) | 6 Water + power | (.....) |
| 7 All (rent, power and water | (.....) | 8 Nothing | (.....) |
| 97 I don't know | (.....) | 98 Other (please state) | (.....) |

45 While you work, who takes care of your children who do not work?

- 1 No one (.....)
- 2 An adult of the household (.....)
- 3 One or more of the children (.....)
- 4 A caregiver from outside the household (.....)
- 5 We pay for a babysitter (.....)
- 6 We have no children to be taken care of (.....)
- 98 Other (please state)

46 Who usually undertakes the following work in the household (Write down the appropriate category number into the box)

CATEGORIES;

- (1) Just the men (2) Just the women
- (3) Women and men together (4) Just the male children
- (5) Just the female children (6) Female and male children together
- (7) The elderly (8) The whole household

46.1 Washing laundry	
46.2 Washing dishes	
46.3 Cooking	
46.4 Child care	
46.5 Cleaning/tidying up the living space	
46.6 Shopping	
46.7 Carrying water	
46.8 Taking children to the hospital	
46.9 Elderly care	

47 Why do you work in seasonal agriculture? (Single Response)

- 1 I have no other occupation/profession (.....)
- 2 For additional income (to help support my family) (.....)
- 3 there are no opportunities for me to practice my profession/regular occupation (.....)
- 98 Other (please state).....

48 Şu anda yalnızca **Suriyeli işçilerle mi, yoksa karma bir işçi kafilesi** içinde mi çalışıyor?

1 Only with Syrians (.....) 2 In a mixed group (.....)

49 **This year, how (through whom) did you secure seasonal agricultural work?**

1 By speaking directly to the land owner ourselves (.....)

2 Through an agricultural intermediary in our own (.....)

or a nearby neighbourhood

3 Through an agricultural intermediary from the location of the work (.....)

4 Through neighbours/relatives/acquaintances (.....)

5 By travelling to places where we had worked before (.....)

97 I don't know (.....)

98 Other (please state).....

49.1 **If through an intermediary:**

1 The intermediary was from Turkey (.....) 2 The intermediary was from Syria (.....)

98 Other (.....)

50 **How many hours do you work in seasonal agricultural work excluding resting hours?**

.....hours

51 **How many days a week do you work? (For example, how many days did you work last week?)**

.....days

52 **How many days a year (the last year) have you worked in seasonal agriculture, approximately?**

..... days (or)months

53 **What do you do when you cannot find seasonal agricultural work?**

.....
.....

54 **How do you travel to the field/orchard where you currently work?**

1 On foot (.....) 2 In/behind a tractor (.....)

3 In a van (.....) 4 In a horse carriage (.....)

5 In a lorry (.....) 6 In a truck (.....)

98 Other (please state)

55 How much time do you spend travelling to the field/orchard where you currently work?

..... minutes

56 In the last 12 months, what kind of work have you done as a migrant seasonal agricultural worker, other than your current job?

Job	Have you worked in this job? 1 Yes 2 No	If yes, for how many days?
56.1 Cotton hoeing, spraying		
56.2 Vegetables (potatoes, onion, tomatoes, cucumbers, peppers, aubergines etc.)		
56.3 Peanuts		
56.4 Sugar beet		
56.5 Citrus fruits		
56.6 Chickpeas, lentils, cumin etc.		
56.7 Melons, watermelons		
56.8. Hazelnut picking		
56.9. Cherry, apple etc. picking		
98.1 Other (please state)		
98.2 Other (please state)		
98.3 Other (please state)		

57 How do you find out about the daily pay rate/wage?

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1 Employer or field/orchard owner (.....) | 2 Agricultural intermediary (.....) |
| 3 Other workers (.....) | 4 Newspapers, television etc. (.....) |
| 5 I currently don't know (.....) | 98 Other (please state)..... |

58 Did you know how much the daily wage was in the field/orchard where you work before you started?

- 1 Yes (.....) 2 No (.....)

59 When and how will you receive your pay for seasonal agricultural work this year?

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Daily (.....) | 2 Weekly (.....) |
| 3 Monthly (.....) | 4 Single payment after the work is over (.....) |
| 5 Single payment after the field/orchard owner or employer sells off the produce (.....) | |
| 6 Before the produce is collected (.....) | 7 I don't know/ have no idea (.....) |
| 98 Other (please state) | |

- 60 What sort of agreement did you come to with the field/orchard owners or agricultural intermediary before starting work?**
- 1 None (.....) 2 Verbal (.....)
- 3 Written (.....)
- 61 Which responsibilities does the agricultural intermediary take over for you?
(There May Be More Than One Response)**
- 1 Arranging travel (.....)
- 2 Ensuring access to medicine/hospital when sick (.....)
- 3 Guaranteeing pay after the work is done (.....)
- 4 Lending credit when they are out of work or during the winter break (.....)
- 5 Arranging all working conditions with the employer in the name of the worker (.....)
- 6 Buying food before/after workers arrive, lending money to this end (.....)
- 98 Other (please state)
- 62 Did you receive an advance from the agricultural intermediary or field/orchard owner or employer before beginning work?**
- 1 Yes (.....) 2 No (.....)
- 63 Should there be a dispute about the pay for your work, what would be your preferred method of solving it (Single Response)**
- 1 Talking (.....) 2 Through the courts (.....)
- 3 Through the village foreman (*muhtar*) (.....) 4 Through the chamber of agriculture (.....)
- 5 Through the gendarmerie precinct (.....) 6 By physical force (.....)
- 7 Through the district governor's office (.....) 8 It cannot be resolved (.....)
- 98 Other (please state)
- 64 Have you ever had a dispute with a field/orchard owner, employer or agricultural intermediary?**
- 1 Yes (.....) 2 No (.....) (Proceed to Question 66)
- 65 If so, what was the most important dispute you have ever had about? (Single Response)**
- 1 Place of accommodation (site and other needs: water, sanitation etc.) (.....)
- 2 Amount of pay (.....)
- 3 Timing of payment (.....)
- 4 Duration of work (.....)
- 5 Working environment (state of the field/orchard, needs in the field/orchard not being met etc.) (.....)
- 98 Other (please state)

I will now read you some statements about the pay you receive. Could you please tell me whether you agree with them or not?

66 I am satisfied with the pay I get in exchange for my labour.

1 I agree (.....) 2 I don't agree (.....)
3 I don't know (.....) 4 No response (.....)

67 I believe my pay is fair compared to the work undertaken.

1 I agree (.....) 2 I don't agree (.....)
3 I don't know (.....) 4 No response (.....)

68 The pay I receive for my labour is the same as for other Syrians workers who do the same work.

1 I agree (.....) 2 I don't agree (.....)
3 I don't know (.....) 4 No response (.....)

69 The pay I receive for my labour is the same as for other local workers who do the same work.

1 I agree (.....) 2 I don't agree (.....)
3 I don't know (.....) 4 No response (.....)

70 The employer or the agricultural intermediary treats both Syrian workers and other workers justly on every issue.

1 I agree (.....) 2 I don't agree (.....)
3 I don't know (.....) 4 No response (.....)

71 In terms of working conditions, the employer or agricultural intermediary in general treats Syrian workers badly.

1 I agree (.....) 2 I don't agree (.....)
3 I don't know (.....) 4 No response (.....)

72 Because of their situation, Syrian agricultural workers are seen as cheap labour by employers and agricultural intermediaries.

1 I agree (.....) 2 I don't agree (.....)
3 I don't know (.....) 4 No response (.....)

73 Do you think you are discriminated against for seasonal agricultural work in your present location?

1 Yes (.....) 2 No (.....) (Proceed to Question 75)

84.1 Healthcare

Needs	Stated	Not Stated
84.1.1 Access to first tier healthcare services (GPs, local clinics et.)		
84.1.2 Access to second tier healthcare services (hospitals etc.)		
84.1.3 Finding, accessing, understanding doctors (etc.)		
84.1.4 Access to medicine		
84.1.5 Difficulty of transportation to hospitals or other healthcare services		
84.1. 6 Difficulties in emergencies and interventions (ambulances, mobile healthcare teams etc.)		
98. Other (state clearly)		

84.2 Education

Needs	Stated	Not Stated
84.2.1 Lack of educational facilities for children of school age or transportation problems etc.		
84.2.2 Assistance for schooling/materials for the education of children		
84.2.3 Skills and vocational training for adults		
84.2.4 Turkish language courses		
98. Other (state clearly)		

84.3 Shelter

Needs	Stated	Not Stated
84.3.1 Power		
84.3.2 Toilets		
84.3.3 Baths		
84.3.4 Sanitation-waste water disposal		
84.3.5 Play areas for children		
84.3.6 Refuse collection		
84.3.7 Drinking and clean water		
84.3.8 Heating during the winter		
84.3.9 Humane shelter conditions (residences/prefabricated housing)		
84.3.10 Access to urban areas and shops		
98 Other (state clearly)		

TO BE FILLED IN BY THE INTERVIEWER AFTER THE INTERVIEW

A1 Was the interviewee alone throughout the interview?

1 Yes (....)

2 No (....)

A2 Please fill in the table below.

	Very satisfactory	Satisfactory	Uncertain	Unsatisfactory	Very unsatisfactory
Apparent sincerity of the interviewee					
Percentage of questions answered					
Interview environment					

TO BE FILLED IN BY THE RESEARCH TEAM

	Name-Surname	Date	Time
Interviewer			
Team leader			
Data input employee			

LIST OF HOUSEHOLD POPULATION TABLE CODE NUMBERS

Relationship to the Head of the Household Code Numbers (Entry 18.1)		
01 HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD	02 SPOUSE	03 SON/DAUGHTER
05 GRANDCHILD	06 MOTHER/FATHER	07 MOTHER-IN-LAW/FATHER-IN-LAW
08 SIBLING	09 SPOUSE OF SIBLING	10 CHILD OF SIBLING (NEPHEW OR NIECE)
11 PATERNAL AUNT/UNCLE	12 MATERNAL AUNT/UNCLE	13 STEPCHILD
14 COUSIN	15 GRANDMOTHER/GRANDFATHER	16 GRANDMOTHER/GRANDFATHER OF THE SPOUSE
17 SIBLING OF SPOUSE	18 SPOUSE OF SPOUSE'S SIBLING	19 CHILD OF SPOUSE'S SIBLING
20 SPOUSE'S PATERNAL UNCLE/AUNT	21 SPOUSE'S MATERNAL UNCLE/AUNT	22 SECOND WIFE
23 YOUNGER WIFE	24 STEPMOTHER/STEPFATHER	25 ADOPTED CHILD
96 NOT RELATED	97 OTHER RELATIVE	98 Not known

Marital Status Code Numbers (Entry 18.5)		
1 MARRIED	2 NEVER MARRIED	3 DIVORCED
4 WIDOWER (spouse has died)	5 MARRIED, LIVE SEPARATELY	6 NOT MARRIED, LIVE TOGETHER

EDUCATIONAL STATUS CODE NUMBERS (Entry 18.6 on Educational Attainment before Leaving Syria)			
0 Not of schooling age	1 Illiterate	2 Literate but has not attended school	3 Preschool education
4 Graduate of compulsory primary schooling (9 years)	5 Primary schooling dropout	6 Used to attend primary schooling	7 Graduate of general secondary education (3 years)
8 General secondary education dropout	9 Used to attend general secondary education	10 Technical/vocational secondary education (3 years)	11 Used to attend technical/vocational secondary education
12 Technical/vocational secondary education dropout	13 Vocational/technical college graduate (2 years)	14 Vocational/technical college dropout	15 Used to attend vocational/technical college
16 Undergraduate degree	17 Used to study for an undergraduate degree	18 Undergraduate dropout	19 Post-graduate degree
20 Post-graduate drop out	21 Used to study for a post-graduate degree	22 PhD	23 PhD dropout
24 Used to study for a PhD	98 Other		

Annex 2: Organisational and Individual Interview Questions

1. Could you evaluate the situation of Syrian migration to Turkey in the Çukurova region or Adana?

 2. How do you/does your organisation assess this development in the region?

 3. What do you think about neighbourhoods/regions with high populations of Syrians and the opinion that they are here to stay?

 4. In Çukurova, what is the situation of permanently settled and temporary/migrant Syrians in the workforce? How do you evaluate their work, especially in the agricultural sector?

 5. What work does your organisation or do you personally carry out regarding the conditions of Syrians in the agricultural sector? If you do not work on this issue, do you know who does and in which fields?

 6. What can you tell us about the Syrians who come here seasonally to work in the agricultural sector, in terms of how they travel to the region and the condition they live in? Accommodation, water, sanitation, space etc.

 7. What is your evaluation of the working conditions of Syrian migrants in the agricultural sector in Çukurova? Working hours, workplace conditions, differences between men and women, the approach of agricultural intermediaries, pay, difficult conditions etc.

 8. Who is doing what kind of work towards improving the living and working conditions of these workers? What is the effectiveness of such work? Do you undertake activities in this field? Are you planning to, in the future?

 9. What are the conditions of those local workers who became unemployed after the entry of Syrian migrants into the agricultural sector labour market? What work do they do now? Where have they moved from and to, and into which sectors? Can one speak of social tensions in this context? Are there examples of such social tensions? Will there be social tensions in the future? When and where? Why do you think so?
-

10. What are the basic needs of Syrian migrants working in seasonal agriculture in terms of shelter, work, information and rights? How can these needs be met?
11. If you see Syrian workers as a “problem area” in Çukurova, what can be done to solve this problem? Legally, institutionally etc.
12. What is your opinion of Syrians being forced to work in inhumane conditions? For example, about cases of low pay, being forced to work without legal rights, pay being suspended from time to time?
13. What do you know about Syrian children working and how do you assess this? What are your opinions about the educational, healthcare and nutritional problems of children?
14. Why do those who settle permanently in Adana city centre, in the neighbourhoods or on the plain settle permanently and rent residences while others live in tents?
15. Does settlement in the region come at an advanced stage of migration, or is this group made up of particular cultural and ethnic groups?
16. Is the final aim of Syrian migrants to travel to another country or to go back to their country?
17. How do Syrian or local agricultural intermediaries organise agricultural work? How does the network function?
18. Why do Syrian migrants seek agricultural work? As they do so, what sort of relationships and security networks do they establish (e.g.: with agricultural intermediaries)?
19. What is the significance of the location and identification of tent sites?

Annex 3: Institutions Interviewed and Meeting Schedule

FILED PROGRAMME FOR THE SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL LABOUR STUDY (July 24th-30th 2016)

Date	People and organisations met
July 24 th 2016 Sunday	Adana Orientation and training for interviewers
July 25 th 2016 Monday	Çukurova Development Agency Çukurova University academics meeting Adana Social Aid and Solidarity Foundation
July 26 th 2016 Tuesday	Adana Directorate of Work and Employment Adana Farmers' Union Dost Eller Association
July 27 th 2016 Wednesday	Seyhan Chamber of Commerce Karataş – Tuzla neighbourhood foreman (muhtar) Agricultural intermediary
July 28 th 2016 Thursday	Agricultural intermediary Field owner Visit to a group of tents
July 29 th 2016 Friday	Adana Deputy Governor Çukurova University academics meeting
July 30 th 2016 Saturday	Visit to a group of tents Çukurova Agricultural Intermediaries' Association





Project on Improving the Protection and Health Conditions of Syrians and Migrants in the South of Turkey implemented by Development Workshop between May and November 2016 with the financial support of the European Commission's Directorate-General for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (ECHO) and in cooperation with international non-governmental organisation GOAL Global, has targeted to reduce the protection risks of vulnerable migrant groups using an integrated approach of information dissemination, advocacy and humanitarian aid.

Activities has been implemented within the 3 components of the Project that has the main goal of mitigating the protection risks of migrant populations through research and advocacy, information dissemination, and distribution of non-food items;

1. Information Management / Situational Analysis

Presenting evidence based policy recommendations for mapping of where and which agricultural commodities irregular migrants engaged in, understanding their conditions and addressing and mitigating protection risks.

2. Information Dissemination via Networks

Supporting and facilitating Access and use of available services by Syrian migrants through providing information about fundamental rights, responsibilities and services.

3. Distribution of Non-Food Items

Distribution of non-food items including hygiene and protection kits to target population in order to provide fundamental needs.

The Situation Analysis Report on Syrian Seasonal Agricultural Workers in the Adana Plain



DEVELOPMENT
WORKSHOP

