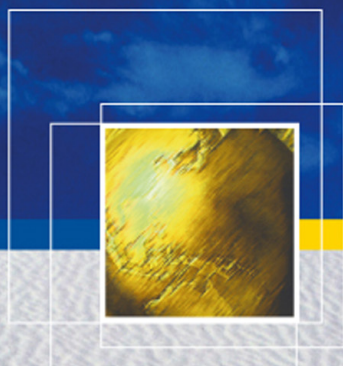




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# GENDER, EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOUR IN TURKEY



Yakın Ertürk, Meltem Dayıoğlu



IPEC  
International  
Programme on the  
Elimination of  
Child Labour

GENDER, EDUCATION AND CHILD  
LABOUR IN TURKEY



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## FOREWORD

Turkey was one of the first countries to join the International Labour Organization (ILO) International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) in 1992 and has made impressive progress in combating child labour ever since. Efforts on multiple fronts, based on research, policy and programme development, have led to an important reduction in the number of working children aged 6-17 years. Nonetheless, child labour remains a serious problem in Turkey as it does in many countries. The most recent nationwide child labour survey, carried out in 1999 by the ILO and the State Institute of Statistics of Turkey, estimated that there are some of 1.6 million working children, of which 62 per cent were boys and 38 per cent girls. Some types of work that are generally performed by girls, such as domestic chores, are often under-accounted for in child labour statistics. They may be difficult to measure due to their hidden nature or not considered as real “work” by those carrying out or answering surveys. As this study points out, if the full extent of the sometimes substantial amount of domestic work performed by children in their own homes had been captured by the 1999 survey, the overall child labour figures as well as the percentage of girls involved would almost certainly have been higher.

Understanding how gender biases are reflected in the composition of child labour and how these biases impact the education of girls is still a major challenge. To increase knowledge in these areas, a series of research studies to examine the links between gender inequality, child labour and school attendance and performance were initiated in 2002 in four countries: Egypt, Lebanon, Turkey and Yemen. This study on Turkey in fact serves a dual purpose — it is meant to increase the knowledge base as well as help set priorities for Turkey’s Time-Bound Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour. In light of the important link between women’s employment and education levels and the elimination of child labour, an analysis of focusing on girls’ and women’s empowerment was also included. This comprised an

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overview of the different programmes to improve skills on consequently employment opportunities for mothers and fathers, income-generating activities, schooling focusing on girls enrolment and attendance, the provision of school stipends, and vocational training opportunities, among others.

With its mandate to give special attention to the situation of girls in its programmes and policies, ILO-IPEC applies a gender-sensitive approach in all aspects of its child labour interventions. One of its aims is to fully and concretely take into account the policy and programming linkages between “the elimination of child labour”, “education for all” and “gender equality”. This study notes that despite a strong general commitment to equality of opportunities for boys and girls, a comprehensive gender perspective in the approach to child labour is still lacking in many areas and a thorough gender analysis needs to be built into all initiatives combating child labour. The forthcoming Time-Bound Programme and the renewed concerns of the Turkish government for a gender-equality perspective are fertile grounds for redressing these inequalities.

*Alice Ouédraogo*  
*Director for Policy Development*  
*and Advocacy – IPEC*

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*Yakın and Meltem*



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study examines the interrelationships among gender, education and child labour by focusing on the time allocation of female and male children to human capital investment and/or production of goods and services. In order to ensure a gender sensitive assessment of children's time use, production of goods and services, i.e. work, is defined to include market oriented as well as reproductive, or household, activities that shift between market and household sectors. It is argued that work is a dynamic process, changing value according to macro socio-economic conditions. Therefore, a focus on both unpaid reproductive and paid productive work, whether home-based or performed outside the home, helps capture the wide range of activities children, particularly the girl child, are involved in. Exclusion of non-market activities from the analysis of child labour and educational attainment results in a male-biased approach and a loss of information that has a direct bearing on both schooling and market outcomes of female and male children.

While the study aims to demonstrate the importance of a gender-aware understanding of the world of work through analyses of data on Turkey, it also aims to contribute to wider theoretical debates and intervention strategies with regard to child labour issues. In this regard the analysis includes both the relevant projects implemented in Turkey within the context of ILO-IPEC as well as available data and information on the schooling and work outcomes of children.

### *ILO-IPEC project implementation in Turkey*

Review of projects implemented in Turkey under the ILO-IPEC programme shows that impressive progress has been achieved in building national capacity, in raising public awareness and in creating an enabling environment in combating child labour. The presence of two very significant factors gives Turkey an edge in effectively dealing with child labour issues. These are the political recognition and commitment to international regimes, including the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the



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United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182), among others; and the increase in compulsory education from 5 to 8 years in 1997. Notwithstanding this enabling environment, Turkey is still far from totally complying with international standards with regard to “the elimination of child labour”, “education for all”, and “gender equality”. The following challenges remain:

- Child labour initiatives are still relatively centralized; therefore, there is need for an expansion of the experience gained into the most remote corners of the country.
- Mainstreaming of child labour concerns are still not sufficiently reflected in national budgeting. Despite the recognized importance of education in combating child labour, there has been a systematic decrease in the allocation of funds for education from the national budget. Effective mainstreaming requires clear budget lines dedicated to child labour issues in all relevant public institutions.
- Although there appears to be recognition of the gender dimensions of child labour, a comprehensive gender perspective in the approach to child labour is lacking. Gender is still perceived by relevant actors — policy makers and implementers alike — as an add-on factor. In this regard, partnership needs to be established with the Directorate General of the Status and Problems of Women and gender and women’s studies programmes of academic institutions.
- Last but not least, while a database on child labour has been established, an enhanced understanding of the household economy is needed. This requires better designed time-use surveys at the national level.

What is needed now is to put the Time-Bound Policy and Programme Framework into practice, ensuring that effective monitoring and accountability measures are developed for the implementation of the time-bound targets. This Framework must be perceived as a national action plan, mobilizing governmental and non-governmental resources and know-how, to provide relevant and accessible education to all girls and boys, expand the boundaries of equality between girls and boys and women and men at all spheres of public and private life and systematically eradicate all forms of child labour.

### ***Schooling and work profiles of children***

There is an inverse relationship between schooling and market work. In other words, an increase in child schooling is accompanied by a decrease in child labour. Factors that are likely to increase children’s school participa-

tion are also likely to reduce their employment. Further work is needed to probe into this correlation to establish a causal relationship.

There is a marked drop in the number and proportion of children engaged in market work and an increase in school enrolment from 1994 to 1999. Over the five year period, the incidence of child labour in the 6-14-year age group declined by almost a half. The biggest change is observed in the rural areas among children involved in agriculture. There seems to be indeed a clear downward trend in the incidence of child labour in rural areas, which is confirmed by time-series data. However, when market work and household work are considered together, the drop in the incidence of child labour is rather minimal. In other words, the decline in the incidence of market work is compensated by an increase in household work. When children in the 6-17-year age group are considered as a whole, the decline in the number of children engaged in market work is observed to be much smaller than what is recorded for the 6-14 year-olds. This result is indicative of the fact that in the industrial sector, older children are replacing their younger counterparts. The overall drop in the number of children engaged in market work may be due — as a consequence of the public awareness created by IPEC initiatives about child labour issues — to reduced supply of children available for work as well as reduced demand for child labour. These conjectures need to be further examined.

A relatively larger proportion of female children than male children are employed as non-wage workers in the market sector. They are found to be almost exclusively employed as unpaid family workers within household establishments. Male children are found to work for longer hours in market work. However, when market work and household work are considered together, the gender gap in hours of work disappears almost altogether.

There is clear evidence that the nature of girls' work contains significant differences from work of boys. Girls' work can be characterized as invisible and low in value. However, unlike some other countries where girls may be engaged in hazardous occupations, sold or contracted as bonded labour and trafficked as prostitutes, due to the observance of female seclusion, girls in Turkey are not subject to some of the worst forms of child labour and abuse. Nonetheless, this finding needs to be treated with caution. It is quite likely that the very cultural taboos that act to protect girls from such vulnerabilities, may also act to disguise any existing practices in this regard. There is clearly need for qualitative research in these areas. The popular notion that girls work simply because they are not in school and girls are not in school because they are working could not be confirmed in this analysis. This is another area that warrants further research.

There are three periods that mark significant bottlenecks in girls' education: (i) age 11, which until 1997 marked the end of compulsory education; (ii) age 14, which marked the end of junior-high school or lower secondary in 1994 and basic compulsory education in 1999 (following the 1997 Education Act); (iii) age 16, which does not correspond to any school

level but rather corresponds more or less to the legal age of marriage (15 years) under the previous Civil Code. The minimum age of marriage has been raised to 17 with the adoption of the new Civil Code that went into force in January 2002. It would be worthwhile to monitor the impact of the new law on girls' schooling.

There is a gender gap in education in favour of boys at all levels of schooling, although there are signs that the gap is getting smaller. Parental preference for a son's education is particularly pronounced for older age groups. There is evidence that with the increase in compulsory basic education from five to eight years, children are delaying their exit from the schooling system and are entering the labour market at older ages. Special attention needs to be paid to the gender discrepancy in the enrolment rates in religious vocational schools. While enrolment rates for boys have shown a decrease, there has been an increase for girls. Considering that these schools prepare students almost exclusively for male occupations, the implications of girls' attendance to these schools for their future educational and job opportunities as well as their gender roles and identities need to be examined carefully. Special measures that support girls' education in general high schools and non-conventional types of vocational and technical secondary education would considerably expand the life-chances available for girls.

Non-formal education causes further bottlenecks in terms of girls' education. The existing two models discussed in the text — community education centres and vocational and apprenticeship training centres — are designed according to traditional gender roles. While the former offers training in conventional female activities, the latter are organized around mainly male occupations. Although there are no formal barriers for girls' enrolment in the vocational and apprenticeship training centres, the nature of the training given and the fact that they are co-ed institutions make them less than desirable for many girls and their families. Alternative non-formal vocational educational programmes are needed to offer girls skills training in non-conventional activities that would increase their prospective job opportunities. The community education centres, where girls' attendance is the highest within the non-formal education institutions, are far from contributing to enhancing women's capacity in line with labour market requirements. ÇATOMs in South-eastern Turkey, which operate as community education centres, have proven to be considerably successful in empowering women in many respects. The ÇATOM concept can be taken as a model in re-organizing and strengthening the community education centres in other parts of the country.

Gender biases continue to dominate school textbooks, educational curricula and teacher training. Due to lack of data it was not possible in this study to assess the extent to which gender discrimination and bias enters into the classroom situation. It is also not known whether teachers and school authorities treat working and non-working girls and boys differently. While qualitative research is needed to probe into the relational aspects of

child labour at school, at work and at home, some of these can also be captured in the child labour surveys that are designed in a three-tier approach, including the home, the school and the work establishment.

Schooling appears to be more compatible with household work than with market work and, contrary to expectations, it seems that children who are engaged in household work fare better than their counterparts in market work in terms of total time allocated to work. This finding needs to be treated cautiously since the available data, which are based on the market/household dichotomy, may not sufficiently capture the full range of activities engaged in by girls. There is a need to improve time-use surveys to capture the diverse manifestations of work, some of which remain invisible given the categorical definitions and measurements of work.

Multivariate studies have indicated that children's schooling is positively affected by parental education and household income. Likewise, labour market involvement of children is found to decline with higher household incomes and education levels of children's parents. An improvement in adult labour market outcomes, in the form of higher wages for instance, is also found to decrease the likelihood of children's labour market involvement. The existence of household-based establishments, however, increases the likelihood of the employment of children. These findings are in line with international studies and point to the importance of education for all. Education is likely to change the preference structure of the parents in favour of the schooling of their children and at the same time will increase their likelihood of obtaining formal sector jobs thereby augmenting household income and reducing the need for child labour.

While the findings allow for identifying areas for further policy and programme intervention, they also reveal the need for complementing the existing database with qualitative research in certain areas as well as for enhancing the data collection on child labour. A strong case is made in the book for an integrated follow up of the United Nations conferences of the 1990s and compliance with ILO agreements as well as CEDAW and CRC in support of effort to contribute to child labour.



## INTRODUCTION

# 1

### 1.1 THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The international community came together at a landmark meeting during the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly (GA) on children on 6-10 May 2002. At the end of the Special Session the GA adopted a resolution (A/RES/S-27/2) and an annexed document entitled “A World Fit for Children”. In this document, the member States once more reaffirmed the commitments made during the World Summit for Children in 1990 to give every child a better future, and they called upon all members of society to observe the objective of eliminating worst forms of child labour (para. 7/2). Governments are urged to sign, ratify or accede to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Optional Protocols thereto, as well as International Labour Organization (ILO) Conventions No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment (1973) and No. 182 on the elimination of worst forms of child labour (1999) (para. 29). Furthermore, the document calls for member States to “... protect children from all forms of economic exploitation by mobilizing national partnerships and international cooperation and improve the conditions of children by, inter alia, providing working children with free basic education and vocational training, and integration into the education system in every possible way, and encourage support for social and economic policies aimed at poverty eradication and at providing families, particularly women, with employment and income-generating opportunities” (para. 44/36). It also calls attention to the need for mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes (para. 23) so that the situation and needs of girls are given due consideration.

The Special Session also revealed that, despite the commitments made, the 1990s ended with “great promises and modest achievements for the world’s children” (para.11). By the end of the decade, about 250 million children, 110 million girls and 140 million boys, between the ages of five and fourteen were working. Of the total, almost a half — 120 million — were

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working full time (ILO 1998).<sup>1</sup> More than 10 million children die each year; 150 million children suffer from malnutrition; millions of children continue to be engaged in hazardous and exploitative labour and are forced into slave like conditions; millions of children are subject to forced marriages, trafficking, prostitution, violence and other forms of abuse. In war torn areas, children's lives become inalterably changed and they are traumatized by horrors they witness or directly experience. They are tortured at the hands of militia or oppressive governments. One hundred million children are still out of school, 60 per cent of them girls (para. 12). The Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) attributes the exclusion of millions of children from schooling, particularly girls, to such factors as customary attitudes, lack of adequate schooling facilities, child labour and gender inequalities, among others (PFA, para. 263). In effect there is an intimate link between gender, education and engagement in work during childhood. Discrimination, exploitation and neglect in childhood result in lifelong deprivation and exclusion from mainstream society. This realization is firmly reflected in the outcome of the GA Special Session where the international community emphasized the importance of the interconnection between gender, education and child labour.

In 1992, the ILO launched the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) to support social and legislative action for the progressive elimination of child labour. IPEC aims to give the problem of child labour both visibility and public recognition while supporting action directed at the progressive elimination of child labour.<sup>2</sup> IPEC has created a momentum that far exceeds the boundaries of its participating countries. The social and political sensitivities generated by IPEC complemented and integrated well with the overall goals of the UN sponsored conferences of the 1990's. While each conference had its specific agenda and focus, the overarching theme of human rights has been instrumental, not only in linking the diverse issues on the agenda of the international community, but also in accentuating the urgency of the plight of the world's children, particularly the girl child, and in highlighting the importance of addressing gender inequality in all efforts for development and peace. The International Consultative Forum on Education for All acknowledged at the mid-decade meeting in 1996 that closing the gender gap was the area where least progress had been made (UNESCO 1996). Due to deeply rooted patriarchal values and norms, the girl child in many parts of the world faces

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<sup>1</sup> The same source indicates that 95 per cent of child labor is observed in developing countries, overwhelming majority being in Asia which is followed by Africa. It must be noted, however, that developed countries are not immune to the problem. Arat reports that an estimated two million children work in agriculture and sweatshops in the UK and the US each year (2002: 180).

<sup>2</sup> Turkey is one of the early participants of IPEC. Others include Brazil, Kenya, India, Thailand, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Philippines and Tanzania.

discrimination from the earliest stages of life. At the Fifth African Regional Conference on Women, held in Dakar in 1994, the issue of the girl child was recommended for inclusion in the Beijing PFA (UN 2001: 216). Both the CRC and CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) have given special attention to the situation and needs of the girl child.

### 1.2 THE CHILD LABOUR SITUATION IN TURKEY

Child labour continues to be a common phenomenon in Turkey as it is worldwide. In Turkey, children are found working in the home, in agriculture, on the streets, as apprentices and blue-collar workers in small establishments, and in the service and entertainment sectors. Official estimates indicate that 510,000, or 4.2 per cent, of the children in the 6-14 age group and 1.1 million, or 28 per cent, in the 15-17 age group are employed (SIS 2002a). Given the conceptual and measurement problems involved in child labour, it is quite likely that these figures are well below the actual situation. Despite the prevalence of child labour in Turkey, its consideration as a policy issue is relatively new. It is also an area where sex-disaggregated data is insufficient and comprehensive research lacking, particularly from a gender perspective. Although in the past two decades gender research has dominated the work of Turkish academics, focus on the interplay between gender, education and child labour has been scant.<sup>3</sup> This neglect may partially be due to gender bias in perceiving working children as predominantly male or due to the general invisibility of the child labour phenomenon in the research agendas of mainstream social sciences. However, since the implementation of the ILO-IPEC programme in 1992, the interest in child labour has intensified among the public, researchers and decision-makers alike. This has given an impetus to the increase and diversification of research and policy initiatives with regard to child labour.

While a gender-sensitive, holistic approach, including sex and age disaggregated data and gender indicators that reflect both schooling and work outputs of children, is still pending, the national legal and institutional infrastructure on child labour issues have progressed systematically.

- In 1992, a Child Labour Unit was established within the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MLSS).
- In 1994, the State Institute of Statistics (SIS) launched the Child Labour Survey, the initial step in the creation of an invaluable basis for the generation of the required database.

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<sup>3</sup> Among the first in this regard is Özbay's work in 1991 on "Türkiye'de Kadın ve Çocuk Emegi" (Women and Child Labour in Turkey).



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- The Seventh Five-Year Development Plan (1996-2000) recognized child labour as a significant problem and identified education as a primary solution. The Plan states: “Solutions to the problems of working children in terms of working conditions, social security and vocational education shall be given the utmost attention and efforts will be carried out to create circumstances for removing them from working life in the long term” (p. 43).
- In 1997, compulsory basic education was increased from five to eight years of schooling, motivated in part by the desire to keep young children in school and out of work.
- In 1998, the Government ratified ILO Convention No. 138 and raised the minimum age of employment to 15 years of age. In 2001, Turkey ratified ILO Convention No. 182 that calls for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour.
- The Eighth Five-Year Development Plan (2000-05) commits the Government to respond to the emerging challenges arising from child labour trends, combat child labour at its roots, ensure full implementation of the eight year compulsory education and take the necessary institutional and legislative measures to fully comply with international law.

In its National Report on Monitoring of World Summit for Children (2002), submitted in conjunction with the Special Session of the GA on children, the Government of Turkey (GOT) emphasized that it will pursue strategies to remove the macro-level social and economic disparities in order to eliminate underlying economic and social causes of child labour (para. VI/1). It identified three long-term goals with regard to working children without, however, making any reference to gender distinctions: (i) Children will be allowed to work only in jobs that will positively affect their personality development and enhance their abilities, without any concerns as to economic gain; (ii) Unless for educational purposes, employment of children under 18 will be prohibited; (iii) Unemployment will be prevented and the inequalities in the distribution of income will be removed (para. VI/2). Turkey is also a party to both the CRC and CEDAW. <sup>4</sup>Compliance with these two mutually reinforcing treaty bodies, which complement each other in the principle of non-discrimination against women and girls in the enjoyment of all fundamental rights and freedoms, supports the attainment of ILO-IPEC goals.

It is also worth mentioning here that Turkey adopted a new Civil Code in 2001 (effective as of 1 January 2002), which raised and equalized the minimum age of marriage for both sexes. Furthermore, the new law has taken a progressive line with regard to the family and strengthened women's po-

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<sup>4</sup> Turkey ratified CEDAW in 1985 and CRC in 1994. Turkey has also ratified the Optional Protocol to the CEDAW in 2001, which was adopted by the GA in 1999.

sition within the family by establishing equality between spouses in a number of areas. In terms of the interests of this study, perhaps the most relevant and significant amendment under the new law is the Regime Regarding the Ownership of Acquired Property. According to this regime, all property acquired during marriage shall be shared equally in the case of divorce. The new law, by adopting an egalitarian matrimonial property regime, acknowledges the value of the physical and mental labour that goes into the reproductive activities (e.g. household chores and child rearing) of daily family life, thus recognizing the unpaid contributions of women within the household. Aside from the obvious empowering implications for women, many of the new law's provisions, such as the property regime and removal of the "head of the household" concept, among others, will be instrumental in transforming the deeply rooted perceptions about age, gender and identity for coming generations.<sup>5</sup>

### 1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study aims to examine the gender differentials in child labour and educational attainment of children in Turkey. This initiative is part of an ILO project to promote a gender-based approach for research and programmes on child labour in recognition of the need to develop an integrated approach that establishes linkages between the goals of "the elimination of child labour", "education for all" and "gender equality" (see Annex II for the terms of reference). These goals are inherent to the various international regimes that offer guidelines for the rights and well being of children cited above, most notably the ILO Conventions, the CRC, CEDAW, the Beijing PFA, the Beijing + 5 Outcome Document, the documents of the World Conference on Education for All, the World Summit for Children as well as the 2002 Special Session of the GA on children. It is expected that this initiative will contribute towards the development of an integrated approach to the issue of child labour and identify areas for further research, policy formation and programme interventions to enhance the implementation of IPEC principles and the progressive elimination of child labour. Such an approach will also serve to develop an effective strategy for mainstreaming a gender perspective throughout the programming cycle of child labour interventions.

A primary objective of this study is to delineate a gender-aware understanding of child labour in Turkey that reaches beyond common perceptions and captures the less discernible characteristics of the phenomenon where girls comprise the vast majority of invisible, unrecognized and consequently ignored child workers. While the analysis and data pertain to

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<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the implications of the new Civil Code for women's rights see DGSPW (2003).

Turkey, the study also aims to contribute to the wider theoretical debates as well as to the general guidelines for the formulation of intervention strategies regarding child labour.

### 1.4 DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

In order to capture the linkages between gender, education and work, it is necessary to focus on the time-use patterns of children and identify how these may be structured differently for girls and boys. From an economic perspective, children's non-leisure time can be allocated to human capital investment and/or to the production of goods and services. Human capital investment usually involves formal education, though it is also possible for girls and boys to acquire human capital through formal or informal training outside of school. The production of goods and services refers to work. Studies on child labour generally place the emphasis on market activities of children that takes place in the public sphere, whereas children are also involved in reproductive and market-oriented activities that take place within the private sphere. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, "work" involves diverse activities that are carried out in the market and the household sectors. Therefore, exclusion of household work from the analysis results in a significant loss of information since household work can have a direct bearing on both schooling and labour market outcomes of children.

Giving due recognition to household work is particularly important for properly accounting for the work activities of girls. Due to gender inequalities, female children are more likely to be engaged in household activities while boys perform the more visible and remunerated tasks in the recognized market sector. The failure to consider household reproductive activities as work overlooks one of the potential constraints to girls' education, underestimates their work efforts, hides the continuity between market and non-market activities, thereby obscuring the full range of production relations, and results in an overall male bias in the analysis of child labour and educational attainment.<sup>6</sup>

Given the complexity of the evolution of the work patterns of female and male children and their acquisition of human capital, to simplify the problem at hand, a three-fold division of time allocation will be considered here: schooling, market work and household work.<sup>7</sup> These categories are

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<sup>6</sup> The findings of various studies support the claim that household work often negatively affects the schooling outcomes of female children. For a discussion on the interplay between household work and schooling of female children and the gendered nature of the division of labour, see Anker (2000), Assaad et al. (2001), Grootaert and Kanbur (1995), ILO (2002a), Levison and Moe (1998) and Levison et al. (2001) among others.

<sup>7</sup> The term household work encompasses the wide range of reproductive activities that are essential for the caring and subsistence needs of the family. These are mainly non-market activities that in principle can be replaced by market goods and services.

naturally not mutually exclusive since a child who attends school might very well be involved in household work or market work or even combine both. These concepts will be further elaborated in later sections.

Effective policy formulation and intervention strategies to enhance educational attainment of girls and boys and eliminate child labour require both improved labour force definitions that extend beyond formal market activities and the formulation of a more refined and standardized measurement methodology to fully capture women's and girls' economic activities, a major portion of which may be unpaid and performed under non-formal work conditions. This would complement efforts geared towards adopting a gender-sensitive approach to the issue of child labour and schooling.<sup>8</sup> It is only through such an approach and data that protection of working girls and boys can be achieved and progress on the changes in the status of child labour, particularly of girls, can be monitored and appropriate measures undertaken.

## 1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE CHAPTERS

In Chapter 2 an analytical assessment review of relevant IPEC-supported projects in Turkey since 1992 is provided. This will be followed in Chapter 3 by a description of the conceptual framework of the study as well as a brief discussion of the methodology employed in analyzing gender, education and child labour in Turkey. Chapter 4 focuses on a macro-level analysis with particular emphasis on the gender aspects of the population structure and current socio-economic processes in Turkey. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the educational system in Turkey with regard to its capacity for inclusiveness, major bottlenecks in the system, and its compatibility with work patterns and requirements of working children. In Chapter 6, an analysis of employment and schooling outcomes of children is presented. In light of the major findings, this study concludes with recommendations for future research, policy and programmes in the area of child labour, education and gender.

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<sup>8</sup> While at one level it is important to account for non-market production, at another level, it is necessary to attach monetary value to it. However, the issue of the valuation of household work is not within the scope of this study, therefore, it will not be dealt with here.



## OVERVIEW OF ILO-IPEC PROJECTS IN TURKEY

# 2

The Turkish government signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the International Labour Organization on 10 June 1992, thereby becoming one of the first participants in the IPEC programme. The MOU extends until 21 September 2006. A National Steering Committee (NSC), chaired by the Deputy Undersecretary of the MLSS, was formed and it is composed of the MLSS, the Ministry of National Education (MONE), the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TISK), the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (TÜRK-İŞ), the Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Handicrafts (TESK), an NGO representative and an academic. The Ankara offices of the ILO and UNICEF are invited to the meetings as observers. The Child Labour Unit (CLU), instituted within the Directorate General of MLSS, serves as a secretariat for the NSC and is the main national machinery responsible for the coordination of activities regarding child labour.

Since the initiation of the IPEC programme, the problem of child labour has been addressed through a series of biennial programmes in a multi-faceted manner. More than 100 action programmes have been implemented by national partners to generate information, build institutional and human capacities, raise public awareness, sensitize policy-makers and other relevant actors to the issue of child labour, protect working children, and reform legislation. These initiatives have given the problem of child labour visibility and a higher profile in the public agenda setting. In the course of a decade, the programme has reached over 50,000 working children. Sixty percent of these have been withdrawn from work and placed in schools. In the year 2000, the MLSS, in collaboration with national partners and IPEC, initiated the development of the Time-Bound Policy and Programme Framework for the Elimination of Child Labour in Turkey, which is being integrated into the national government's overall policy on child labour.

The accumulation of knowledge, experience and lessons learned from the activities undertaken thus far has provided invaluable insight for identifying pertinent issues in developing this study. This section of the book reviews selected projects undertaken as part of the ILO-IPEC programme that

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are directly relevant to the interrelationships among gender, education and child labour.<sup>9</sup> While the analysis includes activities since 1992, greater attention is paid to the more recent projects. The projects are considered in terms of their primary objective and are grouped into two broad categories: (i) projects that aim to create an enabling environment for an effective response to the issue of child labour; and (ii) projects that provide direct and indirect support to working children to protect them, increase their well-being and withdraw them from work. While these two categories represent initiatives that are complementary, they entail interventions at levels that are clearly demarcated. Projects in the first group are mainly capacity and policy oriented, while those in the second are primarily directed at working children, their families and their communities. This review identifies some remaining gaps and challenges in the efforts to eradicate child labour.

### 2.1 CREATING AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

Projects in this category basically aim to build and enhance capacities at all levels. The term “capacity building” is used here in its broadest sense to include all initiatives that contribute to enhancing both human and institutional capacities, i.e. awareness, vision, skills and knowledge, infrastructure, resource mobilization, etc., needed to create an enabling social, economic and political environment in dealing with the issue of child labour. Within this context, projects in this category are reviewed under three sub-headings: building of an institutional infrastructure; generation of information through research and data collection; and advocacy and training for awareness raising.

#### 2.1.1 Building institutional infrastructure

Institutional capacity building is one of the most important contributions to the sustainability of policy and programme interventions. In this regard, during the 1992-93 biennium under an IPEC project, the MLSS established a Child Labour Unit<sup>10</sup> to serve as the institutional mechanism that would facilitate the integration of child labour concerns into national policies, development plans and programmes and coordinate their execution. The Unit plays a cat-

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<sup>9</sup> A number of comprehensive reviews of IPEC projects in Turkey have been undertaken. See for example, Akşit et al. (2001) and Özcan et al. (1997) the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (2000a) as well as the ILO's own institutional evaluations. Also important in this regard is the ongoing MLSS project Time-Bound Policy and Programme Framework for the Elimination of Child Labour. Numerous research articles have been published on the issue of child labour both before and after the launching of the IPEC programme. These are not included in this review although reference may be made to them where pertinent.

<sup>10</sup> The unit was initially created in 1991 within the context of a joint project between the GOT and UNDP entitled, “Assistance to Enhance the Status of Women Workers and Combat Child Labour”. Following Turkey's decision to join the IPEC programme, ILO funding was extended to re-organize the unit to undertake its current mandate.

alytic role in, inter alia, promoting the implementation of IPEC and mobilizing institutional cooperation, coordination and exchange of expertise among agencies in support of policies to combat child labour. The major responsibilities of the Unit are to review and ensure enforcement of existing legislation related to child labour, put forward new legislative and programme proposals, allocate resources and function as a focal point on the issue for other institutions. The CLU also carries out activities to inform and sensitize the general public to the issue of child labour. The CLU acts as the chair of the multi-sectoral advisory committee formed from senior government officials and representatives of NGO's, universities and the United Nations entities.

National machineries are essential for ensuring that policy coordination and programme implementation regarding inter-sectoral issues, such as child labour, are efficiently carried out. The success of such mechanisms within government structures depends, no doubt, on political commitment, a clearly defined mandate and authority, and adequate resources and competence to respond to the mandate. During its initial stages of institutionalization, the CLU suffered from bureaucratic and political ambiguities, which undermined its effectiveness (Özcan et al. 1997: 79). The ILO support for strengthening and enhancing the capacity of CLU continued under subsequent projects throughout the life span of the IPEC programme to consolidate and build on the progress achieved. There is a general consensus in IPEC project evaluation reports that the CLU has shown consistent improvement in performing its tasks and that it provides a favourable environment for improving and expanding national efforts to combat child labour. "The CLU is now widely known and recognized as the focal point on child labour related issues in Turkey" (ILO-IPEC review paper, 1998-99, unpublished). The CLU has been identified elsewhere as the "best-placed and most effective existing partner" to coordinate a concerted action against child labour (Akşit et al. 2001: 27).

Now that the institutional infrastructure<sup>11</sup> needed to address child labour issues is in place, CLU's role in the process of mainstreaming IPEC principles into all policies and programmes and the work of other relevant agencies needs to move forward. A recent ILO sponsored study emphasized that the CLU needs to "...expand and develop its present model of cooperation and coordination to include other institutions as yet not directly participating in the elimination of child labour activities" (Akşit et al. 2001). In terms of

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<sup>11</sup> In order to deal with child labour issues at the provincial level, 19 Action Committees were also established under the auspices of provincial governors. In addition, although not directly relevant to the focus of this article, the projects undertaken by the Labour Inspection Board of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security between 1994 and 1997 are also important in terms of institutional capacity building. These projects marked the start of the development of local and sectoral policies for the elimination of priority risk areas encountered by working children and contributed to considerably enhancing the capacity of the Labour Inspectorate to play a leading role in bringing relevant organizations and actors together to collaborate towards policy formulation.



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the problem at hand, collaboration among MLSS/CLU, the Ministry of National Education and the Directorate General for the Status and Problems of Women (DGSPW) is most important. While the institutional linkage between the first two has been firmly established, relations with DGSPW appear to be non-existing. This may account for the absence of a recognizable gender perspective in the overall government paradigms to child labour issues. Both in terms of developing a comprehensive human rights perspective and in developing integrated action programmes, the CLU and DGSPW, designed for different but interrelated mandates, stand to benefit from a close association.

### 2.1.2 Expanding knowledge through research and data collection

Interventions in any problem area are often constrained by the lack of detailed, comprehensive data and information. Effective elimination of child labour requires raising public awareness, deepening the understanding and analysis of child labour, identifying policies, priorities and actions that will help combat the problem, and, finally, implementing the policies and actions with determination. Towards this end, IPEC supported national institutions in conducting national child labour surveys, rapid assessments and baseline surveys in selected sectors.

#### *National child labour surveys*

The child labour surveys (CLSs) conducted by the SIS in 1994 and 1999 are notable initiatives in generating a database on child labour. The surveys were made possible with the financial support of IPEC and technical assistance of its statistical unit SIMPOC (Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour). The objective of these national surveys was to generate a database comprising regularly updated quantitative and qualitative data reflecting the scope and magnitude of the incidence of child labour. While the two surveys are similar in many aspects, the 1999 survey design was modified to correct for some of the drawbacks of the first.<sup>12</sup> Despite some incompatibilities, both of the CLSs provide an invaluable basis for researchers and policy-makers working on child labour issues as well as for monitoring change.<sup>13</sup> The data used for the analysis of employment outcomes of children in the current study is based largely on the two survey results. This is further elaborated under the methodological framework in the next chapter.

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<sup>12</sup> The drawbacks of the 1994 survey and the subsequent modifications are discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>13</sup> The SIS has consolidated the Women Statistics and Indicators database and Children Information Network database on its website ([www.die.gov.tr](http://www.die.gov.tr)) to allow for a more efficient monitoring of the compliance with both the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. This initiative is also an invaluable contribution to the initiatives in conjunction with the principles of IPEC.

*Research on child labour in rural Turkey*

In 1993, the Development Foundation of Turkey (DFT) undertook the research project “Child Labour in Rural Turkey”. The research procedure employed rapid rural appraisal techniques to capture the patterns of child labour in four provinces representing three diverse regions: Western Black Sea (Sinop, Samsun); Central Anatolia (Çorum), and Eastern Turkey (Van) (Ertürk 1994). Data collection took place at the village level as well as in other localities and establishments where children were found to be working. Working children were interviewed at home and at work. The study provided a qualitative analysis of some of the dominant patterns of relationships that exist in the use of child labour in rural areas that represent significantly different socio-economic conditions. As such, it aimed to capture the contextual aspects of child labour and identify specific work situations that warrant immediate interventions. Based on the findings, the study formulated specific policy recommendations.

The findings of this study showed that patterns of child labour have regional diversities and depend on three main factors: the integration of the village setting in the labour market, the internal dynamics of the households, and the age and sex differences of the children. The study found child labour to be a vital part of the survival strategies of rural families in the conditions of a market economy. Male and female child labour was used in different ways in reproductive activities in the home, in labour intensive activities on land and to generate cash through employment in the formal and informal sectors in towns and urban centres. While “work” was generally considered to be important for children as a means of “disciplining” and “educating” the young, the specific pattern of allocating the time of children between school and work varied according to the resource base of the household.<sup>14</sup> For poor families at the lowest end of the security scale, the only flexibility in their resource base was the household workforce, which can be drawn upon to the fullest. In such a context, the use of the labour of children in paid work became unavoidable for the survival of poor families. Children of such households were most likely to drop out of school immediately after primary school, if not earlier. The incentive to send girls to school for poor rural families was particularly weak.<sup>15</sup>

Families with a sustainable resource base placed high priority on schooling for their children as opposed to work since the former offers potential opportunity for social mobility to an urban based lifestyle, particularly

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<sup>14</sup> The author of the study under review uses the concept “resource base” to emphasize the fact that land alone is no longer a parameter by which status of rural households are determined in a market oriented cash economy. Level of household livelihood security is maximized to the extent that the household has access to a regular and stable source of cash generating resource. The only resource the poor rural households have in this regard is the household labour force.

<sup>15</sup> Although boy children of poor families were put to work in cash earning activities quite early on, investing in their education, to the extent possible, may be a desired goal for future gains. The same is not the case for girls.

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for boys. This is not always the case for girls whose social status is determined by factors that do not necessarily coincide with the merits of education. Those families in the middle strata who rely on labour-intensive farming and live-stock production combined household work, agricultural activities and schooling in that order in organizing their children's time. These patterns reveal that, in rural areas, school does not carry the same value for all segments of the population and that school and work are not equal options for all girls and boys. Given the complexities involved in the allocation of time of children in rural areas and the central place work occupied in the lives of the majority of the children, the study suggested a sequential intervention strategy in responding to the problem of child labour.

A recent study (Gülbuçuk et al. 2003) on child labour in cotton production in Adana confirms the main propositions of the above research with regard to the role of education in rural communities. This study found that children's time-use patterns are very much engrained in the agricultural production cycle. This is exacerbated where the child joins the family as seasonal migrant labour. Children who work in the cotton harvest are particularly burdened with work from May to October. This implies that regular school attendance for many of these children is not possible. When children not attending school were asked why they do not go to school, they overwhelmingly replied (94.4 per cent), "because of work". Overall, 40.3 per cent of the children — 27.2 per cent of girls and 54.5 per cent of boys — expressed their intention to continue their studies once the work is finished. Not surprisingly, school dropout rates were rather high as well. In the case of children involved in seasonal agricultural labour migration, the dropout rate was 20 per cent. The gender discrepancy in this regard was quite significant, 6.9 per cent for boys and 31.6 per cent for girls.

### *Research on street children*

Rapid Assessments on working street children, using the IPEC/UNICEF methodology<sup>16</sup>, were carried out in three metropolitan areas: Adana, Diyarbakır and İstanbul (Akşit et al. 2001). The aim was to identify the work and home conditions of the targeted children, their educational status and their attitude towards work, family and education. The study classified children working on the streets into two groups. The first group was comprised of children who work on the street and live with their families; and the second group was made up of children who work and live on the street. It is argued that the majority of children working on the streets in Turkey belong to the first group.

The study showed that child labour on the streets is distinctly gendered. Only 10.1 per cent of the research sample was made up of girls. The fact that there are more boys working on the street is attributed to a gender division

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<sup>16</sup> For the ILO Rapid assessment methodology, consult [www.ilo.org/child\\_labour](http://www.ilo.org/child_labour)

of labour and cultural norms associated with “honour” and “purity”, both defining the private sphere to be the appropriate place for girls. The research findings indicated that while 13 per cent of the children in the sample had never attended school, 25 per cent were school dropouts, revealing the incompatibility of formal education and work in the lives of street children. Since the study did not provide sex-disaggregated data on school attendance, it was not possible to determine the link between gender, education and work. However, the authors highlighted a strong correlation between a mother’s educational level and the child’s school status.

### *Research focusing on girls*

While the above research projects represent efforts that have either integrated gender into their analysis of child labour or have merely treated gender as an “add on” factor, there are also projects that have focused on activities that are predominantly female. Their activities are consequently significant in highlighting the often most invisible aspects of girls’ work activities. Two such projects are included in this review: (i) The Role of Child Labour in the Carpet Industry and (ii) Female Child Labour in Domestic Work: Past and Present.

### *Research on child labour in the carpet industry*

The project entitled The Role of Child Labour in Carpet Industry was carried out during the 1994-95 biennium by the Turkish Research Institute of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises and Crafts (TES-AR) and TESK. The research covered in six major carpet producing provinces: Aksaray, Kayseri, Manisa, Nevşehir, Niğde and Tokat. A total of 38 home-based workshops, privately operated workshops and a state-owned workshops were visited and 256 individuals were interviewed. In most parts of the world, carpet production takes place under conditions where it utilizes the labour of all household members, relying extensively on child labour and female labour from various age groups. In Turkey, carpet weaving is most often a female activity. A significant finding of the research was that the period of compulsory education had a decisive effect on the age at which girls became involved in this activity. In the research sample, girl weavers were 12 years of age and over, which corresponds to the end of the five-year compulsory basic education. If this finding reflects the general trend, then the increase of compulsory education to eight years in 1997 should have pushed the starting age for carpet weavers to 14. Indeed, as will be discussed in later sections, there is evidence from country level data that the age at which children start working is on the rise, possibly as a result of the educational reform. However, this needs to be verified for the carpet industry through monitoring.

It is often argued that carpet weaving has adverse effects on the mental and physical well being of child weavers and entails various forms of exploitation. However, TESK research found that, contrary to expectations, exploitation of child workers is not as severe as claimed in the literature. This is attributed to the fact that such work takes place in a family environment

(Ünal 1996). This finding should be treated as a hypothesis and confirmed through further research and by comparing it with findings of other research on the carpet industry. This is particularly important since there is considerable evidence in the literature that the family environment is often less than altruistic.

### *Research on domestic work*

The second research, carried out in 1996-97 by the Women's Library and Information Centre in İstanbul, focused on female child labour in domestic work. The research concentrated on a particular form of domestic work, *evlatlık*, a historically rooted practice where girls as young as 7-8 years are placed in the homes of others to help with household work in return for payments made to the parents. Such arrangements could be for an indefinite period of time. In the research, 200 households in lower class areas of İstanbul were surveyed and 30 in-depth interviews were carried out with girls working as domestic workers. The research found that the "ideology of domesticity"<sup>17</sup> was a primary factor in the persistence of such work arrangements. However, the study showed that, with the gradual transformation to a non-agrarian society, the practice in Turkey is on the decline. In addition to the potential for ill treatment of the domestic workers under such conditions of privation and isolation, the research found that these children often are unable to attend school.

The findings of the above studies confirm that both the socio-economic status of families and the gender division of labour have a direct bearing on children's time allocation between school and work, whether they are working in the home, on the streets of large cities, the informal sector, in small industries or in agriculture. Therefore, gender and social class background are primary factors to be considered in formulating policies and intervention strategies to enhance educational attainment of children and reduce child labour. As argued throughout this book, although schooling and work are not necessarily mutually exclusive, there is ample research evidence that shows that socio-economic variables and gender are intervening variables that determine who does what, where and how.

### 2.1.3 Advocacy and training for awareness raising

The bulk of the IPEC-supported projects undertaken, particularly during the early years of the programme, were geared towards raising awareness about the problem of child labour and placing the issue on the public agenda, although many of these projects also entailed research and data gathering com-

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<sup>17</sup>The author does not define the term 'ideology of domesticity' but it is implied to be related to the roles defined on the basis of domestic sphere. In other words, the term is based on the notion that domestic chores are seen to be a natural and complementary dimension of female identity.

ponents. These goals have certainly been achieved in the course of the decade. National awareness has been raised, child labour is on the public agenda, and Turkey is party to all relevant international regimes. Four of the projects under this category are particularly relevant — two were implemented by the Human Resources Development Foundation (HDRF) and two by MONE.

### *HDRF projects*

The two HDRF projects are “Training of primary school inspectors about child labour”, undertaken during the 1994-95 biennium to raise awareness among primary school inspectors and principals, parent–teacher associations, school assistance associations and NGO’s on child labour issues; and “Training of Primary School Principals and their Environment”, undertaken during the 1996-97 biennium with similar target groups as the first project but focusing mainly on raising the awareness of school principals. The HDRF developed its training sessions on the basis of research results, which indicated that school inspectors and principals were unaware of the child labour problem and its association with schooling. During the training seminars it became clear that school attendance was inversely related to child labour. The training sessions considered two potential solutions to the problem: increasing compulsory education to eight years and the provision of economic support to the families of working children to compensate for children’s earnings.

### *Ministry of National Education projects*

The two projects implemented by the Ministry of National Education (MONE) were “Increasing the awareness of teachers in the apprenticeship training centres”; and “Increasing the awareness of the principals of apprenticeship training centres in İstanbul”. Apprenticeship training centres were established to provide theoretical and practical training to working children. The staff of these centres were seen to have a potential role in not only providing vocational training to the children but also in guarding their welfare. However, research conducted in conjunction with these projects revealed that the reality did not meet expectations. It was also seen that apprenticeship training, while contributing to the solution of some of the problems faced by child workers, is not a solution to the problem of child labour. The training sessions and multi-sectoral meetings that were held accentuated the following: apprenticeship training should be expanded; theoretical training programmes should be constantly upgraded; provision of counselling and guidance should be ensured; on the job training of employees and foremen should be improved; workplaces with unsatisfactory facilities should not be allowed to hire children; health measures should be taken against occupational hazards; social facilities should be improved both at the apprenticeship training centres and industrial sites; Apprenticeship training centres should reach out to families for awareness raising.

Lessons learned from these experiences formed the impetus for legislative reform on apprenticeship training as well as other aspects of the problem.



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The projects reviewed here, as well as numerous others that are not included in the review, culminated in an accumulation of knowledge, experience and insight that created the enabling environment which paved the way for adopting direct intervention strategies to protect working children, improve their work conditions, increase schooling levels and in some cases eradicate the problem, starting with the worst forms of child labour. The following section reviews selected projects that directly or indirectly target working children themselves.

### 2.2 SUPPORTING WORKING CHILDREN IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CHILD LABOUR

The Country Programme Management Review that took place from 3 - 8 April 2000 determined the long-term objective of IPEC in Turkey as the full application of Conventions Nos. 138 and 182 — the elimination of all child labour below the minimum working age of 15 and the urgent eradication of its worst forms for all children below 18 years of age, with consideration for the special situation of girls. Some of the medium- and short-term objectives are: developing integrated programmes focusing on worst forms of child labour in selected geographic areas pulling together IPEC experience in Turkey in the area of education, inspection and monitoring of workplaces and income generation; and the full implementation of the compulsory primary education programme focusing on the specific needs of working children. Given the primacy of education among the overall IPEC objectives, a particular emphasis is placed on projects with a training and education focus. In this regard, projects are grouped into three categories: (i) those that provide sectoral vocational training to working children; (ii) those that aim to strengthen the formal educational attainment of children; and (iii) those designed directly to eliminate child labour. It should also be noted that there are other types of projects under this category that represent significant intervention strategies, including projects that extend support to families of working children and projects aiming at rehabilitation and protection. These groups of projects are not considered in this review.

#### 2.2.1 Sectoral vocational training

There are six IPEC-supported projects that are directly relevant to this category. Three were implemented by the Foundation of Vocational Training and Small Industries (MEKSA) and three by the DFT. The projects were undertaken during the 1994-95 and 1996-97 biennia.

##### *MEKSA projects*

All three MEKSA projects carry the title “Vocational training for migrant children in eastern Turkey”, the second and third representing expansion phases of the first. The first project, undertaken during 1994-95, provided training in auto repair and maintenance to boys below 15 years of age in Di-

yarbakır. The latter projects focused on the training of migrant children. The second was implemented in three south-eastern provinces — Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep — where there is a large migrant population. The target groups included migrant children who work in the informal sector under exploitative conditions. Within this context, 24 children in Diyarbakır were trained in automobile maintenance; 20 children in Gaziantep in metal works; and 20 children in Şanlıurfa in the maintenance of agricultural machinery. At the end of the project 86 per cent of the participating children were placed in jobs. The third project was implemented in Diyarbakır and the training activities were coordinated with MONE apprenticeship training centres.

### *DFT projects*

The projects implemented by DFT include “Vocational training for rural child labour”, implemented in the 1994-95; “Vocational training for rural and domestic child labour”, implemented in 1996-97; and “Vocational training for rural child labour”, also implemented in 1996-97. The first and third projects focused on the issue of “rented” children from the poor mountain villages of Duragan, Sinop who work in the more prosperous plain villages of Bafra and Samsun. This practice was first identified by 1993 research on rural child labour (Ertürk 1994) cited above. The practice of what is commonly referred to as “shepherding”<sup>18</sup> by the local people is an old one, entailing the renting of boys as young as nine years old by their fathers or other male guardians in the annual Bafra market. The shepherd boys work and live away from their homes for six months of the year. The work cycle of shepherding requires these children to leave school early and sometimes start late. The DFT projects aimed to end the practice by a both supporting these children through vocational training to enhance their income generating capacities and directly assisting to their families to start a business. A total of 209 children were targeted in the project site. The project succeeded in contributing to increased income levels for many of the families, but it could not entirely stop shepherding, which generates immediate cash earnings. However, concerted efforts to combat child labour and increased public awareness have led to a significant decline of the practice.

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<sup>18</sup> Shepherding for boys is a social practice which is quite analogous to that of evlatlık for girls, which was discussed earlier. Both are traditional practices that are organized by the family of the child and both take place in the private sphere of a family often unknown to the child in a far away location from their village. Children in such work situations are often cut off from their families and friends and may suffer isolation. However, the two differ in that, (1) shepherding involves boys roughly up to the age of 14, whereas, evlatlık can be an indefinite arrangement; (2) shepherding is perceived as a rites of passage (Ertürk 1994), therefore, despite the deprivations and vulnerabilities involved, it provides an enhanced status to the child in his own community and among his peers. This is not the case for evlatlık, and domestic work in general, which clearly signifies a low status in society and in the eyes of the girl herself.



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The third project implemented by the DFT focused on the problems associated with rural and domestic child labour in Erzurum, a province in eastern Turkey. The research components of the project were organized around three areas of concern: (i) environmental (deforestation, water supply, infrastructure, availability of arable land); (ii) family (poverty, migration, lack of training in family planning, demand for child labour and cultural attitudes toward girls' education); and (iii) educational (school availability, cost, quality of education, attendance, attitudes toward education). The study revealed that the girls who were involved in domestic labour and had completed five years of primary education wished to have further education. According to the study, there are two basic reasons why girls are kept out of school: worries that educated young girls drift away from spiritual and moral values and the extra burden that sending a girl child to school would place on the family budget. The latter also reflects customary wisdom that investment in a girl's education has no returns for the family, since after marriage the girl lives in the husband's household. Additionally, schooling competes with the more essential time allocation requirements of girls in agricultural and household work.

The project aimed to contribute to the elimination of child labour through the provision of vocational training, education for girls involved in domestic labour and agricultural work, as well as providing the means for providing income for them and their families. These included anti-poverty measures, vocational training, educational support, reproductive health and training in family planning, child to child programme, public awareness raising and community and family involvement. ILO-IPEC provided vocational training and income generation activities for the target group and other UN entities collaborated in their areas of expertise: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) — developed income generation and job creation for the parents of the targeted children; United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) — provided an educational support programme for 60 girls involved in domestic labour; United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) — carried out reproductive health and family planning training for the children and parents.

The project is considered by ILO-IPEC to be an example of a good practice in that it not only reduced duplication of development efforts through inter-agency cooperation, but also successfully integrated participatory intervention models, thereby ensuring ownership by the target population. The DFT also demonstrated a good working relationship with MONE, which resulted in a net shift of time allocation of the girls from domestic labour to formal education.

Further research is needed, however, on cultural perceptions and the links between poverty, education and child labour in rural areas. The project also confirmed that more educational opportunities are needed in rural areas. Innovative and alternative strategies must be developed to encourage the education of girls in rural areas, while at the same time encouraging employment generating investments in the remote areas for the unemployed and underemployed adult workforce.

### 2.2.2 Enhancing educational attainment

Two major projects are of importance under this category. The first project is entitled “Increasing the attendance, retention and performance rates of working children in the primary education system, and the second project is entitled “An education campaign for the elimination of child labour”.

#### *Increasing school attendance*

The first project was implemented by MONE during the 1998-99 biennium with a geographic coverage of nine provinces: Adana, Ankara, Diyarbakır, İçel, İstanbul, İzmir, Kocaeli, Sinop and Van. This project complements the Ministry’s nationwide campaign in support of the implementation of the Education Act (4306) of 1997, which increased the minimum number of years children are required to attend school from five to eight years. This commitment is reflected in the Basic Education Programme (BEP) which serves as a vehicle for actualizing the following goals: (i) expand the capacity of basic education schools throughout the country; (ii) facilitate school attendance of children who are likely to attend school; (iii) reduce classroom overcrowding; (iv) improve the supply of educational materials to basic education schools; (v) improve training and incentives for teachers; and (vi) increase parent and community involvement in schools.

The MONE project is initiated with the assumption that the majority of children not attending school are working. The project aimed to address the problem at two levels: institutional capacity building and direct support to working children. The second component of the project is of particular interest here. The target group was composed of children who were already in the primary school system but who are also working. In order to optimize the school achievement and prevent school dropouts, 900 children who were low achievers and potential dropouts were targeted with the aim of providing them with educational support and counselling. To improve the attendance and retention rates and the general school performance of the working children within the basic education system and meet their needs, the project aimed to attract these children to school by making classroom experience more fulfilling and relevant. The project, recognizing that supporting children in isolation from their families produces partial solution, aimed to educate and support the families as well. While the project sought to support families, it also assisted them to reduce their dependence on the child’s income. The families were informed about and directed to institutions providing social welfare, anti-poverty programmes, vocational training programmes and labour placement services. These institutions include Directorate General of Social Services and Child Protection, Social Solidarity Fund of Provincial Governors, Department of Labour Placement of MLSS, and the Department of Non-formal Education of MONE.

The project did not target working children who have never attended school or who dropped out before the programme started. However, the ultimate, long-term aim of MONE is to gradually withdraw these children from

## **Gender, education and child labour in Turkey**

work and enrol them in the primary school system. A separate project has been developed to address this issue.

The targeted number of children and families were reached and provided with educational support programmes, counselling and information on access to social welfare and vocational training services, and regular family visits were organized in order to ensure the support of the family for the school attendance of their children. An advocacy meeting was held; refresher-training programmes for primary school teachers and principals were organized. In accordance with the institutional capacity building component, a project co-ordination unit has been set up within MONE to monitor the project.

The importance placed on this project illustrates that child labour has become a key issue on the agenda of MONE. This is also reflected in the significant amount of budgetary funds allocated for future projects targeting child labour.

### ***Enrolling street children in schools***

The project entitled “An education campaign for the elimination of child labour” started in 2001. Implementing agencies are the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (TÜRK-İŞ), the Confederation of Real Trade Unions (HAK-İŞ) and Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DİSK). The project site includes the provinces of Adana, Bursa, Diyarbakır and Edirne, all which have encountered problems associated with accelerated rural-urban migration. Within the framework of the ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour, the project target group comprises working street children and their parents. The objective of the project is to withdraw children between the ages of 6 to 14 from the streets and enrol them in Regional Primary Education Boarding Schools (RPBS) and Provincial Primary Pension Schools (PPPS). These schools were established by MONE to ensure that children of poor families have access to primary education services in small villages where there are no schools or where schools have been closed due to large-scale rural to urban migration.<sup>19</sup> It was anticipated in the project design that, since children placed in these boarding schools would have to reside there from September to June, the possibility of dropout and indulgence in work would be reduced. It is also important to draw attention to the fact that the project has an added value in that families are freed from the burden of children’s schooling and living expenses and might, therefore, be more willing to forego the contribution they acquired from the work activity of their child. In this sense, these schools have a comparative advantage over regular schools in contributing to the elimination of child labour. Furthermore, the project aims to make use of the underutilized capacity of these schools. The trade union initiative in this education campaign envisages complementing MONE’s efforts for the full implementation of the new education law.

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<sup>19</sup> See Chapter 5 for further discussion of the boarding schools and the gender differentials in the access to these schools.

The project has reached 1400 boys and 310 girls and has withdrawn them from street work and registered them in schools. Special attention has been given to girls in order to alter the mentality that sustains gender discrepancies in parental attitudes towards the education of their children. The families of these working street children have been counselled and provided with information about the project and 400 families benefited from social welfare schemes such as the “green card” which allows the families to benefit from state provided health services free of charge as well as monthly cash support. In addition, 120 staff members of governmental and non-governmental institutions have been trained. MONE started in service training for primary school directors and teachers. Action committees have been set up as monitoring mechanisms to lessen the risk of dropouts from school. With this follow-up mechanism the sustainability of the project is intended.

### 2.2.3 A good practice in eliminating child labour

The project entitled “Integrated programme for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in selected industrial areas in İzmir by 2003” was launched during the 2000-01 biennium. The MLSS is the implementing agency.

The project targeted the footwear, auto-repair and maintenance and garment sectors. According to the project document, based on the accumulated experience and knowledge of the labour inspectors, the above three sectors were identified as high risk for children.

The project aimed to withdraw 1,500 children under the age of 15 from all forms of work in the selected sectors in İzmir and 2000 children ages of 15 to 17 from the worst forms of child labour. A second aim was to prevent the younger siblings (500 children) of working children from starting work and assist 1500 parents through the provision of social services and income generating activities.

To achieve these objectives, the project developed an institutionalized approach for the elimination of child labour. Institution building involves building structures to carry out child labour related activities in a systematic and sustained manner. This also necessitates the formulation and adoption of processes and procedures that facilitate coordinated actions. A major strength of the institutionalized approach was that the project was linked to a wide variety of governmental and non-governmental institutions, and linked into networks and social groups both at the national and local levels.

In an effort to mobilize policy makers in all sectors to deal with the implications of withdrawing children from work, an inter-sectoral coordinating group — the Project Steering Committee — was established at the national level. The Committee consisted of the representatives from the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, MONE, the Social Services and Child Protection Institute, the SIS, TESK, DİSK and HAK-İŞ. Clear guidelines on the roles and responsibilities and the specific tasks of each institution for project support was developed. Formal protocols of cooperation amongst the related institutions were signed for joint implementation.

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Because of the key political and management role of the local government authorities the multi-sectoral Action Committee against Child labour was established under the auspices of the Governor of İzmir. The committee members consist of high-level representatives from all local Directorates, universities, employers, workers, community leaders, the families of selected working children and NGOs. The formation of such a collaborative working group on child labour enhanced the level of institutional support available and ensured that referrals are well coordinated at an operational level.

In order to withdraw children from work, two collaborative working groups were formed. A workplace-monitoring unit was set up, composed of 40 monitors selected from labour inspectors, Apprenticeship training centre teachers and the Workplace Consultancy and Inspection Group of TESK. The monitors were trained to regularly examine targeted work places and identify children who are under the age of 18 who are working in extremely dangerous conditions. Within the context of this project, the withdrawal of children from work was addressed simultaneously with the related issues of poverty, education and social welfare. Accordingly, a Social Support Unit was established. Close working relations between the monitors and the Support Unit staff was ensured and regular consultation meetings were held. The Unit provides educational and psycho-social services to ex-working children and their families.

Strategies were developed by the Social Support Unit to enrol and retain ex-working children in school and to ensure their proper progression towards the completion of their eight-year compulsory programme of basic education. A close working relationship was established with MONE in order to take the necessary measures that would accommodate for the reintegration of the children working in the selected sectors who were school dropouts. Seventy-six children from the ages of 15 to 17 were withdrawn from the worst forms of child labour and enrolled into the apprenticeship training centres of MONE. These children are now covered under the social security scheme.

The structures established to support the implementation of the project have played a key role in mobilizing national resources for the rehabilitation and prevention of child labour. To date, through workplace visits 1200 working children and 700 employers have been reached. The MONE has appointed teachers for the educational support programme currently being provided to 154 children. The employers associations conducted awareness-raising campaigns targeted at the employers in the selected sectors. The trade unions have started a comprehensive advocacy and education campaign.

In order to address the scale and the complexity of the problem of working children, the project, of necessity, involved working with local government departments, non-governmental organizations, professional groups, police, education authorities, teachers, community organizations, research institutions and universities.

## 2.3 ACHIEVEMENTS AND REMAINING CHALLENGES IN COMBATING CHILD LABOUR IN TURKEY

The above review of selected IPEC projects during the past decade clearly shows that a national capacity for the elimination of child labour has been established in Turkey. A database on child labour has been constructed, partnerships have been strengthened, public awareness has been raised, replicable intervention models have been developed and child labour issues have been mainstreamed into the national education system and into overall policy planning. Unlike in some parts of the world, where the existence of the problem of child labour is officially denied or justified by authorities, in Turkey the presence of two very important factors provide a promising environment for combating child labour — the compulsory eight year education for girls and boys and the recognition of the problem and commitment on the part of the government and the society at large to seriously deal with it.

However, despite the progress achieved thus far, Turkey is still far from totally complying with international standards with regard to the elimination of child labour, education for all, and gender equality. The following challenges remain:

- Child labour initiatives are still relatively centralized. There is need for an expansion of the experience gained to the most remote corners of the country.
- The mainstreaming of child labour concerns are still not sufficiently reflected in national budgeting. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, despite the recognized importance of education in combating child labour, there has been a systematic decrease in the allocation of funds for education from the national budget over the years.
- Although recognition of the gender dimensions of child labour has become evident in the course of the initiatives undertaken within the context of the IPEC programme, a comprehensive gender perspective in the approach to child labour is still lacking in many areas. Gender is often perceived by relevant actors — policy makers and implementers alike — as an add-on issue at best.
- While humanitarian considerations are evident in the commitment to eradicate child labour, the human rights perspective with regard to children and women is not yet firmly grounded.
- Despite the fact that significant progress has been achieved in raising public awareness, a more rigorous advocacy programme is needed to keep child labour issues on the public agenda and implant sensitivities in this regard in the collective consciousness of the society.

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- Last but not least, while a database on child labour has been established, an enhanced understanding of the household economy and the different roles allocated to its members is needed as this study will show.

The above challenges will be further addressed in the following chapters and relevant recommendations will be made in Chapter 7.



## APPROACH TO THE ISSUE OF GENDER DIFFERENTIALS IN CHILD LABOUR

# 3

In the introduction to this study, a distinction was made between market and productive household activities of children. Attention was drawn to the fact that these categories are not binary opposites but rather they constitute a continuum ranging from remunerated productive market activities at one end and unpaid household reproductive activities at the other end. The latter comprises activities that have traditionally been perceived as “non-work” and therefore excluded to a great extent in the measurement of work and economic activity in national accounts. However, as will be elaborated further in this chapter, it is increasingly recognized that reproductive activities, or routine “household chores”, are essential for the daily sustenance and maintenance of the “productive” work force. In this sense, reproductive work is a net contributor to economic output. Furthermore, children’s activities shift within the continuum between paid and unpaid work depending upon macro-structural dynamics. As a result, on the one hand, different types of work may gain or lose market recognition in the process and, on the other hand, diverse forms economic structures emerge, co-existing side by side: formal market economy, informal economy, subsistence economy and household economy.

In view of the diversity of work, it is clear that the boundaries within which measurement of economic activity in most national statistics takes place are limited and incomplete. Many of the activities performed outside the formal market economy, particularly those that are home-based female activities, escape regular statistical measurement. The economic contributions of women in general were ignored until recently since women’s main workload was perceived as “non-economic” and their working hours were hidden in reproductive and subsistence activities. For socio-economic analysis, which was guided by the rational of the demarcation between home and work, this situation was largely unproblematic. An expanded understanding of social practice since the 1970s has proven these perceptions to be wrong. In this regard, today it is commonly accepted that the understanding of the “household economy” and the changes in household pro-



duction over time would complement the understanding of the market economy (Kasnakoğlu and Dayıoğlu 2002: 73). Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the trends and patterns of economic activity can only be captured if all the levels of participation and production are measured regularly and systematically (UN 2000).

This chapter will further elaborate the conceptual issues involved in defining “work” within a gender sensitive perspective of the division of labour and the different levels of analysis that offer a comprehensive approach to understanding the wide range of factors that impact on the time-use patterns of children. The chapter also provides a discussion of the methodological framework employed in this study in analysing the education and work outcomes of children in Turkey.

### 3.1 TOWARDS A GENDER SENSITIVE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE DIVISION OF LABOUR

#### 3.1.1 Diverse forms of work

The theoretical starting point of this study is based on the assumption that all work is part of productive labour. Productive activity may be undertaken within or outside the market sector for the production of use and exchange values. In essence, most output produced in the market sector is market output and hence is statistically included in economic indicators. Productive activity also occurs in the household sector, mainly for reproductive purposes which are deemed outside the market and therefore, unrecognized and unvalued.<sup>20</sup> Measuring and valuing unpaid work in national accounts was a major area of concern during the Fourth World Conference on Women. The PFA commits governments to improve their labour force data to reflect unremunerated work and value the full contributions of women and girls in national accounts. INSTRAW’s (International Training and Research Institute for the Advancement of Women) pioneering work on the measurement and valuation of unpaid contributions draws attention to the following: (i) household production accounts for a very significant portion of total economic output of the economy; and (ii) there is a significant gender difference between currently measured production and unmeasured production. The study concludes that: “While currently measured production captures virtually all of men’s productive contributions, that which is excluded tends to be done primarily, although by no means exclusively, by women” (INSTRAW 1995: 37).

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<sup>20</sup> As already indicated earlier in the book, the issue of valuation of unpaid work is not central to the objectives of this article. For a discussion on issues involved in valuation and existing methods in this regard see, Kasnakoğlu and Dayıoğlu (2002), INSTRAW (1996), United Nations (2000).

Complicating the matter is the bulk of the productive activity in the household is considered to be merely reproductive and subsistence activity. Some of this activity makes its way into the formal or informal market where it is exchanged for pay in kind or in cash. This would include such activities as house cleaning outside one's own home or the production of subsistence crops on family-based farms for sale. Child work in these areas is often organized within the seclusion of individual households and takes place within primary relations, such as parents, relatives, kinsmen, townsmen, etc. It is thus unrecorded and unregulated, making the children vulnerable to abuses. It is often argued that, in some social contexts, tradition and social convention provide protection and security mechanisms for the children working for primary relations, particularly the family, whereas, when the work situation shifts to the streets or under secondary relations, such as in small industry, the child loses the protection of these informal mechanisms. Furthermore, those under the legal employment age are not protected by formal regulatory mechanisms.<sup>21</sup> However, even under exchange conditions, some of these activities remain embedded in the private sphere. Therefore, due to their potential invisibility they escape documentation. In accounting for these types of activities there are both conceptual and practical barriers that need to be taken into consideration.

In this regard, subsistence agricultural production and some informal economy activities gained acknowledgement early on and have been included in national accounts. However, a large portion of reproductive work, even when performed outside one's own home, remains unaccounted for in the actual practice of measuring total economic production. This situation is of particular importance for depicting the work patterns of girls. According to the ILO, it is not known how many children are employed in "domestic" service due to the hidden nature of such work (ILO 1998). Country specific studies show that many children as young as 5 years of age work in harsh conditions without pay as domestic help or on the farm for their family or their parent's creditors (Arat 2002).<sup>23</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the home may also be the site for activities originating in the market. Traditionally, particularly in rural areas, it is common for women and girls to combine handicraft/carpet production with reproductive chores in the home. With the recent global trends towards labour market casualization, home-based work appears to be on the rise (UNDAW 1999). The ILO Convention concerning home work (1996) defines home-based work as work carried out by a person for remuneration in his or her home or in a premise other than the workplace of the employer, which re-

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<sup>21</sup> These propositions need to be treated as hypothetical cases in need of further examination. See the discussion with regard to the carpet industry in Chapter 2.

<sup>22</sup> In some countries children live under slavery-like situations due to debt bondage (bonded labour) and human trafficking. See Herzfeld (2002) for a discussion of worst forms of child labour that constitutes modern forms of slavery.

sults in the product or service specified by the employer. Tools needed for the work may be owned by the home worker or provided by the employer. The raw materials, however, are generally supplied by the latter. The work arrangements may at times be similar to that of the self-employed; therefore, it may be difficult to always distinguish the two. "Many of those counted as self-employed may in fact be disguised wage workers. Especially in developing countries, the work of many of the self-employed may be contracted by others" (UNDAW 1999: 28).

Technically speaking, home-based work encompasses different types of occupations, payment systems and work arrangements. In recent years, with the advent of new communication and information technologies, some previously white-collar occupations have shifted to the home-based sector. Female-dominated home work in developing countries carries the potential risk of the involvement of children, particularly girls, as part of the family labour force. This increases the prospects for the withdrawal of girls intermittently or permanently from school either to take on the household responsibilities to free the mother's time and/or to participate directly in the home-based contracted work or both. Although the flexibility of home work provides many women with an opportunity to supplement family income, it involves low pay, insecure work arrangements and long working hours since household work and paid work are combined. Furthermore, due to gender inequalities, the home worker may have little or no control over the output of her labour. Mies's study of the lace makers of Narspur, India (1982) has become a classic in illustrating how the production of lace by women for world markets within a home-based industry can result in the impoverishment of women. Mies's analysis, although not addressing the issue of child labour in such a production system, shows the ways in which the historically created patriarchal, binary division between women and men conceal and undermine women's productive activities. This division is best expressed in the breadwinner/housewife dichotomy, which defines women as non-working housewives and their work as leisure-time activity. This distinction has been central to feminist scholarship for over three decades, resulting in an expanded understanding of division of labour and labour theory of value. As mentioned earlier, progress has also been achieved over the years in measuring and valuing household work. Such initiatives have stimulated legislative reforms around the world in favour of women. For instance, the new Turkish Civil Code, as referred to in Chapter 1, has eliminated the concept the male head of the conjugal union from the law and introduced the Regime Regarding the Ownership of Acquired Property as the legal property regime. By adopting an egalitarian matrimonial property regime, the new law recognizes the unpaid work of women within the household.

Additionally, due to its hidden character and varied manifestations, home work not only escapes being reflected in official accounts, but it is also often totally excluded from the labour inspection system. This reinforces

the vulnerability of home workers and increases the risks involved in such work. According to the ILO Home Work Report, some types of home-based work may involve extremely poor working conditions and occupational health hazards (ILO 1995). It is therefore, necessary that as home work is made visible in accounting for the time allocation of children, the risks involved in such work are also identified and protective measures taken.<sup>23</sup>

The above discussion aimed to demonstrate that work is a dynamic phenomenon that shifts according to wider socio-economic conditions within a continuum between the “market” and “non-market” sectors. A focus on both unpaid reproductive and paid productive work, whether home-based or performed outside the home, helps to capture how shifts occur between the two spheres. The following definition encapsulates the wide range of activities that comprise the concept of work as understood in this study:

...participation of individuals in productive activities for which they either receive remuneration (in cash or in kind) for their participation or are unpaid because they are contributors to a family business enterprise. It also includes subsistence production of goods for their own households and non-economic activities such as domestic work, family and elder care, construction or repair of owner-occupied buildings, and volunteer work for which individuals receive no remuneration (UN 2000:109).

### 3.1.2 The sex-based division of labour

There are institutionalized social conventions or implicit “social contracts” that allocate tasks to the appropriate sex in all societies. This to a large extent determines how child labour is organized. The patriarchal cultural values underlying the gender<sup>24</sup> order of most societies define women in terms of their reproductive roles within the family and treat their participation in the formal world of work as an epiphenomenon at best. These basic cultural tenets shape the sex-based division of labour and, in conjunction with this, the gender roles and identities in society. The upbringing of girls, the priority in their time allocation and their exposure to education are largely determined within this context. Reproductive responsibilities, whether performed in or outside the home, are disproportionately assigned to women

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<sup>23</sup> Research on home working in Turkey is rather limited. See Chapter 2 of this study for a review of the TESK project on the carpet industry. Also worth noting in this regard is Berik's study (1987) on carpet weavers in rural Turkey and White's study (1993) on home based textile work in Istanbul.

<sup>24</sup> Since the Fourth World Conference in 1995, the term gender has become a primary tool of analysis for researchers as well as policy makers both within and outside the UN. The term is often defined to refer to learned social differences and relations between girls and boys and between women and men (ILO 2000) and the historically determined unequal power relations between women and men (PFA para.1). See Ertürk (1997) for the conceptual ambiguities in the use of the term gender and Goetz (1997) for a discussion of how the term evolved and became conceptualized.

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and girls due to the historically rooted sex-based division of labour. The sex-based division of labour and the corresponding structure of gender relations not only determine how work is allocated among household members, but also directly impacts on intra-household decisions on schooling and on the gender differentials in educational attainment, where girls are particularly adversely affected.

### *Social vs. sectoral division of labour*

In order to highlight the gendered aspects of the division of labour, a distinction is made in the literature between “social” and “sectoral” divisions of labour between the women and men, which results in hierarchical productive structures (Beneria 1982, Custers 1997, Mies 1986). The social division of labour, on the one hand, refers to a gender contract that almost universally assigns the reproductive tasks to women, while men are excluded from such responsibilities. The sectoral division of labour, on the other hand, refers to the employment contract, which explicitly or implicitly rests on the notion of the male breadwinner, thus reinforcing the social division of labour. This results in a hierarchical allocation of tasks between women and men within a sex-segregated occupational structure in all sectors, including agriculture, industry and the services. The two spheres are mutually reinforcing and are interrelated, as the mode of organization in one would presuppose a certain way of organizing in the other. The social division of labour is rather rigid and has proven to be quite durable historically.<sup>25</sup> In this context, women’s reproductive work is essential for family survival and it is irreplaceable. However, this is not the case for men, whose role is defined within the more flexible sectoral division of labour. While the latter are able to shift their work preferences and schedules according to available work opportunities, the former do not have the same flexibility. Furthermore, because female labour is considered to have low opportunity cost, it has the flexibility of participating in the sectoral division of labour on and off and by assuming the labour intensive tasks with extremely meagre returns. Under such conditions of work, due to social convention, men may choose to remain idle.

Unlike the social division of labour, the nature of the sectoral division of labour is flexible and more dynamic, and constantly restructuring in response to shifting economic interests and requirements. Modernization and globalization have considerably altered market processes, opening more and new areas of work for women<sup>26</sup> while realigning it with patriarchal norms.

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<sup>25</sup> While these categorizations have universal characteristics, a historically reductive approach is not intended here. These analytical tools can only be useful to the extent that their specifications are generated in local and concrete contexts.

<sup>26</sup> See Sassen (1998) for a discussion of the relationship between internationalization of manufacturing production and the feminization of the labour force. Similarly, the 1999 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development (UNDAW 1999) focuses on how the nature and organization of work itself has changed with globalization and how this impacts on women and on gender relations.

In this sense, patriarchy and market forces interact as essential elements that restructure the sex-based division of labour. Feminist scholarship indicates that the introduction of market-oriented production did not abolish traditional forms of the sex division of labour but rather used, reinforced and modified it. While traditional kin-based patriarchy has largely become a myth in some parts of the world, the “gender contract” (Moghadam 2000) continues to sustain, in modified forms, the sex division of labour and the patriarchal character of societies worldwide. Mikanagi (2000) discusses how the gendered division of labour in Japan is perpetuated by the State despite formal commitments to international gender equality regimes. The author also emphasizes that gendered division of labour is not a simple scheme of men working outside and women staying home to do the reproductive tasks. Patriarchal gendered structures persist in Japan despite the fact that by 1980, 47.6 per cent of Japanese women of working age (15 and over) were working in the formal labour force (p. 117). Elson and Çağatay (2000) in their analysis of the social content of macroeconomic policies refer to the “breadwinner bias”, in explaining how women become excluded from many entitlements even when participating in the formal labour market.

***How child labour corresponds to established sex-based divisions of labour***

According to Mies, to understand the nature of the transformation of the division of labour, it is necessary to look at the relationship between women and men within the family, which as a result of capitalism became the main arena of women’s work (Mies 1982: 16).<sup>27</sup> Child labour patterns correspond to the established sex-based divisions of labour, although some deviations may be observed due to the fact that sex-typed values and norms may be less rigid for children, particularly at younger ages. The inability of the adult male to find “suitable” employment and/or the cultural constraints that restrict adult women from certain activities may make child labour an unavoidable option in filling the gaps in family livelihoods. In this sense, child labour offers advantages over adult labour in household or market activities that are sporadic and have low rates of return. Use of child labour not only reduces the pressure on adult labour and/or frees the latter — particularly women’s labour — to engage in other work but also contributes to the improvement of family survival. The role of child labour is particularly important in household work, where girls and to some extent younger boys assume responsibility for reproductive tasks to help their mothers and eventually free them completely from such tasks. By adolescence the division of labour becomes considerably less flexible as girls and boys differentially as-

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<sup>27</sup> These distinctions are sustained by the institutionalized divisions between the public and private spheres where household reproductive work is relegated to the latter sphere and women’s reproductive roles are not only devalued but also perceived as a disability for women’s participation in the public sphere.



some sex-typed roles where household and home work is preferred for girls and boys are contracted out to work for others.

Depending upon the specific socio-cultural context, these divisions can be a fairly rigid. For instance, in some countries girls are totally absent from the “masculine” activities, such as the relatively hazardous work in brick factories (Ertürk 1994), construction, and auto repair, among others and those that require serving male clientele (Dayıoğlu and Assaad 2002). Thus, gender inequality interplays with the division of labour in the home and in the market in determining patterns of time allocation of children in both spheres. In other words, market forces and patriarchy, as macro-structural factors, intersect in jointly shaping the subject position of children in the processes of human capital development and/or production of goods and services. In this regard, girls like adult women, who are primarily responsible for household work, may carry a double burden when engaged in market activity as well. If the girl is attending school, she may suffer from a triple burden — household work, market work, school work. This is not the case for boys and men.

Therefore, an accurate understanding of the gendered aspects of the division of labour requires an analysis of the interplay between the gender contract and the employment contract. Within this context, reproductive activities — whether destined for the market or not and whether performed in or outside of one’s own home — are an important area of focus. This obviously excludes leisure time and personal maintenance activities. Integrating the concept of reproductive work into the analysis of productive work enables the establishment of a link between the market and the household sectors, captures the shifts that take place between the two and helps bring to light the gender-blind dimensions of time allocation for human capital development and the production of goods and services. Such an approach requires the establishment of linkages between complementary but distinct levels of analysis at macro, meso and micro levels.

### 3.1.3 Complementary levels of analysis

Bearing in mind this complex and intertwined structure of work, as indicated earlier, a three-fold time-use approach that includes schooling, household work and market work underlies the analytical framework of this study. The latter two have been conceptualized within a continuum where “work” shifts as a result of structural and institutional changes that re-align the social and sectoral divisions of labour. It has also been argued that, macro-structural factors such as patriarchy and market forces jointly influence the micro-subject position of children in schooling and in working. One additional macro variable that needs to be introduced into the analytical framework is the legal-political environment, within which state policies and programmes are formulated and implemented. What has been implied but not articulated so far is the importance of intermediate-level factors, such as household dynamics, social networks and institutions in reaching an un-

derstanding of the intersection of gender, education and work as they manifest at the micro-level of actual subjects.

Therefore, a gender sensitive integrated approach to child labour, which also lends itself to a cross-cultural and class specific analysis, could best be attained by undertaking a gender analysis<sup>28</sup> at three distinct levels of social reality: macro, meso and micro. Conventional sociological analysis takes place at the macro level of institutions and structures (functionalist paradigm and world systems theory) and the micro level of interpersonal relations (symbolic interaction paradigm). Parallel to this, economists use macro analysis of the aggregated level of activities (macroeconomics) and the micro level of individual economic agents or sectors (microeconomics). Increasingly, analysts are distinguishing an intermediate level of analysis to draw attention to social relations and social processes (Parrenas 2001) or to denote the distributional impact of macro policies (Stewart 1992, Elson 1994), thereby bridging the gap between the macro and the micro level processes. A three-level approach, as understood in this study, does not imply that these levels are exclusive of each other nor are they perceived as static and categorical.

### *Macro-level analysis*

Macro-level analysis entails an understanding of the location of the country within the international economic order<sup>29</sup>, the prevailing political and economic policy environment and the predominant gender order and its interaction with labour market trends. Macro-level analysis allows for tracing the impact of global restructuring on the reorganization of work, labour markets and on gender relations from global to local levels. For instance, the drive towards labour market deregulation and greater labour flexibility has become a global trend. This has led to resurgence in informal forms of employment in many parts of the world. Since 1972, when ILO first used the term informal sector, there has been considerable debate over its definition. One common understanding, however, was that this sector would wither away with economic growth. Contrary to this expectation, informalization is said to have become a widespread global trend (UNDAW 1999: 22-27). The informal economy continues to be a heterogeneous sector, encompassing a range of activities between household and market work with

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<sup>28</sup> While sex-disaggregated data on child labour is essential for developing intervention strategies, this needs to be complemented by gender analysis to shed light on how and why social relations and practices are determined.

<sup>29</sup> Country level analysis cannot be treated in isolation from the global context. The specific impact of globalization on the key tenets of the state and the local economy has distinct gender implications. Therefore, the critical question is to determine the strategic sites where globalization alters, reinforces or creates new gendered structures. For further discussion on globalization and gender see: Marchand and Runyan (2000), Sassen 1998, UNDAW (1999), among others.



varying levels of productivity and degrees of linkages to the formal economy. Women comprise the majority of informal sector workers, particularly at the low productivity and highly secluded end.

*Meso-level analysis*

Meso-level analysis encompasses the concrete institutions and social processes where macro forces find expression and specific manifestations. The intermediate-level institutions, in turn, are manipulated by individual or collective agents in their effort to cope with and respond to wider forces. Households operate as meso-level forces as they constitute the wider setting for the process of subjection of the individual. Conversely, the household may itself be perceived as a micro-level subject.<sup>30</sup> Distinction between the household and individual positions is particularly important when studying child labour from a gender perspective. Households are fundamental sites of patriarchal ideology that embody both relations of cooperation/solidarity as well as relations of conflict/domination. Within this context, sex and age hierarchies determine the individual's subject position within the household and the nature and extent of their relationships with the wider society. Distinguishing the household and the individual — in this case the working child — challenges the altruistic assumptions of the family. It also helps to explain how the household is linked with other gendered institutions, such as education, through social convention and sectoral or macro policies.

Recognizing the household as comprising diverse and contradictory subject positions allows the capturing of the multiple survival strategies adopted in securing household livelihood. At this point, the paid and unpaid work and the multiple patterns of linkages between the home and the market become identifiable. Thus, meso-level analysis allows for penetrating the non-formal and private spheres of life and makes reproductive work and its agents visible. Feminist research focusing on the level of social relations and institutions has also shown that women's position in the household and in the labour market becomes enhanced when their contributions become visible and accounted for (Parrenas 2001, Sassen 1998). This is not to imply that patriarchy is eliminated but merely modified.<sup>31</sup> Also important at the intermediate level of analysis are the public choices that are available through the specific sectoral policies and how these impact the functioning of insti-

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<sup>30</sup> The household has traditionally been treated as a primary micro level unit of analysis by sociologists and economists alike. Such approaches may overlook the power relations inside the household, as a result obscuring the diverse and contradictory locations inherent to households.

<sup>31</sup> A carefully designed gender analysis, as an integral part of the overall research methodology, can help to delineate the complexities of these relationships and their diverse manifestations under specific conditions. The issue of gender analysis will be addressed in the final chapter of the book.

tutions, such as the family and the education institutions where subjectivities of women and men and girls and boys are continually reconstructed.

### ***Micro-level analysis***

Micro-level analysis encompasses the level of the individual subject<sup>32</sup> whose agency is created within meso-level norms, values, policies and processes. Such an analysis entails tracing the conditions of the subject as well as the reactions of the subject, i.e. patterns of adaptation and/or resistance to the structural and institutional processes that construct subject positions. In a way, micro-level analysis is a deconstruction of macro and meso-structural factors and an elaboration of the process of constant re-negotiation of the constraints emanating from these factors. Documentation of the subjectivity of working children in terms of time-use patterns in everyday life reveals the concrete experience of work and schooling for girls and boys. It is also necessary to examine the strategies used by these children, as active subjects, to reconstruct their realities.

## **3.2 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

While this study aims to develop a general conceptual approach to the analysis of gender, education and child labour, it does this by focusing on the specific case of Turkey. The next chapter provides a macro-level analysis to set the ground for the discussion of the schooling and work outcomes of girls and boys in Turkey. The data used for the analysis relies on existing sources, which are not fully compatible in capturing the dynamic character of work as it shifts within the continuum between market and non-market spheres, nor does it perfectly correspond to the three-level analysis suggested above. Hence, the methodological framework employed here has been modified in accordance with the available information. Attention is drawn to areas where further research and more sensitive data is needed to accommodate for the kind of analysis that is required.

### ***Analysing schooling and work outcomes of children***

The schooling and work outcomes of children are analysed by considering both market and household work. The analysis is carried out from various perspectives including the evolution of work and schooling by age, school enrolment, hours of market and household work, sector of employment, type of job held and the job status of children. Considering that schooling and work outcomes of children are likely to vary by gender, separate analyses for female and male children are carried out. In addition, where appropriate,

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<sup>32</sup> The concept of subject differs from the free willed individual assumed by the rational choice theorists.

separate analyses for children residing in urban and rural areas are presented.

The analysis of child labour is primarily based on the two child labour surveys carried out by the SIS in Turkey in 1994 and 1999 with the financial and technical assistance of ILO-IPEC and ILO-SIMPOC respectively. The surveys are similar in many respects. Both were launched as modules in the October round of the Household Labour Force Surveys (HLFS). They employ basically the same questionnaire and are therefore comparable across time.<sup>33</sup> However, there is one caveat regarding the age groups considered. While the 1994 CLS surveyed the 6-14 year-olds in the spirit of the ILO Convention No. 182, the target group in 1999 was extended to cover the 15-17 year-olds. Since very limited information on older children exists in 1994 (limited to the regular labour force questions), most of the comparisons across time will be based on the 6-14 year-olds. In addition, the published figures of the HLFS are employed and the 12-14 year-olds are followed over the 1988-99 period in order to observe the changes in their employment patterns. Special attention has been paid to this age group since they constitute one of the most vulnerable groups in terms of schooling. As will be illustrated in the following chapters, school enrolment starts to register big dips and child employment drastically increases in this age group.

The discussion above warrants a clarification of who constitutes the risk group. The ILO definition of child labour that must be eliminated covers children who work under the legal minimum age, which in Turkey is 15 years.<sup>34</sup> ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour widens the coverage to include older children (ages 15 to 17) in cases where they are involved in hazardous or other work unsuitable for their capacity. The strategy employed in this study is to keep the age group as broad as possible but nevertheless concentrate on the 6-14 year-olds. This decision has two rationales: first, one of the data sets employed does not permit a thorough analysis of the older age group; second, traditionally, the analysis of child labour has concentrated on the younger age group. To keep the study as comparable as possible with similar international studies, the focus of the study is on the younger age group.

### ***What is “household work” ?***

For the purposes of this study, “household work” is defined to cover activities that are not geared toward the market but rather involve the production and consumption of commodities within the household. This definition is in line with the ILO definition of domestic chores. Examples include

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<sup>33</sup> For details regarding the methodology employed and the sampling design see SIS (1994) and SIS (1999).

<sup>34</sup> The understanding inherent in the ILO Convention is that some strictly defined light work that does not interfere with schooling is permissible from age 13.

looking after younger siblings, cooking, cleaning the house, etc. This definition excludes home work, which is market-oriented work carried out in household premises, such as carpet weaving for a local supplier. Such activities often involve unpaid family workers, as discussed earlier. Market work covers all activities that are geared towards the market even though they may take place within the household premises. It must be noted that given the above conceptualization of work, classifying work as market oriented and non-market oriented is difficult, especially in rural areas where the domicile is likely to be integrated with the work environment. While it is relatively easier to classify household agricultural production as market work in rural areas, this is not the case in urban areas. Hence, the data collection technique is more likely to classify individuals in rural areas, especially women and girls, as labour market participants than their urban counterparts.

Apart from these two categories of work, a third category includes both the labour market participants and household workers. The motivation behind the formation of a third group is to consider work in totality and, more importantly, to keep track of the net change in the two categories over time. For instance, if there is a drop in the number or proportion of children engaged in market work over time, it would be important to see as to what extent they have become involved in household work.

***Shortcomings of existing child labour survey data and schooling indicators***

The comparison of different work categories is not straightforward due to the different data collection procedures regarding household work. In 1994, the questions on household work were only asked of children who were not engaged in market work. Hence, household work and market work in 1994 was treated as mutually exclusive categories. However, this procedure was changed in 1999, and children whether or not engaged in market work were asked about their household work activities as well. To the extent that there are children engaged in both activities, the incidence of household work in 1994 is somewhat underestimated. To allow for comparisons across time, the definitions employed in 1994 and 1999 must be similar. To achieve this, the relatively more restrictive household work definition was applied to both years. In other words, in 1999 children who were engaged in both household work and market work are categorized under market work. However, where appropriate, a more comprehensive definition of household work that covers all children, whether or not engaged in market work is employed.

The schooling outcomes of children can be analysed using various indicators. For instance, while the enrolment rate at school is considered a good indicator of children's schooling outcomes, their school progress, regular attendance and success rates are also relevant indicators. Unfortunately, in practice, data on most of these indicators are not collected nationally. In the current study, the schooling outcome of children is analysed on the basis of their enrolment rates simply because information on other indicators is

## **Gender, education and child labour in Turkey**

not available. The schooling outcomes of children are analysed in two separate chapters. While the chapter on education (Chapter 5) discusses the formal and non-formal education system in Turkey, it also tallies the progress made by looking at the changes in the enrolment rates over time. The data employed in this section come from the educational statistics reported by SIS and MONE. The education outcomes of children are also discussed in Chapter 6 where the focus is on child labour. In this chapter, a micro-level data is employed where the time use patterns of individual children are observed. The educational outcomes of children are revisited by considering the experiences of individual children. The discussions on education outcomes in Chapters 5 and 6 actually complement each other since the former draws a general picture of the education institution for the country at large, while the latter looks at the individual experiences of children. Since the data employed in the two chapters come from different sources and are collected using different techniques, a complete overlap of figures reported on similar concepts should not be expected.

In Chapter 5, in measuring the schooling outcomes of children net as opposed to gross enrolment rates are considered since the latter tends to overestimate the enrolment rates. This is because in computing gross enrolment rates all children in a given schooling level, regardless of their ages, is considered. This is problematic since the denominator excludes over-age children. Hence, it is not uncommon to find gross enrolment rates that exceed 100 per cent. Naturally, the schooling outcomes of children and the progress made in it over time are related to the general structure of the education system, the education stock of the country that summarizes the past accumulation and the quality of the education offered. These macro issues are discussed in the next chapter along with other macro dynamics that affect the demand and supply of schooling and that of child labour.

This chapter discusses the recent macro trends in Turkey's demographic, economic and educational structure. The information provided is intended to help the reader better assess the educational and work outcomes of female and male children discussed in the ensuing chapters within the context of the general developments in the country. Before doing so, however, a snapshot of Turkey's development experience in terms of where it stands with regard to the main human development indicators and the inherent continuities and discontinuities in its transformation from a multi-nation Islamic empire to a secular nation-state is presented.

### 4.1 DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE

#### 4.1.1 Human Development Indicators

The UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) ranks Turkey among countries with a medium level of human development. Turkey has been in this category since 1972 and in 1998 it came very close to being grouped among countries with a high level of human development (UNDP, 2001). However, in 2000 it fell back to a rank of 85 out of 174 countries.<sup>35</sup> The HDI is based on three main indicators — health, education and income. As will be discussed later in this chapter, Turkey has been progressing quite rapidly in the sphere of health and education. However, its economic performance has not been as favourable. The rather erratic growth performance in the past two decades has been an important hindrance for Turkey's steady progression up the HDI rank. Despite the unfavourable economic episodes, Turkey's rank with respect to the Human Poverty Index (HPI) has been

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<sup>35</sup> UNDP has recently announced its 2003 report, which shows that Turkey dropped in rank from 85 to 96. Although, an in depth analysis if this decrease is still pending, it would not be wrong to link this fall to the recent economic crisis discussed below.

## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

more favourable. In fact, there is a considerable difference in HDI and HPI rank, the latter with a value of 16.4 puts Turkey in rank 24 among developing countries. The discrepancy between HDI and HPI may be attributed to the relatively low levels of absolute poverty in Turkey based on international standards.

Table 4.1 compares Turkey's human development levels with several other ILO-IPEC participating countries in terms of four UNDP indices: HDI, HPI, GDI (Gender Development Index) and GEM (Gender Empowerment Index). While Turkey's performance in HDI and GDI is above the world averages, it is well below that of OECD countries. Among the ILO-IPEC countries, Turkey ranks fourth after Brazil, Thailand and Philippines, in all except the HPI. All ILO-IPEC participating countries, except Bangladesh and Tanzania, are in the medium human development category. The latter two are in the low human development category. Given Turkey's accession process to the EU, current levels of human development are far from being satisfactory. In this regard, there is need for considerable improvements in bringing living standards to required levels. Elimination of child labour, universal education and equality between women and men are, no doubt, fundamental components of this.

Turkey's current performance in human development indices can perhaps be better appreciated when placed within the contradictory tendencies inherent in its recent experience of nation building.

Table 4.1 Comparison of Human Development Indices for 2000

HDI Rank	Country	HDI	HPI	GDI	GEM
74	Brazil	0.747	15.6	0.730	-
76	Thailand	0.745	18.7	0.741	-
77	Philippines	0.744	16.1	0.739	0.479
85	Turkey	0.732	16.4	0.726	0.321
109	Indonesia	0.670	27.7	0.664	-
128	India	0.563	34.6	0.545	-
135	Pakistan	0.522	40.1	0.489	-
138	Kenya	0.508	29.5	0.503	-
146	Bangladesh	0.461	43.6	0.441	0.305
156	Tanzania	0.415	29.2	0.410	-
OECD	0.893	-	0.889	-	-
World	0.712	-	0.706	-	-

Source: Human Development Report 2000, UNDP.

## 4.2 CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

Turkey is located at the crossroads of two continents and many civilizations. It emerged as a secular/unitarian nation-state in 1923, representing on the one hand, a radical break from the multi-nation Islamic Ottoman Empire and, on the other hand, a Western style model of development. Ironically, this point of divergence from its historical heritage and convergence with the West was made possible as a result of an independence war fought against Western powers after World War I. This process of transition was not unproblematic, as it carried with it elements of continuity and discontinuity, unity and diversity, tradition and modernity, which until today form the basis of political competition and identity politics.<sup>36</sup> The “women question” formed the site for this contest from the outset. The modernizing elites perceived women’s advancement to be part and parcel of Turkey’s modernization project. In this regard, equality between women and men was given constitutional and statutory recognition and a number of significant reforms were undertaken including, the 1924 Unification of Education Law, the 1926 Swiss-inspired Civil Code — which outlawed polygamy and gave partners equal right to divorce and child custody — and the 1930 right to vote in local elections and 1934 national elections.

On the economic front, the initial development model rested on statist policies comprising of five-year development plans (after 1960) and state economic enterprises. It was not until the 1950s that the private sector emerged in its own right. However, the civil and military bureaucracy continued to monopolize governance over the economy and identity politics, notwithstanding the underlying tension created by contradictory tendencies.<sup>37</sup> While, the statist development model initially generated rapid economic growth rates, the particularly impressive economic performance of the 1960s and 1970s of over 6 per cent growth annually was not sustainable. Neither was it possible to generate sufficient jobs for the growing masses migrating to the cities in search of employment. This resulted in the creation of urban ghettos, which carried with it the seeds of opposition, seriously challenging the demarcation between the “modern” and the “traditional”. Contrary to the expectations of the modernization paradigm of development, the modern did not eliminate the traditional but brought the inherent contradictions of modernization into the open.

Women’s emancipation remained problematic despite the many gains in the right to vote, run for office, take employment, and hold property, etc.,

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<sup>36</sup> For two different interpretations of Turkey’s modernization efforts see Lewis (1968) and Bozdogan and Kasaba (1997).

<sup>37</sup> The tension between the state and private enterprise is rooted in the historical tension between the tendencies towards concentration and fragmentation in land tenure.



since the gender order remained intact. Modernization integrated women into its ranks without disrupting the basic tenets of patriarchy.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the vast majority of women in rural areas and in the eastern provinces remained marginal to the process of modernization. Regional and rural–urban disparities became the salient feature of Turkey’s experience in development in general. “A significant share of total inequality in Turkey is explained by differences in endowments, geography and opportunities faced in the labour market” (World Bank 2000: v). Regional inequality has significantly curtailed the availability of educational and employment opportunities in eastern provinces. Economic deprivation, coupled with socio-cultural deprivation, emanating from traditional patriarchal practices, put the burden of regional underdevelopment disproportionately on the shoulder of women in this region.

Since the 1980s, parallel to the global restructuring, Turkey has also experienced significant changes, signalling a new phase in its development process. These changes can be characterized as tendencies towards greater political and economic liberalism, which is deepening the challenge over the nationalist-statist development strategy, thus leading to crisis in the identity as well as the economic spheres. The debates and the political contests emanating from this environment are indicative of the shifts in public policy choices towards greater privatization and integration with world markets. Turkey’s efforts to join the European Union and the various reforms it is undertaking in this regard can be perceived as part of the overall effort to find alternative modes of survival in the emerging new world order.

Observers acknowledge that one of the striking outcomes of the changes experienced starting in the 1980s is that “... for the first time in history, a “civil society” was coming into existence, made out of divergent groups of conflicting interests...” (Tekeli 1995: 7). This also included the coming to fore of a feminist movement questioning the male hegemony over identity politics.<sup>39</sup> Due to the efforts of various women’s groups over the past two decades, the aforementioned new Civil Code that eliminated discriminatory provisions in the previous law came into force in 2002. Various aspects of the gender implications of global restructuring for Turkey and globally, particularly from the point of view of the changing world of work, have been referred to in the previous chapter. The point to emphasize here is that the global changes and their national manifestations offer both opportunities and risks from the point of view of gender, education and child labour. Therefore, intervention strategies at the micro levels must bear these macro dynamics in mind.

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<sup>38</sup> See Tekeli (1995) for a collection of articles on the contradictory trends in the advancement of women.

<sup>39</sup> Feminism in Turkey has its roots in the late nineteenth-century Ottoman society (see Tekeli 1995).

#### 4.2.1 Demographic profile

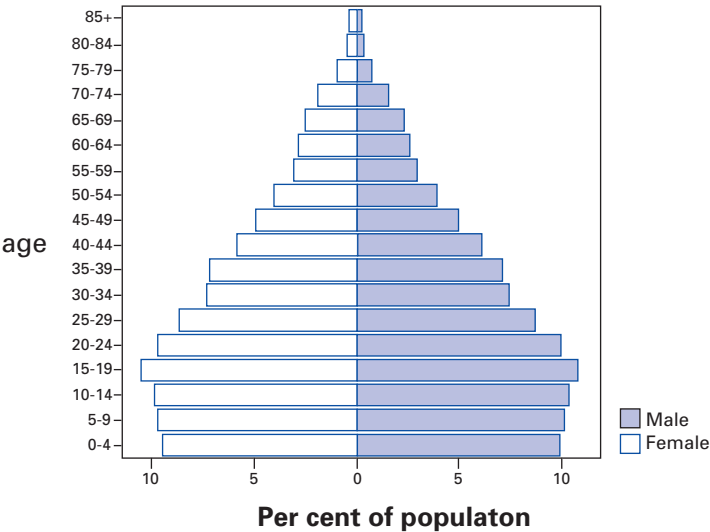
The current population of Turkey is 68 million (SIS 2003). The last census carried out in 2000 reveals that from 1990 to 2000 the country's population increased approximately by 2 per cent per annum. Population growth has actually slowed down quite significantly from the 1985-90 period, when it was estimated at 2.5 per cent per annum. The urban<sup>40</sup> population growth is significantly higher than the rural rate. While the annual rate of urban population growth over the 1990-2000 period was 3 per cent, the corresponding rate in rural areas was limited to 0.4 per cent. The main reason for the different growth rates is internal migration. While in 1965, 65.6 per cent of the population lived in rural areas, by 1990 this figure had fallen to 41 per cent and by 2000 35.1 per cent (SIS 2003). Although compared to the late 1960s the rate of urbanization is greatly reduced, it is still an important issue and will likely to occupy an important place in the government's agenda in the near future.

Turkey has a young population. According to the 2000 population census, the median age is 24.8 (SIS 2003). Slightly less than one third of the country's population is below the age of 15, which certainly has implications for the child labour problem. The large child population increases the dependency ratio and puts pressure on public finances as higher outlays are required to provide health care and schooling. It also increases the supply of potential child workers. The decline in fertility is gradually reducing the share of the young in the population. For instance, while the fertility rate in 1980 was 3.4, it declined to 2.7 in 1990 and to 2.5 in 2000. Correspondingly, the share of the young declined from 41.9 per cent in 1965 to 35 per cent in 1990 and to 29.8 per cent in 2000. The population pyramid given in Figure 4.1 clearly shows the changing structure of the Turkish population. The middle part of the pyramid is bulging out as opposed to the bottom, showing the declining fertility rates and the resultant decline in the share of the young. These are rather favourable changes as they reduce the dependency ratio and generate a "demographic widow of opportunity" for the country to attain faster economic growth (Tunalı 1996, TÜSIAD 1999a).

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<sup>40</sup> Urban areas are defined to be settlements with a population of over 20,000.

Figure 4.1 Population pyramid for Turkey



Source: 2000 Census of Population, SIS.

Life expectancy at birth is 66 years for men and 70 years for women (SIS 2002). Life expectancy at age 5, which is considered to be a more reliable measure, is slightly higher. Due to improved health care services and increased sanitation over the 1950-2000 period, life expectancy rose over 7 years for men and 10 years for women. Over time, infant mortality has declined quite considerably as well though it is still high (at 43 per thousand) compared to other OECD countries where it is 12 per thousand. The progress made in reducing infant mortality, which was recorded at 67 per thousand a decade ago and 150 per thousand in 1970 (SIS 2003), is commendable, yet has not been enough to remove infant mortality from the top of the State’s agenda.

The distribution of population by sex shows an almost equal number of men and women in the 15 to 64-year age category. The equality is somewhat tilted in favour of males in the 0 to 14-year age category (male/female ratio being 1.04) though Berik and Bilginsoy (2000) show that a significant difference does not exist between male and female children. However, in the 65+ category there is a clear female advantage with 54.7 per cent of the sub-population being made up of women. Although the birth rate has slowed down considerably, the rate of change in the death rate is expected to surpass the expected fall in the birth rate causing the population to continue to grow into the next century.

### 4.3 ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

Turkey has gone through two major structural transformations in the recent past. The first took place in the early 1970s and aimed to transform the heavily agrarian economy to an industrialized one. Then came in the 1980s with the adoption of export-oriented growth strategies. The industrialization effort of the 1970s favoured the industry at the expense of the agricultural sector and aimed at protecting the national industry from outside competition. The import-substituting growth strategy that was part of this effort was abandoned in the early 1980s after the country experienced serious foreign exchange bottlenecks. The post-1980 industrialization strategy followed neo-liberal policies complete with financial liberalization that came into effect in the late 1980s.

The industrialization efforts successfully increased the share of industry in national income. In 2000 for instance, 13.1 per cent of real gross national product (GNP) was generated by the agricultural sector, 27.8 per cent by industry and 59 per cent by services (including construction) (SIS 2002c). This is a remarkable transformation when compared to the 1970 figures which record the relative contribution of sectors as 30.7 per cent for agriculture, 17.5 per cent for industry and 51.7 per cent for services (SIS 1996a). Despite the reduction in the size of the agricultural sector, it still plays an important role in the Turkish economy. In 2000, 35.6 per cent of the labour force was employed in this sector. In contrast, the services sector employed 46.4 per cent of the workforce with the remaining 18 per cent being employed by industry.

The relatively small contribution of the agricultural sector to GNP despite the high employment rate highlights its low productivity (World Bank 2000). Part of the problem lies with the grossly unequal land distribution and consequently small land holdings. In rural areas, 40 per cent of the land is cultivated by 5 per cent of the agricultural households, while the other 60 per cent cultivates 20 per cent of the land (TÜSİAD 1999b: 47). The distributional statistics indicate that the majority of agricultural households operate small farms; 68 per cent of the agricultural establishments cultivate land that is less than 5 hectares in size. These small establishments mostly employ unpaid family labour. Indeed, labour force statistics indicate that 53.3 per cent of the individuals who have declared to be working in the agricultural sector in rural areas are unpaid family workers. Another 41.3 per cent are self-employed. Overall, these figures indicate that roughly 95 per cent of the agricultural workforce, not counting children under 15 years, are employed by family-owned agricultural establishments. These establishments often employ children as well. While the involvement of children in agricultural work may start out as “helping out” the family members, as the child grows older it might very well turn into serious undertaking that may potentially affect their educational and health outcomes. The ongoing agricultural reforms, which include the elimination of state subsidies and agri-

cultural support prices and their partial replacement by direct cash payments, are likely to affect the livelihoods of millions of people engaged in agriculture, including children. A priori, the potential effects of such reforms on the well-being of children are not clear. However, it is quite likely that once the reforms are fully implemented some agricultural activities will no longer be viable and another wave of migration might take place from rural to urban areas.

It is not clear that the urban economy has the capacity to absorb a massive migration. The growth performance of Turkey since the 1980s has been rather erratic. While the early part of the decade (1981-87 period) witnessed steady high growth rates averaging around 5.8 per cent per annum, in the later years national income fluctuated widely. The erratic swings in GNP were a product of the stumbling neo-liberal policies which finally collapsed in 1994, leading to a severe economic crisis. During the year (in April) the Turkish lira was devaluated, inflation reached three digit levels and the economy shrank by 6.1 per cent. However, by the last quarter of 1994 a recovery was underway. The ensuing recovery was short-lived and ended in yet another crisis in 1999 during which the economy shrank again by 6.1 per cent (SIS 2002c). The downturn of the economy was partly due to the negative effect of the Russian crisis that took place a year earlier and two massive earthquakes that devastated the Marmara Region of Turkey. These earthquakes not only claimed thousands of lives but they dramatically reduced the productive capacity of the most industrial part of the country overnight. The massive rebuilding effort of the government helped get the economy back on the growth track but the recovery was again short lived. In 2001 Turkey experienced the most severe economic crisis in its recent history during which the economy shrunk by 9.1 per cent. At the time of the writing of this book, the economy showed some signs of improvement though still far from approaching full recovery of its losses. At the moment the GNP per capita at constant prices stands at US\$ 2,965 (SIS 2002c). This figure puts Turkey among lower-middle income countries (World Bank 2002). It is also important to note that both the political and economic implications of the recent war on Iraq, the political deadlock in the Cyprus issue, and the uncertainties with regard to Turkey's accession status to the European Union pose significant constraints on the growth potential of the economy.

#### **4.3.1 Employment and unemployment**

The recent economic crisis has left thousands of people unemployed. Currently the unemployment rate stands at 10.6 per cent.<sup>41</sup> It is quite likely that the true unemployment rate is much higher as many labour market partic-

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<sup>41</sup> The data in this section are compiled from the web site of the State Institute of Statistics. The Institute maintains a labour force data base on the web that can be reached at <http://www.die.gov.tr>.

ipants cannot afford to stay unemployed for long. The informal sector absorbs some of the unemployed thereby reducing the volume of the job seekers. If under-employment is taken as a rough measure of such labour market participants, the magnitude of whom are recorded at 5.4 per cent in 2002, the true unemployment rate would be 16 per cent.

The unemployment rate differs between urban and rural areas and for the male and the female workforce. The overall unemployment rate at 14.3 per cent in urban areas and 5.8 per cent in rural areas. The unemployment rate is especially high among urban women. While the unemployment rate stands at 13.1 per cent for men in urban areas, the corresponding figure is 18.8 per cent for women. However, for men the under-employment rate is somewhat higher (6.5 per cent for men compared to 3.4 per cent for women) so that that the unemployment rate for men defined to include the under-employed surpasses the rate recorded for women. In rural areas, the unemployment rates for both men and women are much lower than the country average at 7.3 per cent and 3 per cent respectively. However, while the under-employment rate recorded for rural men (7 per cent) is higher than the country average, that of women is significantly lower at 1.1 per cent.

As in many other countries, unemployment is especially high for young workers. In urban areas, the highest unemployment rate among male labour market participants is recorded for 20-24 year-olds at 22.5 per cent. For urban women, the unemployment rate is highest for 15-19 year-olds at 33 per cent though it is also rather high among 20-24 year-olds, at 28 per cent. In rural areas for both the male and female labour market participants, the highest unemployment rate is recorded 20-24-year age category at 18.8 per cent and 7.3 per cent respectively. At this point, it should be mentioned that until quite recently unemployment benefits did not exist in Turkey. In 2002, an unemployment insurance scheme was introduced to support the unemployed for up to a maximum of 10 months. The unemployed are entitled to these benefits by having contributed to the unemployment insurance fund to which the employers and the State also contribute. The scheme has limited coverage as it is only available to those with formal sector jobs. For others in the informal sector who are likely to be less-well paid, unemployment remains a luxury.

Significant differences exist in the labour supply behaviour of men and women, where the latter have disproportionately lower labour market participation rates. Apart from the agricultural sector and textile manufacturing, women's representation in the labour market is very low. It would not be wrong to argue that the labour market policies in Turkey have failed to integrate women into the formal sector. The SIS labour force surveys show women's labour force participation in 2002 at 27 per cent and men's at 70.5 per cent. The gender gap is especially large in urban areas where the participation rate of women in 2002 was limited to 18.7 per cent, while that of men was recorded at 68.7 per cent. In rural areas, due to women's relatively

higher participation in agriculture, the gap is smaller — participation rates being 40.9 per cent for women and 73.7 per cent for men.

A discrepancy in the participation rates between rural and urban areas for both men and women is expected since late entry to and early exit from the labour market takes place in the latter due to prolonged schooling and earlier retirement respectively. It can also be claimed that part of the higher participation in rural areas stems from the fact that it is much easier to be classified as a labour market participant in rural areas since the work environment and the domicile are often integrated with each other. This also partly explains the difference between the participation rates of rural and urban women. In rural areas, since what is “economic” and what is not is not clearly demarcated, it is easier for women to be classified as “economically active”. However, in urban areas, women are less frequently counted as labour market participants as the availability of household work that is considered economic is rather limited.

However, the role of culture that defines the domestic sphere as women’s proper place in the society, the limited availability of affordable child care services for working mothers and other support mechanisms, and unwelcoming labour practices obviously play an important role in limiting women’s participation in the labour market. When they do join in, they are often unpaid family workers. Although the participation rates of women in rural areas are high, the proportion working as wage labourers is less than 15 per cent. Even in urban areas, albeit in small numbers, women join the labour market as unpaid family workers within household-based establishments. Naturally such work does very little to integrate women into the larger sphere of public life. This employment pattern that is tilted toward unpaid work also explains why women’s participation in urban areas are so low. Women who are employed as family labour in rural areas, become “housewives” when the family migrates to the city and when there is no longer a family establishment to work for.<sup>42</sup>

Another important reason for the low participation of urban women is the generally lower human capital endowment of women. While this is not much of a hindrance in rural areas, it plays an important role in finding a job, especially in the formal sector, in urban areas. It is also quite likely that the high unemployment rates for women reported above and the rather unwelcoming nature of wage work (inflexible hours, limited child care facilities and maternity leave, etc.) negatively affect the human capital acquisition of women as well as their labour market entry.

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<sup>42</sup> A number of small scale surveys doing in-depth analysis with women from lower income families have found that some women who declare themselves as ‘housewives’ are actually engaged in work that can be classified as economic. However, they refrain from declaring it since they consider the activity not as work but as a pass time activity (White 1993). To the extent that such work is prevalent among lower income families, the labour statistics understate women’s work efforts though it is not easy to determine the extent of under estimation.



Without a doubt, structural adjustment policies have also been instrumental in shaping the current state of the labour market. In many developing countries, an outcome of export-oriented growth strategies has been the “feminization” of the labour force. A recent study by Özler (2000) finds evidence of feminization in the 1983-85 period in Turkey as well. However, as also noted by Özler, increased share of women in the export sector is often accompanied by an increase in the share of women holding low-skilled, low-paying jobs. There is also evidence that the impact of technological change might not be favourable for women. Ansal (1997) finds that the advent of new technology in certain sectors has eliminated typical “female” jobs that are relatively more labour intensive.

#### 4.3.2 Income distribution and social welfare

The highly unequal distribution of income in Turkey also contributes to the preservation of archaic values that limit women’s participation in public sphere. As discussed earlier, the “women question” has been the new medium through which the “modernity” vs. “tradition” debate has found expression. In this respect, assuring a better income distribution and eradication of poverty carry special relevance in recasting the role of women in the society.

As mentioned above, Turkey not only suffers from low income per capita, but from an unequal distribution of income as well. According to the latest income distribution survey carried out by the SIS in 1994, while the top 20 per cent of the households receives 54.9 per cent of the total disposable income, the bottom 20 per cent only receives 4.9 per cent (Table 4.2). The distribution is even more unequal in urban vs. rural areas in Turkey. The Gini coefficient is recorded at 0.51 for urban and at 0.41 for rural areas.

**Table 4.2 Income shares of households by quintiles –1994**

Households	Share in disposable income		
	Turkey	Urban	Rural
Bottom 20%	4.9	4.8	5.6
2nd 20%	8.6	8.2	10.1
3rd 20%	12.6	11.9	14.8
4th 20%	19.0	17.9	21.8
<b>Top 20%</b>	<b>54.9</b>	<b>57.2</b>	<b>47.7</b>

Source: 1994 Household Income Distribution Survey, SIS.



## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

Various studies establish the incidence of poverty in Turkey between 7 and 15 per cent (Dumanlı 1996, Kasnakoğlu and Uygur 1995, World Bank 2000). The World Bank study estimates the proportion of households in absolute poverty (using a minimum food basket) at 7.3 per cent, but the proportion of households which are economically vulnerable (using a basic needs basket) is estimated to be much higher at 36 per cent. State assistance STET the poor is rather limited. Though there are a number of state funds where the poor can apply for cash or in-kind support, the amount of social assistance provided is rather small (Şenses 2001, World Bank 2000). The most extensive system through which social assistance is provided to the poor is the Social Assistance and Solidarity Encouragement Fund. The Fund is administered by the Prime Ministry. Beneficiaries are identified by the local administrators and assistance is provided through local branches. The poor can also apply to get assistance for their children from the Social Services and Child Protection Agency. In addition, they can apply for a “green card” which qualifies them to obtain free health services from state hospitals. The total expenditure on these schemes as a share of the gross domestic product (GDP) was limited to a meagre 0.3 per cent in 1999 (World Bank 2002). To some extent, informal networks and the extended family relations take the place of formal social safety nets for the poor. Under these circumstances, it is likely that the household considers children’s labour as yet another survival strategy. Thus the provision of well targeted social assistance is of great importance. Recently, the government has taken important steps to restructure its social assistance system and hence provide better support to the poor. The new measures when realized are expected to impact quite favourably on the child labour problem and the general well being of children.

## 4.4 THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

### 4.4.1 Structure of the education system

The fundamental principles underlying the Turkish education system are engrained in the Unification of Education Law, which was enacted in 1924 shortly after the creation of the Republic. With this law, the MONE was mandated with the organization and supervision of formal and non-formal education throughout the country.<sup>43</sup> The notion of equal opportunity in education is a central theme in the national legal system. According to the Turkish Constitution (Article 52), primary education is compulsory for all

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<sup>43</sup> One of the motivations behind the centralized structure of education was to standardize educational procedures, requirements and the curricula in order to ensure equal opportunity to all. Whether centralization of education, particularly the content of education, actually promotes equal opportunity has been and continues to be a heated debate among policy makers and educators alike.

Turkish citizens and free at state schools. The Basic National Education Act (1939 and 1973) ensures every Turkish citizen the right to education (Article 7) and it states that opportunity of education is equal for all women and men (Article 8) and institutions of education are open for everyone, regardless of language, religion, race and sex (Article 4). The same principle is also ensured in the Primary Education Act (no. 222, Article 1, 1961). However, despite the considerable progress achieved towards universal compulsory education, there are persisting regional and gender inequalities in literacy, access to schooling, enrolment rates and educational attainment.

The MONE is responsible for planning, programming, executing, monitoring and controlling all educational services except for tertiary education, which is administered by the Higher Education Council. Its main functions are to open formal and non-formal educational institutions, to prepare and monitor school curriculum, including textbooks and educational materials, and to distribute these and other necessary equipment to schools.

The aims and principles of the Turkish national education system are outlined in the National Education Basic Act no. 1739. The Act aims at preparing every child to further levels of education in accordance to his/her interests, abilities and capacities. The principles of the Act are equality for all; continuity of education; education in the principles of democracy, secularism and scientific approach; coordination and collaboration between school and the family; and access to education for all. In principle, the Turkish educational system is based on co-education (Act no. 1739, Article 15). However, the Act notes that some schools can be allocated only for boys and others for girls depending on “the type of education, opportunities and obligations”.<sup>44</sup>

### ***The formal education system***

The formal education system includes pre-school, primary school (or basic education since 1997), secondary education (high schools) and higher education institutions. Originally, formal education was built on a 5-3-3 system, which meant five years of compulsory elementary schooling, three years of junior high school, three years of senior high school and two to seven years of higher education. Within this structure, elementary education served the 6-11 age group. The junior high schools gave general academic education as well as vocational training to children between the ages 12 to 14 and high

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<sup>44</sup> The examples of sex-segregated schools in Turkey are in vocational and technical secondary education. In principle boys can enrol to technical schools for girls and girls to that of boys although enrolment rates are quite low (MONE 2003). Male students tend to enrol more in vocational and technical schools for boys whereas female enrolment is high in that of girls. In secondary education, only religious schools -*Imam Hatip* High Schools-are strictly sex-segregated. The implications of low enrolment rates and sex-segregation on the educational attainment of children will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

schools were divided into general, vocational or specialized education and covered the 15-17 age group.<sup>45</sup> In 1997, with the adoption of the new Education Act (no. 4306), this structure has changed to a 8-3 system. Within the new system, compulsory basic education is increased from five to eight years of schooling, thereby consolidating the previous elementary and junior high schools. Enforcement of the new Act has two implications of direct relevance for child labour: (i) children will be kept in school three years longer, thus potentially delaying their labour market participation as well as early marriages for girls; (ii) branching to vocational technical education would be possible at a later age, thus increasing the future prospects for children and enhancing their ability to make informed life choices. It is therefore expected that the eight-year compulsory primary education system will contribute to the reduction of child labour. Although it is too early to prove this relationship, there is some evidence of increases in enrolment rates and decreases in the participation of children in market work.<sup>46</sup>

### ***Higher education***

Universities, faculties, and institutes are among the higher educational institutions. Higher education is largely public.<sup>47</sup> As of 2002, there were 2,816 universities; 82 of which are private. Higher education covers the 17-and-above age group. Schooling years vary from two to five years for a university degree.<sup>48</sup> Students with a secondary education diploma are eligible for higher education. However, they need to be successful in the national university entrance examination administered centrally by the Higher Education Institute in order to enrol in a higher education programme.<sup>49</sup> The university exam is highly competitive and often requires students to prepare over and above what is taught in school. Many applicants receive private tutoring specially geared toward the university exam. Applicants who fail to get a high enough score to enrol in a two or a four-year higher education programme can opt to enrol in “open university” provided that their exam score is above the minimum score required for admission.

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<sup>45</sup> In the course of the short history of the national education system a sharp division between vocational and academic lines occurred. During the earlier periods of the Republic vocational programmes were offered at the junior high school level but this practice was gradually abandoned starting in the 1960s and was finally done away with in 1997. For further discussion, see various articles in Yıldırım and Durnin (1997).

<sup>46</sup> These trends will also be elaborated in Chapter 6.

<sup>47</sup> Public universities have a yearly tuition fee. Since university education is highly subsidized by the State the tuition fee is rather minimal. However, grants for accommodation and living expenses along with a tuition waiver are provided by the State for poor students.

<sup>48</sup> Institutes –Yüksekokullar- are for two years. University diploma can be held after four years. In some universities where the language of instruction is not Turkish, there is preparatory language school (English or French) for one year.

<sup>49</sup> The university entrance exam is held once a year. University departments have an average admission score on the basis of which they admit students.

Higher education has the lowest rate of enrolment and completion in the country. There are several reasons for this. Firstly,<sup>50</sup> the supply is not high enough to meet the demand. Secondly, university education is quite costly for students from low-income families. The financial assistance provided by the State is insufficient to cover all educational expenses and the volume of private funding is low. It is also important to mention that State funding starts when the student actually enrolls in a higher education programme. But the main bottleneck in guaranteeing equal access to higher education is the cost of private tutoring which can be back-breaking even for middle-income families.

#### *Nationwide campaigns to promote the 1997 Education Act and combat child labour*

The MONE, in collaboration with governmental, non-governmental and international organizations<sup>51</sup> has launched nationwide campaigns to promote the full implementation of the new Education Act and combat child labour. Related projects undertaken by MONE in the context of the ILO-IPEC programme were discussed earlier in Chapter 2 but are worth mentioning again here as are those initiated in 1999 with financial assistance from the EU Mediterranean Programme (MEDA) to support primary education and strengthen the vocational education system. The project entitled “Support for basic education” aims to increase the level of education in urban, rural and *gecekondu* (squatter housing) areas as well as the level of formal and non-formal education for women and girls in rural areas. The projects targeting vocational education<sup>52</sup> aim to increase the efficiency and quality of vocational education, to train a work force with qualifications that are compatible with the demands of the market, enhance the quality and performance of the teachers and strengthen the capacity of research and the vocational and technical education institutions.

#### 4.4.2 Gender and regional disparities

On the educational front, Turkey still portrays the characteristics of a developing country with high illiteracy rates and low school enrolment. The efforts of the government to raise the national educational level have been fruitful; the 67.5 per cent illiteracy rate of 1955 has been brought down to

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<sup>50</sup> In 2003, 1.5 million individuals (mostly students) took the university entrance exam. Only 12 per cent of the examinees were admitted to a four-year programme. Inclusive of the two-year programmes and open university, the overall success rate was in the order of 34 per cent (<http://www.osym.gov.tr>).

<sup>51</sup> UNICEF and ILO have been important partners for MONE in its efforts to actualize its Basic Education Programme (BEP). Also worth mentioning is the US\$ 300 million World Bank loan for the implementation of BEP.

<sup>52</sup> These are the project on ‘Strengthening of vocational education in Turkey’ and the project on ‘Modernization of vocational and technical education institutions’.

12.7 per cent in just over 45 years (Figure 4.2). Despite this vast improvement, the rate of illiteracy in Turkey still lags behind many industrialized countries where adult illiteracy is below 5 per cent (World Bank 2002).

*Male-female literacy gap*

The level of schooling attained is particularly important in facilitating women's and girls' access to the public sphere and in opening a way for lifelong learning and education. Historically, women's education in Turkey has lagged behind men. The 2000 Population Census records the illiteracy rate among men at 6.1 per cent, while that of women at 19.4 per cent.<sup>53</sup> These figures actually embody substantial improvements over time. For instance, a decade ago the rate of illiteracy among men was 10.2 per cent while that for women was 32.6 per cent (Figure 4.2). Over the 1990-2000 period, an improvement in the order of 4 percentage points occurred for men whereas for women the improvement was more than 13 percentage points. However, measured in terms of percentages the male and female illiteracy rates declined by a similar rate — roughly 4 per cent annually. Obviously, the rate of improvement for women needs to be higher if women were to catch up with men any time soon.

According to the 2000 Population Census, a sizeable proportion of the literate population has no diploma. For instance, in 2000 almost a quarter of the literate population did not complete compulsory education. However, by far the largest group consists of those who have left the education system upon completion of compulsory schooling. Prior to 1997 compulsory education was limited to five years of primary school. In 1997 primary and junior-high schools were merged under the umbrella of basic education with the extension of compulsory schooling to eight years. Table 4.3 shows that not more than one-fifth of the literate population acquires any education beyond what is required by law. In 2000 only 15.3 per cent had a high school and 6.1 per cent a university education. It is important to note that the latter figure includes open-university graduates as well.

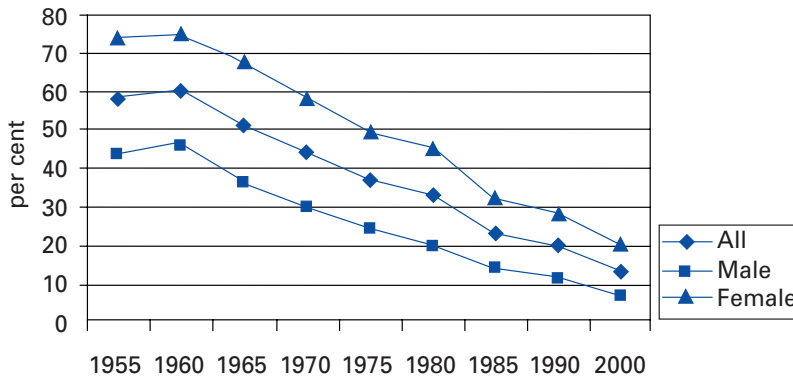
Significant improvements have been observed in the level of education attained over time. For instance, in 1970 less than 10 per cent of the literate population had a high school education or more. By 2000, this figure had become 21.4 per cent. Significant improvements have also been achieved in the recent past. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, the extension of compulsory education to eight years seems to have impacted significantly on school enrolment rates, which is likely to improve upon the average education level of the country in the near future.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> This clearly shows that Turkey fell short of its commitment during the Beijing Conference to eradicate women's illiteracy by the year 2000.

<sup>54</sup> The increase in the proportion of literates without a diploma from 1990 to 2000 should not be evaluated as deterioration in educational outcomes. The figures presented in Table 4.3 include children as well (six years and above) so that the extension of compulsory schooling meant that children spent an extra three years in school before attaining a basic education diploma. Consequently, in comparison to 1990, an increase in the ratio of literates without a diploma is expected.

Figure 4.2 Changes in illiteracy rates over time by sex



Source: 2001 Statistical Yearbook of Turkey, SIS.

Table 4.3 Distribution of literate population across different educational categories, 1970-2000

Census year	Literate without diploma	Primary school	Junior High school	Basic education	High school	Higher education
1970	36.6	50.7	6.4	57.1	4.6	1.7
1975	28.6	56.8	7.4	64.2	5.6	1.6
1980	24.5	56.2	8.4	64.6	7.5	3.3
1985	23.8	56.3	8.4	64.7	8.5	2.9
1990	19.8	57.3	9.4	66.7	9.7	3.8
2000	24.7	42.4	8.3	54.0	15.3	6.0

Source: 2001 Statistical Yearbook of Turkey, SIS and 2000 Population of Census, SIS.

Note: Includes 6 years and over. Basic education includes primary school and junior high school.

### *Women's educational attainment*

Just as a female bias exists among the illiterates, an education gender gap in favour of males is observed among the literate population. Women on average have fewer years of schooling compared to men. Table 4.4 shows that for all periods under study, women are concentrated in lower ranks of schooling. For instance, in 2000, 46 per cent of the literate female population had a primary school diploma as opposed to 39.2 per cent of men. Likewise, while 26.7 per cent of women had no diploma, this rate was 22.9 per cent for men. In contrast, at the upper end of the schooling distribution more men are found. In 2000, while 13.1 per cent of literate women had a high school diploma and 4.9 per cent a university degree, these rates were 17.1 per cent and 7 per cent for men respectively.

## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

Over time, the educational attainment of both men and women has improved. Not only has the rate of illiteracy gone down, but a larger number of literates progressed into higher schooling levels. For instance, while in 1970, 6.8 per cent of men and 5.6 per cent of women had a high school or more education, by 2000 these figures were 24.1 per cent for men and 18 per cent for women (Table 4.4). The improvement in men's educational attainment in terms of progression into upper educational levels has been slightly higher than women's so that the gender education gap has not closed over time. These findings indicate that programmes that specifically target women are in immediate need. Another piece of evidence also supports this urgent call. So far, the general educational profile of the country is painted by taking a stock of educational attainments. The likely changes in this profile in the near future can be understood by looking at the enrolment rates. The school enrolment rates indicate that the gender education gap is not likely to change drastically in the near future. Neither would it be possible to eradicate illiteracy altogether. Naturally a reduction in illiteracy rates is expected both for men and women as older individuals are replaced by younger and more educated ones. However, Table 4.5 indicates that, even among the younger population, illiteracy will continue to be a problem for some time to come. At the very best there will be some individuals who would possibly read and write but who will not possess a diploma. This is supported by the fact that enrolment rates even in basic education are less than 100 per cent. In other words, some children either drop out of the schooling system or they never start school. The enrolment figures presented in Table 4.5 also show that there is a gender gap in the enrolment rates both at the basic and secondary education levels. These findings hint that, unless deliberate action is taken, the gender education gap will persist in the near future as well. The school enrolment rates are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

**Table 4.4 Distribution of literate population across different educational categories by sex, 1970-2000**

Census Year	Literate without diploma		Primary school		Junior high school		Basic education		High school		Higher education	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1970	34.8	39.7	51.4	49.5	7.1	5.2	58.5	54.7	4.9	4.2	1.9	1.4
1975	27.3	30.7	56.3	57.6	8.2	6.1	64.5	63.7	6.1	4.8	2.0	0.8
1980	23.0	26.8	55.3	57.5	9.5	6.8	64.8	64.3	8.0	6.7	4.1	2.1
1985	21.8	26.5	55.1	57.9	9.8	6.6	64.9	64.5	9.5	7.2	3.9	1.7
1990	18.4	21.6	55.3	59.9	10.8	7.6	66.1	67.5	10.7	8.3	4.8	2.8
2000	23.0	26.7	39.3	46.2	10.1	6.0	52.8	55.3	17.2	13.1	7.0	4.9

Source: 2001 Statistical Yearbook of Turkey, SIS and 2000 Census of Population, SIS.

Note: Includes 6 years and over. Basic education includes primary school and junior high school.



Table 4.5 Net enrolment rates by sex, 2000

	Total	Male	Female
Basic education	90.1	92.8	87.1
Secondary education	38.8	42.9	34.5
General high school	24.6	25.8	23.3
Vocational high school	14.2	17.1	11.2

Source: 2000 Census of Population and 2000 Education Statistics, MONE as reported in Erciyes (2003).

### *Regional disparities in education*

In discussing the educational profile of the country it is also important to mention regional disparities. The eastern and south-eastern provinces of Turkey are relatively less developed compared to the western provinces. Although both the Seventh and Eighth Five-Year Development Plans aimed at overcoming qualitative and quantitative differences between the regions and ensuring equality of access to education, the targeted goals are far from being achieved.

Regional disparities in education are shown in Table 4.6. In 2000, the lowest rate of illiteracy is recorded for the Marmara region (7.6 per cent), whereas the highest rates are found in East and South-East Anatolia at 22.3 per cent and 23.6 per cent respectively. These rates are almost twice the country average, which is rather alarming. Regional disparities also exist among literate population. The Marmara, Aegean and Central Anatolia regions are home to relatively more educated individuals. The proportion of literates continuing onto higher levels of education in any one of these regions is much higher than the country average. In contrast, the largest proportion of illiterates and school dropouts as measured by the magnitude of literates without a diploma are found in eastern part of the country.

Table 4.6 Distribution of population across educational categories by region, 2000

Regions	Illiterate	Literate without diploma	Primary school	Junior-high school	Basic education	High school	Higher education
Marmara	7.6	18.8	40.3	8.4	51.6	15.3	6.8
Aegean	10.2	19.3	42.4	6.8	51.9	12.8	5.7
Mediterranean	11.8	22.2	36.9	7.1	47.1	13.7	5.1
Central Anatolia	9.7	20.6	36.9	7.9	47.8	15.4	6.5
Black Sea	14.2	22.4	38.4	6.4	47.8	11.8	3.8
Eastern Anatolia	22.3	25.6	28.3	6.4	37.4	11.5	3.2
South-East Anatolia	23.6	26.8	28.8	5.7	37.1	9.6	2.9
Turkey	12.7	21.5	37.0	7.2	47.1	13.4	5.3

Source: 2003 Census of Population, SIS.

Note: Includes 6 years and over. Basic education includes primary school and junior high school.



## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

Women's disadvantaged position in terms of educational attainment is aggravated in poorer regions. Acar (2003: 4) notes, "... in Turkey older age, rural residence or Eastern location account for more female illiteracy than male. Consequently, older, rural women in the Eastern and south-eastern regions of the country are most likely to be illiterate". While the female illiteracy rate is 11.8 per cent in the Marmara region, it is as high as 34.1 per cent and 35.4 per cent in East and South-East Anatolia respectively (Table 4.7). While out of 100 women only 12 are illiterate in the Marmara region, this figure increases to 35 women in East and South-East Anatolia. These are strikingly high figures. Parallel to these findings, the proportion of women holding higher educational degrees is considerably less in poorer regions of the country.

Interestingly, the gender gap in illiteracy does not seem to differ considerably across the regions. In the Marmara region, which is one of the most developed regions of the country, the rate of illiteracy among women is over three times the rate recorded for men. Similarly in the poorest region of the country, South-East Anatolia, the female-male differential is three to one. The same applies to East Anatolia which is the other disadvantaged region of the country. Of course, the fundamental difference is that eastern provinces have higher illiteracy rates for both men and women in comparison to western provinces. Among the literate population however, a bigger gender education gap is observed in poorer parts of the country. For instance, while the proportion of men and women completing basic education is not drastically different in the Marmara region, a considerable gap emerges in East and South-East Anatolia. It seems that women have a harder time progressing onto higher educational levels in poorer parts of the country. There is clearly a need to put in place special education programmes geared toward increasing women's literacy rates and in closing the illiteracy gap between the regions. In addition, programmes that can support girls and women's progression into higher levels of education, especially in poorer parts of the country, need to be implemented.

It is also important to mention that, unless special programmes are put in place, regional disparity in educational attainment is likely to persist in the future as well. Table 4.8 indicates that eastern regions are marked by the lowest rates of enrolment in both the primary and secondary education. While the Marmara region has the highest rate of enrolment, almost 100 per cent in basic education and 47.9 per cent in secondary education, these figures in East Anatolia are 76.8 per cent and 23.2 per cent respectively.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Enrolment rates will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

Table 4.7 Distribution of population across educational categories by region and sex, 2000

Regions	Illiterate		Literate no diploma		Primary school		Junior-high school		Basic education		High school		Higher education	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Marmara	3.5	11.8	18.3	19.4	39.7	41.0	10.3	6.3	53.1	49.9	17.1	13.4	8.0	5.5
Aegean	4.7	15.8	19.0	19.7	42.8	42.1	8.9	4.7	54.6	49.2	14.9	10.8	6.9	4.5
Mediterranean	5.7	18.0	22.2	22.3	37.0	36.8	9.2	5.0	49.6	44.5	16.0	11.4	6.5	3.8
Central A.	4.4	15.0	20.4	20.9	34.7	39.0	10.5	5.3	48.6	47.0	18.6	12.1	8.1	5.0
Black Sea	6.6	21.5	22.5	22.3	38.1	38.8	8.9	3.9	50.6	45.2	15.1	8.5	5.2	2.4
Eastern A.	11.3	34.1	26.7	24.4	29.2	27.3	9.1	3.5	41.5	32.9	16.0	6.8	4.6	1.8
South-East A.	12.4	35.4	27.8	25.7	31.4	26.1	8.1	3.2	42.7	31.3	13.1	5.9	4.0	1.7
Turkey	6.1	19.4	21.5	21.5	36.9	37.2	9.5	4.9	49.6	44.6	16.1	10.6	6.6	3.9

Source: 2003 Census of Population, SIS.

Note: Includes 6 years and over. Basic education includes primary school and junior high school.

Table 4.8 Net enrolment rates by region, 2000

	Marmara	Aegean	Medi- terranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	Eastern Anatolia	South-East Anatolia
Basic education	100 <sup>1</sup>	93.0	90.0	88.5	84.2	76.8	83.9
Secondary education	47.9	43.2	40.8	42.7	37.1	23.2	21.6

Source: Table A4 in the appendix.

Note: (1) indicates that figures exceeding 100 are round to 100. Inconsistencies between the normal place of residence and the place where the child attends school can lead to net enrolment figures exceeding 100 per cent.

### *Turkey compared with other ILO-IPEC programme countries*

It might also be interesting to assess the relative position of Turkey vis-à-vis other ILO-IPEC programme countries in the field of education. As mentioned earlier, in terms of the Human Development Index (HDI) Turkey is somewhat below Brazil, Thailand and the Philippines, though they are all categorized among counties with a medium level of human development (Table 4.9). In comparison to the latter two counties, Turkey lags behind in terms of both the adult and youth literacy. However, the fact that the gap between Turkey and the other two countries is not drastic in terms of youth literacy indicates that Turkey is catching up with them. Gross enrolment rates at basic education also indicate that the gap will be closing in the near future. The other area in which Turkey lags behind is the share of GNP devoted to education. While Turkey spends only 2.2 per cent of its GNP on education, this figure is around 5 per cent in both Brazil and Thailand. Turkey also differs from the other counties in the way it allocates the educational budget between tertiary (higher) and lower levels of education. Among the counties considered, Turkey

## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

is the one that allocates the highest share of the educational budget to higher education. For instance, while Brazil spends 26.2 per cent of the education budget on tertiary education, this figure is 34.7 per cent in Turkey. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the main reason for the relatively high public expenditures on higher education is the need to accommodate the demand for university education. However, the validity of this allocation is questionable, especially when there are problems with providing universal basic education and when there are such huge regional and gender disparities to be dealt with at the basic level.

**Table 4.9 Educational profiles of selected countries participating in ILO-IPEC**

HDI rank	Country	Adult literacy	Youth literacy	Enrolment			Public expenditures in education			
				Primary	Secondary	Children reaching grade 5	GNP	Gov.	Pre, primary & secondary	Tertiary
74	Brazil	84.5	92.0	97.1	65.9	71	5.1	-	73.8	26.2
76	Thailand	95.0	98.8	88.0	47.6	-	4.8	20.1	70.3	16.4
77	Philippines	94.8	98.4	99.9	77.8	-	3.4	15.7	79.3	18.0
<b>85</b>	<b>Turkey</b>	<b>84.0</b>	<b>95.9</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>58.4</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>14.7</b>	<b>65.3</b>	<b>34.7</b>
109	Indonesia	85.7	97.3	99.2	56.1	88	1.4	7.9	73.5	24.4
128	India	55.7	70.9	77.2	59.7	59	3.2	11.6	66.0	13.7
135	Pakistan	44.0	61.4	-	-	-	2.7	7.1	79.8	13.0
138	Kenya	80.5	94.3	65.0	61.1	-	6.5	16.7	-	-
146	Bangladesh	40.1	49.6	75.1	21.6	-	2.2	-	88.6	7.9
156	Tanzania	73.6	89.9	47.4	-	81	-	-	-	-
<b>OECD</b>		-	-	<b>99.9</b>	<b>88.8</b>	-	<b>5</b>	-	-	-
<b>World</b>		-	<b>85.1</b>	<b>87.6</b>	<b>65.4</b>	-	<b>4.8</b>	-	-	-

Source: Table 11, Human Development Report 2000, UNDP.

## 4.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The issues raised in this study on the problem of child labour, the gender disparity in the time-allocation process in general and on the disadvantaged position of the girl child in terms of schooling and work outcomes in particular are partly a manifestation of the macro dynamics. Interventions at the meso and micro spheres naturally need to be complemented by macro interventions. In particular, achieving respectable and steady growth rates, improving income distribution, reducing poverty, reducing unemployment, allocating more resources to the education sector and the like would impact favourably in reducing the incidence of child labour, integrating more children into the education system and closing the education gender gap. Such changes would also create an enabling environment for interventions at the meso and micro levels. In this respect, the need for mainstreaming child labour and gender issues into macro-planning cannot be overemphasized.

## OPPORTUNITIES AND BOTTLENECKS IN THE SCHOOLING OF CHILDREN

# 5

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The importance of education in the lives of children and adults is clear. Education of girls is particularly important because it not only increases their opportunities in life, but also has a long-term impact on changing the gender roles. Therefore, it is essential to analyse the capacity of the educational system in determining where the opportunities and bottlenecks are, so that it can be used more effectively in attracting more children to the schooling system and keeping them there. The provision of high quality, affordable educational services both at the basic and secondary level can potentially act as deterrents to child labour. The better the educational services provided, the higher the likelihood that children and their families will choose school over market or household work. This chapter examines the opportunities the current schooling system provides to girls and boys, as well as the problem areas and the major bottlenecks in the provision of the educational services.

#### 5.1.1 Compulsory basic education

As mentioned earlier, the Turkish compulsory basic education system is eight years, covering the age group of 6-14 years.<sup>56</sup> The main institutions of basic education are primary schools, regional primary boarding schools (RPBS), provincial primary pension schools (PPPS), and primary schools for children with disabilities. In addition, there are private primary schools. These include Turkish as well as minority, foreign and international schools.<sup>57</sup> Public

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<sup>56</sup> Pre-school is optional in Turkey and therefore, school enrolment is very low. In 2000, only 9.8 per cent of children of pre-school age were found to attend pre-school (MONE 2001).

<sup>57</sup> The number of private minority and private foreign schools offering basic education is quite low. In 2000, there were only 38 private minority schools and 16 private foreign schools whereas the figure for private Turkish schools was 639 (MONE 2001). Private schools are open to all students. However, private minority schools particularly attract students from religious minorities (Armenians and Greeks).

schools in the country meet an overwhelming number of children's educational needs. Private schools constitute only 1.8 per cent of the basic education institutions and they are mainly in cities like İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa and Konya. In the 2001-02 school year only 1.7 per cent of the total number of students in primary education were enrolled in private schools (MONE 2001).

The government of Turkey considers education as the most important tool for development in every sphere. In its action plans, the quality of education and the full implementation of the principle of equal opportunity are considered to be of crucial importance in raising self-sufficient and competent individuals. However, there are considerable problems concerning the Turkish education system in general and compulsory basic education in particular. These are associated with the country's structural shortcomings discussed in Chapter 4, such as high population growth, the high volume of migration to cities, low and unequally distributed national income and high unemployment especially in the cities. These problems lead to crowded classrooms and reliance on a double shift system to accommodate the high demand in cities. In rural areas, small numbers of children lead either to the inefficient use of infrastructure or expensive alternatives, such as boarding schools or the bussing of children to the nearest town. Where these alternatives are not available, it is also not uncommon to see children taught in multi-grade classrooms. To make matters worse, the recent economic crisis has led to a reduction in the amount of resources allocated to education. The Eighth Five-Year Development Plan calls for an increase in the allocation of resources to the educational system since insufficient funding lowers the quality of education. In addition, the education system suffers from a lack of qualified and trained personnel (including school teachers), which is in part related to the resource allocation problem and outdated school curriculum.

***Recent MONE initiatives to achieve universal basic education***

In order to overcome the shortcomings of the education system and to reach universal basic education, within the framework of a project called "Catching up the age in education 2000", MONE put in place a number of policies immediately after the passage of the new education act in 1997.<sup>58</sup> The par-

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<sup>58</sup> The efforts by MONE to strengthen the education system and increase education quality are not new. Initiatives were taken to combat with high illiteracy rate and major inequalities between urban and rural residence in the country. From 1940, Village Institutes-Köy Enstitüleri- were introduced to the formal education system. The main aim was three-fold: a) to meet educational needs of children in rural areas b) to provide teachers to the rural areas to overcome the scarcity of teaching staff in these regions, c) to increase social mobility in the country. The system was designed in such a way that these institutes were only open to children from rural areas. The graduates in return worked as teachers in these institutes in the villages, thereby ensuring the continuity of the system. The curriculum was designed in order to be compatible with rural life. Teachers not only taught the formal education curriculum but also courses to develop skills in agriculture.

ticular aims of the project were to achieve a 100 per cent enrolment rate in basic education, gradually end the multi-grade system, reduce the student-teacher ratio to 30, end double shifts, and increase the quality of education. To achieve these goals, the proposed measures were to increase the number of schools and classrooms, expand the bussing system to facilitate children's access to schools especially in remote areas, increase the capacity of RPBSs and PPPs, meet the school expenses of poor students and enhance the infrastructure of schools. To accommodate the schooling needs of children who have left the schooling system without completing their primary schooling before the passage of the new law or who have completed their primary schooling but did not progress onto junior-high school, which has become part of basic education, open basic education is introduced. The MONE also launched the Free Textbook Distribution Project through which it aimed to distribute free textbooks in all public basic education schools and in some of secondary schools by the 2003-2004 school year. Although these policies will eventually contribute to achieving universal basic education while increasing its quality, presently there are problems in the implementation of the suggested goals.

### *Bottlenecks in the educational system — double shifts, multi-grade classrooms and difficult access*

As of 2003, the double shift system remains an important problem for both the quality of education and the elimination of child labour. During the 2000-01 school year, 35.8 per cent of basic education schools and 58.9 per cent of basic education students in Turkey were on the double shift system (MONE 2001). The problem is especially aggravated in urban areas where, due to excess demand, over half the basic education schools operate morning and afternoon shifts serving over 70 per cent of the total student body. According to Hancıoğlu, such a system “lowers the quality of education and more importantly allows enough time for the school age children to be employed a part of the day. Once children start working, the likelihood of keeping them at school is greatly diminished” (Hancıoğlu et al. 2000: 53).

Due to the lack of physical capacity, insufficient school infrastructure and low enrolment, some schools in rural areas operate with multi-grade classrooms where boys and girls who are at different grades study in one classroom. Nationwide, roughly one out of 10 children is taught under such a system (MONE 2001). Multi-grade classrooms in rural and remote regions are alternative ways in which access to education is provided. The system itself, while encouraging enrolment of school age children, can potentially lower the quality of education unless the teacher is well equipped and specially trained for such a set up. In many cases, the promotion system in the public sector leads to the appointment of new graduates and less experienced teachers to the less desirable locations where a multi-grade system is more likely to be in use. Under such circumstances, it is unlikely that teaching in such schools will be up to par.

The bussing system and the boarding and pension schools were introduced in order to overcome problems related to access to education and inefficient use of infrastructure. The RPBSs are predominantly located in eastern and south-eastern Anatolia where both literacy and enrolment rates are considerably lower than the country average. PPPSs, which are mostly located in large cities, are more evenly distributed across the country, though poorer provinces are again favoured. Between 1996 and 2002, the number of schools in both categories increased quite significantly. During the 1996-97 school year, there were 147 RPBSs and 27 PPPSs. The numbers increased to 280 for the former and 238 for the latter in the 2001-02 school year. However, as is shown in the following sections, boys are at a more advantaged position to benefit from such services since parents are often reluctant to send their daughters to boarding schools.

As briefly discussed in Chapter 4, there is a significant gender gap in educational attainment. In terms of various indicators (literacy rate, enrolment rates, diploma obtained), girls lag behind boys. This is true despite the vast improvement observed in the recent past. The gender disparity in enrolment rates will be discussed in more detail in the following sections. The improvement in the educational attainment of both boys and girls, especially in terms of school enrolment, should be evaluated from the perspective of its possible implications for child labour as well.

### 5.1.2 School enrolment in compulsory basic education

Universal basic education is yet to be achieved in Turkey. Currently the net enrolment rate in basic education stands at 90.8 per cent, which means that roughly 10 per cent of children in the 6-14 age group are not in school (Table 5.1). Either they have dropped out of the schooling system or never started school in the first place. The school dropout rate can be considered relatively high in comparison to the other OECD countries where enrolment rates are close to 100 per cent.

An analysis of school enrolments disaggregated by gender can shed light to the gender disparity in education. Table 5.1 shows that there are more boys in basic education than girls. The current female/male ratio stands at 0.83. This means that for every 100 boys enrolled in basic education there are 83 girls. In terms of enrolment rates, again female children lag behind. While male children's net enrolment rate at basic education is 93.6 per cent, that of girls is found to be 87.8 per cent.

As discussed earlier, up until 1997 basic education was limited to five years of primary schooling. After this date, it expanded to include junior high school.<sup>59</sup> Historically, enrolment in junior high schools has been much lower than primary schools. Thus their inclusion as part of basic education

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<sup>59</sup> Due to the change of compulsory primary education from 5 to 8 years, there is incompatibility in the data before and after 1997 on schooling outcomes of children. Adjustments are made in the below analysis where possible.



would have the immediate effect of pulling the overall enrolment rate down in basic education. Indeed, a comparison of enrolment rates before and after the implementation of the eight-year basic education programme shows a “drop” in the enrolment rate in compulsory schooling. For instance, in 1997 the enrolment rate for basic education was estimated at 81.1 per cent, while a year earlier the enrolment rate for primary school was 89.4 per cent. By 2000, the enrolment rate in basic education (eight years) had increased to 90.8 per cent, surpassing the enrolment rate of primary schools (five years) of the pre-1997 previous period. This is a major improvement that can in part be attributed to the eight-year compulsory basic education programme. The improvement is also clear when enrolment rates are compared over the 1997-2000 period during which the new basic education law was in effect. While in 1997, the net enrolment rate was 81.1 per cent, it gradually increased over time reaching 90.8 per cent in 2000.

To illustrate the improvement over a longer time frame, enrolment rates for 1985 and 1990 are computed for basic education by combining the enrolment figures of primary and junior high schools. This exercise makes the enrolment rates computed for different years comparable.<sup>60</sup> The computations which are shown in Table A1 in the appendix illustrate an improvement in the enrolment rates in basic education from 75 per cent to 90 per cent over the 1985-2000 period. The same table also shows that from 1985 to 1990 not much of an improvement had taken place — the improvement was limited to a single percentage point over the five-year period. Assuming that this trend would have continued into the 1990s, by 2000 there would have only been a two percentage point improvement in the enrolment rate. However, over the 1990-2000 period, the improvement has been on the order of 15 percentage points. Under these circumstances, it is safe to argue that the extension of the basic compulsory schooling to eight years is responsible for the dramatic increase in the enrolment rate in basic education.

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<sup>60</sup> Enrolment rates at basic education for mid-years could not be computed since the figures reported in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 are based on population projections of the State Institute of Statistics which were not available to the authors. Comparable figures for the years 1985, 1990 and 2000 could be computed since they are all census years.



## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

**Table 5.1 Enrolment of male and female children in basic education, 1997-2000**

School year	Number of male students ('000)	Net enrolment rate of males (per cent)	Number of female students ('000)	Net enrolment rate of females (per cent)	Overall net enrolment rate (per cent)	Female-male ratio
1997-98	5,001	86.3	4,084	75.6	81.1	0.82
1998-99	5,232	91.0	4,349	75.9	83.6	0.83
1999-00	5,453	95.2	4,600	85.5	90.5	0.84
2000-01	5,624	93.6	4,836	87.8	90.8	0.83

Source: Population and Development Indicators 2003, SIS, <http://nkg.die.gov.tr>

2001 National Education Quantitative Data, MONE. Education Statistics, MONE. <http://www.meb.gov.tr>

**Table 5.2 Net enrolment rates in primary education, 1990-96**

	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97
Total	91.9	92.6	90.8	90.1	89.3	88.9	89.4
Male	95.1	95.7	93.7	92.1	91.3	90.9	91.8
Female	88.8	89.4	87.8	87.9	87.3	86.8	86.6

Source: Population and Development Indicators 2003, SIS, <http://nkg.die.gov.tr>

The figures in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 also illustrate that the gender enrolment gap at least at the basic education level is gradually closing up. While in 1997 the gender gap was almost 10 percentage points, it had declined to six percentage points by the year 2000. It seems that the new education law has particularly benefited girls. A plausible reason for this lies in the reluctance of families to send girls to school beyond what is required by law. As the figures in Table 5.2 show, the enrolment rates of boys and girls were not drastically different at the primary school level. In 1997, the year the new law was enacted, the gender gap jumped from five percentage points for primary schools to 10 percentage points at basic education schools. The increase was due to the relatively bigger gender gap that existed in non-compulsory junior-high school. It appears that it took some time for families to adjust to the new law. The closing gender gap is a positive sign indicating that the families are indeed changing their behaviour to conform to the new law.

### 5.1.3 Regional disparity in enrolment rates in basic education

Another important challenge facing the Turkish government is the regional disparity observed in school enrolment, even at the very basic level. The educational disparity across the regions was discussed briefly in Chapter 4 where the particularly disadvantaged position of the eastern provinces was

## Opportunities and bottlenecks in the schooling of children

highlighted. The enactment of the basic education law has positively affected the enrolment rates in all regions, including the eastern provinces.

Enrolment rates at two points in time, 1990 and 2000, disaggregated by gender are presented in Tables 5.3 and 5.4 in order to show both the disparity and improvement in enrolment rates across the regions as well as the gender education gap. Table 5.3 shows once again that the eastern and south-eastern regions of Turkey are marked by the lowest rates of enrolment at 76.8 per cent and 83.9 per cent respectively. This can in part be explained by the fact that the eastern provinces are the least economically developed parts of the country and, given the region's predominantly rural character, are relatively more prone to child labour. Table A7 in the appendix shows the enrolment rates in basic education province by province. The drastically different school enrolment rates indicate the extent of educational inequality in the country. To give an example, while the enrolment rates in basic education in provinces like İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Bursa are 100 per cent indicating almost no leakage from the education system, in provinces like Bitlis, Muş, Gümüşhane this figure is less than 70 per cent.

**Table 5.3 Regional net enrolment rates in basic education in 1990-91 and 2000-01 school years**

		Marmara	Aegean	Medi- terranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	East Anatolia	South-East Anatolia
Basic	1990	87.8	77.9	76.1	78.8	73.4	61.7	61.6
Education	2000	100 <sup>1</sup>	93.0	90.0	88.5	84.2	76.8	83.9

Source: Tables A3 and A4 in the appendix.

Note: (1) indicates that figures exceeding 100 are round to 100. Inconsistencies between the normal place of residence and the place where the child attends school can lead to net enrolment figures exceeding 100 per cent.

**Table 5.4 Regional net enrolment rates in basic education by sex, 2000-01 school year**

		Marmara	Aegean	Medi- terranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	East Anatolia	South-East Anatolia
Basic	Male	100 <sup>1</sup>	94.3	91.5	89.0	85.4	84.6	91.6
Education	Female	100 <sup>1</sup>	91.8	88.5	88.0	83.0	68.0	75.4

Source: Table A4 in the appendix.

Note: (1) indicates that figures exceeding 100 are round to 100. Inconsistencies between the normal place of residence and the place where the child attends school can lead to net enrolment figures exceeding 100 per cent.

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Over time, drastic improvements have been observed in the enrolment rates in all provinces including those in eastern part of Turkey. While in 1990 the school enrolment rates for basic education were recorded at 61.7 per cent and 61.6 per cent in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia, by 2000 these figures increased to 76.8 per cent and 83.9 per cent respectively. These are welcomed changes.<sup>61</sup>

A recent project initiated by UNICEF draws attention to the gender disparity in education, especially in poorer regions of the country, and aims to increase the schooling outcomes of female children. In collaboration with MONE, UNICEF launched the Girls' Education Project in June 2003. The project is to be implemented in ten cities of eastern and south-eastern regions in order to promote universal basic education for girls.<sup>62</sup> The figures in Table 5.4 indeed show the rather disadvantaged status of girls in less developed regions of the country. While male and female enrolment rates are on par in western regions such as the Marmara and the Aegean, they are distinctly different in East and South-East Anatolia. In 2000, only 68 per cent of the school age girls were actually enrolled in basic education in Eastern Anatolia, whereas the figure for boys was 84.6 per cent. Likewise in South-East Anatolia, while the enrolment rate for girls was 75.4 per cent, that of the boys was 91.6 per cent. The enrolment figures disaggregated by gender hence show that one of the main reasons for the lower overall provincial enrolment rates in provinces like Muş is the fact that girls' enrolment rates are shockingly low. The most recent statistics indicate that while the enrolment rate of boys in Muş in basic education is 80.6 per cent, the corresponding rate for girls is only 56.2 per cent (Table A1 in the appendix). Projects directly focusing on girls' education are urgently needed to uplift the educational profile of the poorer provinces and the country at large and to offer new opportunities to girls living in these provinces.

### 5.1.4 Regional primary boarding schools and provincial primary pension schools

The Ministry of Education, in compliance with the new education law, operates regional boarding schools to ensure that children of low income families and those living in remote areas are not deprived of their right to education. As mentioned earlier, there are two types of such schools: RPBSs and PPPSs. According to the draft report *Time-bound policy and programme framework for the elimination of child labour in Turkey* (MLSS 2002), these schools would help reduce the burden on poor families since school expenses such as school uniforms, books, supplies, food and lodging are met by the State.

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<sup>61</sup> The progress of regions in terms of school enrolment is given in Tables A5 through A7 in Appendix 1.

<sup>62</sup> For detailed information, see <http://www.unicef.org.tr>.

Hacıoğlu et al. (2000) claim that, with the implementation of the eight-year compulsory basic education programme, already existent infrastructure problems were aggravated in the eastern and south-eastern provinces, since many primary schools lacked enough physical capacity for conversion into eight-year basic education schools (p. 53). In this respect, the boarding and pension schools along with the open primary education system constitute viable alternatives for ensuring that all children have access to education irrespective of their place of residence and for increasing enrolment rates in relatively poorer regions.

Increasing the numbers of the boarding and pension schools across the country is important and has been emphasized by the Ministry in its National Education Programme (2000) as an integral part of the Eight-Year Compulsory Education Act (no. 4806). Officials in the Ankara Provincial Directorate of Education stated that the boarding and pension schools are currently underutilized and their success in contributing to the implementation of the eight-year programme depends on their full utilization. Indeed, in an IPEC project in collaboration with MONE, three trade unions have tried to withdraw children from the streets by placing them in boarding schools. One of the main justifications of the project was that it would prove to be a relatively cost effective intervention strategy as the boarding schools are already under utilized. The project served several ends. It withdrew children from street work, which is considered to be one of the worst forms of child labour; it provided education to children who would not have otherwise had a chance to go to school; it possibly improved their health status since children are clothed and fed and provided shelter free of charge; and it utilized the excess capacity of the boarding schools.

As of 2002 there are 131,000 students in boarding schools and 123,000 in pension schools (Tables 5.5 and 5.6). Students enrolled in RPBSs and PPPSs constitute a respective 1.3 per cent and 1.2 per cent of the total student body in basic education. Relatively higher rates are recorded in eastern parts of the country. For instance, in East Anatolia 5.4 per cent and in South-East Anatolia 2.3 per cent of the student body in basic education is made up of students in boarding and pension schools. These are relatively high figures, especially in view of the fact that the proportion of children in private schools is less than 2 per cent in Turkey. Although it is hard to claim that the quality of education in RPBSs and PPPSs are comparable to that of private schools, nevertheless, they signify substantial financial outlays on the part of the government and indicate the will to provide at least basic schooling to all children. Considering the rural nature of eastern and south-eastern Anatolia and to some extent the eastern part of the Black Sea coast and the relatively low school enrolment in these regions, the need to set up more of boarding and pension schools is apparent.

It is also important to note that male dominance prevails in these schools. In the 2000-01 school year, 72.7 per cent of the student body in the RPBSs were boys. This gender disparity might be interpreted as families'

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unwillingness to send their daughters away to boarding school at an early age. As to the gender composition of the PPPs, in the 2001-02 school year, 57.3 per cent of the total enrollees were male. These schools, which are in closer proximity to the students' residences, appear to offer a more viable alternative to girls' schooling given the parental attitudes. The gender gap is especially high in the eastern provinces. In South-East Anatolia on the one hand, for every 100 boys there are only 22 girls enrolled in boarding schools. The Marmara region, on the other hand, has the highest female-male ratio at 0.82. The lowest female-male ratio in pension schools is again observed in East and South-East Anatolia where the ratio is recorded at 0.54 for the former and 0.62 for the latter.

**Table 5.5 Regional enrolment in RPBSs by sex, 2000-01 school year**

Regions	Total number of students in RPBSs ('000)	Male ('000)	Female ('000)	Female-male ratio	Number of students in base education ('000)	No. of RPBS students to basic education student (per cent)
Marmara	2.4	1.3	1.1	0.82	2,597	0.1
Aegean	3.4	2.1	1.4	0.68	1,209	0.3
Mediterranean	7.6	4.9	2.7	0.54	1,363	0.6
Central A.	10.1	6.5	3.6	0.56	1,674	0.6
Black Sea	25.2	14.8	10.4	0.71	1,189	2.1
East A.	53.0	41.6	11.4	0.27	992	5.4
South-East A.	29.4	24.2	5.3	0.22	1,265	2.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>131.2</b>	<b>95.3</b>	<b>35.9</b>	<b>0.38</b>	<b>10,288</b>	<b>1.3</b>

Source: 2001 National Education Quantitative Data, MONE.

**Table 5.6 Regional enrolment in the PPPs by sex, 2000-01 school year**

Regions	Total number of students in PPPs ('000)	Male ('000)	Female ('000)	Female-male ratio	Number of students in base education ('000)	No. of PPPS students to basic education student (per cent)
Marmara	4.2	2.4	1.9	0.8	2,597	0.2
Aegean	7.6	4.4	3.2	0.7	1,209	0.6
Mediterranean	16.7	9.0	7.7	0.9	1,363	1.2
Central A.	16.2	8.8	7.5	0.9	1,674	1.0
Black Sea	46.8	25.8	21.0	0.8	1,189	3.9
East A.	25.5	16.6	8.9	0.5	992	2.6
South-East A.	5.7	3.5	2.2	0.6	1,265	0.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>122.8</b>	<b>70.4</b>	<b>52.3</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>10,288</b>	<b>1.2</b>

Source: 2001 National Education Quantitative Data, MONE.

### 5.1.5 The bussing system

In cases where appropriate educational facilities are not available or where it is comparatively more expensive to place children in pension or boarding schools, children are bussed to the nearest basic education schools. The number of children bussed sharply increased with the extension of compulsory schooling to eight years since a significant number of rural hamlets lacked junior high schools that could readily be merged with primary schools to generate the needed capacity. The figures produced in Table 5.7 show the rather drastic increases in the numbers of children bussed to school over the 1996-98 period when the new basic education law was newly put into effect. In terms of the total student body, the proportion of such children amounted to 6 per cent in 2000.

**Table 5.7 Number of children bussed to school in basic education**

	Number of provinces	Number of students ('000)
1996-97	64	121
1997-98	72	282
1998-99	75	521
1999-00	75	635
2000-01	76	608

Source: Education Statistics, MONE, <http://www.meb.gov.tr>.

### 5.1.6 Recognizing the important link between child labour and education

The Ministry of Education has an important role to play in not only increasing the enrolment rates of children but also in reducing child labour. Sensitizing teachers and school principals to the problem of child labour is important in providing a more welcoming environment for working children. The MONE within the IPEC programme has already implemented various programmes geared toward increasing the awareness of the basic education school principals and teachers about child labour. The National Education Directorate Generals in various provinces, but especially those in poorer provinces and where female children's education is neglected, need to take immediate measures to ensure full attendance of all children of schooling age. This can only be realized via close and coordinated collaboration among the Directorate Generals, school teachers, school directors and muhtars to follow up on children who are at the age of schooling but not registered at local basic education schools. Peer pressure, community encouragement and support can be effective in directing children to school

without the need to resort to policing measures. The Ministry also needs to come up with innovative ways to reduce dropout. Another challenge is the integration of working children into the schooling system. Working children can be difficult to deal with as they may have acquired behaviour that is not appreciated at school. If they are returning to the system, there is the added problem that they will have to be placed in classes attended by younger children. To help working children to make a smooth transition back to the system, schools need to specially cater to such children, specifically by providing them with various services ranging from extra help in classes to social and psychological guidance.

The Turkish government has received technical and financial support and credit from various international bodies, such as the ILO-IPEC, UNICEF, the World Bank and the EU, in order to upgrade the basic education system and provide schooling opportunities for all children. In the allocation of these and other funds, the Ministry should specifically take into account the special education needs of the working children. Close and effective collaboration among national and international experts should be promoted to achieve universal basic education, increase the quality of education offered and address the needs and problems of working children.

## **5.2 SECONDARY EDUCATION**

After completing their basic education, children can choose to enrol in general high schools or vocational and technical high schools, which constitute the formal secondary education. Another possible venue is non-formal education. Secondary education consists of three years of general education or three to four years of vocational and technical education. As highlighted earlier, secondary education is not compulsory in Turkey. However, both the Eighth Five-Year Development Plan and the 16th National Education Congress call for an increase in compulsory schooling to 12 years which would mean that secondary education will become a part of compulsory schooling.

### **5.2.1 School enrolment in secondary education**

Enrolment in secondary education is comparatively lower than basic education. In 2000 only 38 per cent of the children in the 15-17-year age group were enrolled in formal education (Table 5.8). As in the case of basic education, there is a gender gap in favour of male children. In 2000, while 41.3 per cent of the 15-17 year-old male children were enrolled in general or vocational high schools, the corresponding rate for female children was 34.6 per cent. The low enrolment rates in secondary education certainly have implications for the child labour problem: the lower the school enrolment, the higher the potential supply of child workers. The Eighth Five-Year Development Plan draws attention to another problem. The Plan claims that excessive demand for higher education in part stems from lack of efficient

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orientation in secondary schools and of the necessary collaboration between the needs of the industry and the education offered at vocational and technical schools (para. 663). A better structured vocational and technical education would not only improve the job prospects of the graduates but would at the same time reduce the demand for university education thereby releasing funds that can be used toward basic and secondary education.

Table 5.8 illustrates the changes in net enrolment rates over time in secondary schools. From 1990 to 2000 the enrolment rate in secondary education increased from 26.4 per cent to 38 per cent — a 12 percentage point improvement. Over the same period, the enrolment rate of boys increased by about 10 percentage points while that of the girls increased roughly by 14 percentage points. There is a clear upward trend in the enrolment of both the boys and the girls in secondary education. The improvement in girls' education is especially noteworthy.<sup>65</sup>

**Table 5.8 Net enrolment rates in secondary education, 1990-91 and 2000-01 school years**

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Total	26.4	28.2	31.1	34.6	36.7	38.7	38.5	37.6	38.2	39.1	38.0
Male	31.8	33.9	37.4	40.0	42.4	44.1	43.1	41.2	41.8	42.8	41.3
Female	20.6	22.3	24.5	28.9	30.9	33.2	33.8	33.8	34.5	35.3	34.6

Note: Includes general and vocational and technical high schools.

Source: 2003 Population and Development Indicators, SIS, <http://nkg.die.gov.tr>.

### *Preferences for general vs. vocational and technical high schools*

New enrolments in secondary education reveal children's and/or parents' preferences toward general high schools and vocational and technical high schools. In 1996, one out of two students enrolled in secondary education was receiving vocational training (Table 5.9). In 2000, one out of three students was enrolled in vocational and technical schools. The declining interest in vocational and technical high school might be interpreted as an increasing demand for university education. Those who complete vocational and technical schools are in relatively disadvantaged position in gaining admittance to higher education programmes primarily because the curriculum of these schools is less compatible with the university entrance exam than

<sup>65</sup> The ups and downs in the enrolment rate of boys might not be significant (although it is impossible to ascertain from the data) as the rates computed by the SIS are based on population projections. Therefore, fluctuations in the order of couple of percentage points are probably of no significance.



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that of the general high schools. The fact that graduates from these schools have a limited choice of higher education programmes to which they can apply possibly also worked to reduce the demand for such schools (İŞ-KUR 2002). Yet another important reason for the declining interest in vocational and technical schools is related to the fact that effective collaboration between the Ministry and industry is yet to be achieved. The 16th National Education Congress' theme was the reconstruction of the vocational and technical education within the general secondary education and increasing its weight within the system. The restructuring aims to increase girls' enrolment in vocational and technical schools, to provide better employment opportunities for graduates, to end child labour, and to renew the curricula. Similarly, the Eighth Five-Year Development Programme states that particular attention will be paid to vocational and technical education while providing effective and functional collaboration between the schools and the industry (SPO 2003).

Table 5.9 New enrolments in general and vocational high schools, 1996-2000

School year	Total ( <sup>'000</sup> )	General high school ( <sup>'000</sup> )	Vocational & technical high school ( <sup>'000</sup> )	General (per cent)	V&T (per cent)
1996-97	667	335	329	50.6	49.4
1997-98	760	338	318	58.1	41.9
1998-99	676	442	310	54.2	45.8
1999-00	706	366	228	60.7	39.3
2000-01	758	428	255	66.3	33.7

Source: Akpınar and Ercan (2002) as reported in İS-KUR (2003).

### *The secondary-education gender gap*

Another problem related to secondary education is the education gender gap (Table 5.8). Although the national education system does not have any discriminatory policies toward girls, the secondary education system is designed in such way that both sex segregated schools and differences in curriculum manifest themselves in gender differences. This is particularly obvious in vocational and technical secondary education where schools are designed specially for boys and girls only. In the Fourth and Fifth Combined Periodic Report of Turkey to CEDAW, it is noted that within this system "...students are directed to schools that provide traditional male and female occupational training" (DGSPW 2003: 38). Similarly Acar (2003) argues that vocational and technical secondary education in Turkey encourages girls to remain in areas associated with traditional gender roles. She also adds, "The very names ("Boys' Technical Education" and "Girls' Technical Education") of these schools continue to clearly denote sex-specific specializations that are based on gender stereotypes and cultural biases" (p. 15).

*Regional disparities in secondary education*

Regional disparities in secondary education also emerge as an important problem. Net enrolment rates provided in Table 5.10 clearly illustrate the relatively disadvantaged position of the eastern provinces. In 2000, 47.9 per cent of the 15-17 year-olds were enrolled in secondary education in the Marmara region. The corresponding figure in South-East Anatolia, however, was less than half this figure at 21.6 per cent. Over time, an increase in enrolment rates is observed in all regions and provinces. However, the enrolment gap between regions does not seem to be closing. The figures reported in Tables A5-A7 in the appendix again illustrate the dramatically different enrolment rates across provinces. To continue with the same examples as given for basic education, while the enrolment rates in provinces like İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Bursa are around 50 per cent, the rates reported for poorer provinces like Bitlis, Muş, Gümüşhane are less than 25 per cent. In fact, in the case of Bitlis and Muş, enrolment rates are in the order of 10 per cent (Table A7 in the appendix). In other words, while in provinces like İstanbul one out of every two children in the 15-17 year age group is enrolled in secondary education, in Muş this figure is limited to a single child in ten.

Table 5.10 Regional net enrolment rates in secondary education in 1990-91 and 2000-01 school years

	Marmara	Aegean	Mediterranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	East Anatolia	South-East Anatolia
1990	32.9	27.6	25.2	29.7	23.4	16.5	13.4
2000	47.9	43.2	40.8	42.7	37.1	23.2	21.6

Source: Tables A3 and A4 in the appendix.

At the regional level, the gap between boys and girls is relatively smaller in industrialized urban regions, whereas relatively poorer areas are marked by distinctly lower rates of female enrolment in secondary education. Table 5.11 shows that in the Marmara region the enrolment rate for boys and girls are rather similar recorded at 49.2 per cent and 46.5 per cent respectively, whereas in South-East Anatolia the corresponding rates are recorded at 28.2 per cent and 14.7 per cent. The strikingly different enrolment rates across provinces and between genders within provinces are illustrated in Table A7 in the appendix. To give an example, consider the schooling outcomes of children in İstanbul and Muş again. In İstanbul almost an equal proportion of boys and girls are found in secondary education. In Muş, the enrolment rate among female children is a meagre 5.7 per cent while that of male children is 18.5 per cent (Table A7 in the appendix). These figures illustrate once

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again that special attention needs to be paid to the schooling of girls in the poorer provinces of the country. It is also important to note that the education gender gap even in more developed provinces is rather high in vocational and technical high schools. Figures in Table 5.11 illustrate that female children have a preference toward general high schools as opposed to vocational high schools.

**Table 5.11 Regional net enrolment rates in secondary education by sex, 2000-01 school year**

		Marmara	Aegean	Medi- terranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	East Anatolia	South- East Anatolia
High school	M	49.2	45.6	43.9	46.3	44.0	30.8	28.2
	F	46.5	40.7	37.6	39.0	30.3	15.6	14.7
General high school	M	25.2	25.3	30.4	28.4	23.3	23.4	22.9
	F	27.4	28.0	28.5	27.3	20.2	12.2	11.5
Vocational & technical high school	M	24.0	20.4	13.5	17.8	20.6	7.4	5.3
	F	19.2	12.7	9.1	11.7	10.1	3.4	3.2

Source: Table A4 in the appendix.

Religious schools within the secondary education system need further elaboration in terms of the type of education they offer, especially for girls. These schools are sex segregated and are classified within vocational and technical high schools. Contrary to the relatively smaller representation of girls in vocational and technical high schools in general, their representation in religious schools, Imam Hatip Schools, is rather high. For example, in the 2000-01 school year, while girls constituted 37.3 per cent of the student body in vocational schools, they comprised 48.4 per cent in religious schools (MONE 2001). The roughly balanced sex composition is the result of an increased enrolment of girls and reduced enrolment of boys in such schools over time (DGWSP 2003: 38). In other words, while boys seem to be moving away from religious schools, the reverse was observed for girls.<sup>64</sup> This is an interesting development especially for girls since graduation from these schools does not offer them job opportunities in the fields of their training. Ayata and Acar (2002) argue that this can be explained by the “comparatively ‘virtuous’ reputation in conservative communities” (p. 92). Acar (2003)

<sup>64</sup> This may be due to the fact that those who are enrolled in religious schools have a relatively disadvantaged status in the university entrance exam.

suggests: “To the extent religion-weighted education reinforces traditional female roles and falls short of training girls and young women with skills necessary for income generating activities, girls’ increasing enrolment in religious secondary education had come to generate a negative force on attempts to alter traditional gender roles and empower women” (p. 13).

### 5.2.2 Non-formal education

Non-formal education is of crucial importance in providing children with access to education at different stages in their lives and in protecting them from the worst forms of child labour. Non-formal education aims to deepen the knowledge and skills acquired at the former level of education and to provide new opportunities to children and youth to gain their livelihoods. The ILO-IPEC report entitled *Combating child labour through education* underlines in particular “the instrumental role of [non-formal education] in the rehabilitation of former child labourers”(ILO 2003: 2).

Non-formal education in Turkey is provided by MONE. The General Directorate of Apprenticeship and Vocational Education is responsible for curriculum development and the planning, execution and monitoring of vocational and skills training. Non-formal education includes the training of children who have fallen outside of the formal education system or whose education is interrupted.

The institutions within the non-formal education system include schools for practical arts for girls, technical education centres for adults, community education centres, vocational training centres, work training centres and distance learning (open primary education, open secondary education and open vocational technical schools). The frame for the non-formal education system in Turkey was drawn by the Basic National Education Act (no. 1739, 1973). According to the Law, non-formal education system aims at providing:

- continuous education to illiterates and those who have interrupted or not completed their formal education;
- educational opportunities that could facilitate adaptation to scientific, technological, economic, social and cultural developments;
- opportunities for the acquisition of vocations which are compatible with labour policy and economic development goals; and
- the necessary knowledge and skills to allow individuals who are already economically active to further their skills in their chosen occupations.

### *Alternative training programmes*

One of the important attributes of non-formal education is the provision of alternative types of training programmes that enhance the life chances of both the male and female population. The Beijing +5 Outcome Document (2001) states: “...the number of women that attend vocational training programmes often remains very small... Gender stereotyping still prevails in the

technical and professional fields. In many countries, only courses such as tailoring, home economics, cooking and caring are accessible for young women. Even where they have open access to all professions, young women opt for typical female jobs” (p. 67). The Turkish non-formal education system also suffers from these problems. The bulk of the non-formal education programmes in Turkey are realized through Community Education Centres (CEC). The CECs offer literacy, vocational, social and cultural courses. The courses are preferred particularly by girls and women and the interest is generally towards vocational training. In 2001, of the 1.2 million enrollees, 70 per cent were women (MONE 2002: 211). In the same year, roughly 65 per cent of the courses offered were geared toward vocational training and 60 per cent of the total enrollees showed a preference towards such courses. However, Acar (2003) notes that women’s participation in CECs is on the decline while that of men has been increasing over the 1997-2001 period.

*Vocational and apprenticeship training centres*

The other main branch of non-formal education is vocational training, which is regulated by the Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act (no. 3308 dated 1986). Three main programmes are administered under vocational training: apprenticeship training, vocational education and vocational courses. Vocational and apprenticeship training centres (VACs) are the main institutions providing non-formal education geared toward children who have left the formal schooling system. The planning, development and assessment of non-formal education is handled by the Vocational Training Commission under MONE. Children who have completed their compulsory basic education are eligible to enrol in apprenticeship training centres. Since basic education has been increased from five to eight years, children can no longer enrol in apprenticeship training centres before age 15.<sup>65</sup> An amendment was made to the Apprenticeship and Vocational Training Act to accommodate the necessary changes and make it compatible with the Basic Education Law. The increase in the minimum age of apprentices is expected to reduce the demand for under-age child workers and hence positively impact on the child labour situation. Moreover, the system encourages the development of a skilled labour force by increasing the level of schooling required for admission in apprenticeship. However, the requirement that potential applicants must have a basic education diploma hinders school dropouts from joining the apprenticeship system. In this respect, open basic education schools offer a viable alternative to those who are not young enough to be integrated into basic education yet lack the diploma to enter into apprenticeship. By obtaining their basic education diploma via open basic education programmes, these children can get access to apprenticeship training.

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<sup>65</sup> Children of 14 years of age can be admitted to VACs under the status of “apprenticeship candidates” provided that they hold a basic education diploma.

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Apprentices who are enrolled in VACs are considered as students and therefore benefit from all rights and privileges afforded to students under law. They are covered by the social security system and are remunerated by their employers. Apprentices attend VACs once a week for theoretical training which is designed to complement the practical training they receive at their workplaces. At the training centres, 30 per cent of education offered is based on general education courses, whereas 70 per cent of the curriculum is based on vocational training. After the completion of the training, participants receive a certificate that qualifies them as skilled workers. After a period of apprenticeship, students are entitled to sit for journeyman's examinations and those who pass can sit for the master's examination.

VACs are the major providers of education for working children. Technical training supports practical training in the workplace and students enrolled in VACs become qualified and thereby increase the skill level of the workforce. Despite the theoretically high private and social returns to vocational training, enrolment at VACs remains low. For instance, in the 2000-01 school year a total of 249 thousand students were found in VACs (Table 5.12). This is a very low figure in comparison to over 1.6 million working children in Turkey. Although enrolment rates in vocational and apprenticeship training centres are on the rise, the rate of increase is far from satisfactory. There are two main reasons for the low enrolment rates: low demand for the vocational and apprenticeship training programme and its limited supply. The VACs are mostly concentrated in urban areas so that rural children's access to these centres is limited. Even in urban areas, employers might discourage children from joining the apprenticeship training programme since it would mean that the child worker will spend a work day at school. The low demand might also be due to other factors as well, such as the shortcomings of the curriculum, a lack of qualified personnel, the low quality of education and the lack of collaboration among working children's families, the centres and the workplaces. Recognizing the shortcomings of the VACs, after the 16th National Education Congress, MONE introduced in its action plan (1997-2000) the following aims: to increase the number and the type of apprenticeship training offered, to end child labour, to increase awareness toward young workers' needs and problems, and to ensure the enrolment of all young workers at vocational and apprenticeship training centres.

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**Table 5.12 Enrolment in vocational and apprenticeship training centres, 1996-2000**

School year	Number of cities	Vocations	Number of apprenticeship centres	Number of teachers ('000)	Number of students ('000)	Number of students per teacher
1996-97	80	86	312	4.1	196	47.9
1997-98	80	89	321	4.1	267	64.8
1998-99	80	89	325	4.8	229	48.1
1999-00	80	89	330	5.1	219	42.9
2000-01	81	109	342	4.6	249	61.4

Source: Education Statistics, MONE, <http://www.meb.gov.tr>.

In order to increase the capacity and the quality of the VACs and to identify their relative suitability and efficiency in providing up-to-date information to working children, extensive research needs to be undertaken. This should include a substantive overview of the curriculum and an assessment of its compatibility with the needs of the industry, including the perspectives of the employers toward apprenticeship training. The needs assessment survey should highlight the problems encountered during vocational training (curriculum, teaching techniques, teaching staff), the ways in which the enrolment rates at these centres can be increased, and the mechanisms through which employers of children might be persuaded to register child workers at the VACs. The research should also furnish information on the nature of the relationship between the employers and VACs and on possible interventions that could improve upon the link between the workplace and the training centres.

In the 1995-96 school year, vocational open education was introduced by MONE as yet another possible venue for vocational training (Türk 1999: 132). Children who have completed basic education can enrol in these programmes if they can form a group of 15 participants. They can take theoretical courses on vocational training via open education and attend vocational high schools in cities in the evenings and weekends for practical classes. In this respect vocational open education is only feasible for working children in cities since the cost of commuting from towns and villages is likely to hinder children's access to such schools.

In the vocational education system, there are 36 main vocation groups which include 109 types of vocations. Although there is equal opportunity for boys and girls to enrol in any programme within the VACs, vocation groups are male dominated. In the 2000-01 school year, of the 249,000 students enrolled in VACs roughly 90 per cent were boys. This big gap between male and female students is partly due to the scarcity of vocations suitable for girls and the smaller number of working female children in the formal



sector, hence the lower demand. The vocations in which a relatively larger number of female students is found include dress making, hairdressing, skin-care and beauty training, handicrafts, ceramics and pottery, carpet weaving and sales assistantship. All of these categories are typical “female occupations”. The male dominance in other vocations might be an important factor discouraging families from enrolling their daughters in such courses. It might even dissuade families from sending their children to apprenticeship training centres. Achieving a balanced student population is of crucial importance for the health development of both the girls and the boys and in encouraging more female children to enrol in training centres. The enrichment of the vocations in which girls may take an interest and the development of alternative programmes might be important measures that could encourage girls’ participation in non-formal education. In its document entitled *Vocational Training and lifelong learning for women*, the ILO (1997) highlights the fact that girls feel comfortable with all elements of the training if vocational training systems would be more “girls and women friendly” (p. 10).

### *Programmes directed at girls and women*

The prominent examples of “girls and women friendly” vocational programmes in Turkey are the Vocational and Technical Training Project (METGE) and the Multipurpose Community Centres (ÇATOMs). METGE started in 1994 and has provided training to strengthen the employment opportunities of women and girls who have never attended school or had to dropout of school. Over the 1996-2000 period, approximately 100,000 women and girls have benefited from this programme (DGSPW 2003).

ÇATOMs are established by the South-Eastern Anatolia Project (GAP) of the Prime Ministry GAP Regional Development Administration.<sup>66</sup> The aim of the ÇATOMs “...is to integrate women in the development process in the GAP region by empowering them through various training opportunities, ranging from literacy, technical skills, handicrafts to leadership skills, giving visibility to the needs and problems of women in the society and enhancing their income earning capacities” (DGSPW 2003: 44). In order to realize these aims, ÇATOMs’ activities include “short courses on literacy, computer use, English language, home economics; training for income generating activities, including skill attainment in handicrafts, dress designing and sawing, hairdressing, silver plating” (pp. 65-66). ÇATOMs are one of the major achievements of the South-Eastern Anatolia Project since they have managed successfully to integrate girls and women to the regional development while empowering them through various skills.

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<sup>66</sup> For detailed information, see <http://www.gap.gov.tr>



***Other privately sponsored non-formal vocational programmes***

Besides the vocational and technical non-formal education provided to children by MONE, establishments themselves also offer training to their young workers. The most notable effort in this regard is that of the TESK, a confederation of small and medium-sized establishments. The involvement of TESK in the training of working children is important since TESK members constitute the major employers of child workers. Recognizing the importance of vocational training and the need for an improvement in the apprenticeship system, in 1991 TESK established Workplace Inspection and Consultancy Groups (IDDGs) as a body to monitor the training given to children by member establishments. The IDDGs have the privilege and the responsibility of determining where and under what conditions, if at all, apprentices can be employed. In this regard, they not only help promote and uplift vocational training but also oversee the well-being of apprentices. Naturally, this type of vocational training is only limited to children employed in industry and services and mostly to those in urban areas.

### **5.3 QUALITY OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM**

The increase in the length of compulsory schooling is assumed to have impacted positively on the child labour situation by discouraging employment at an early age. The education act (no. 4306) also mandated curriculum changes to improve the quality and relevance of basic education. Three factors should be considered in assessing the quality of the education system in Turkey: the share of spending on national education, the number of students per teacher and the content of the school curriculum.

#### **5.3.1 Budgetary allocations for education**

Increasing the quality of education is conditional on the availability of resources. For the past 10 years, government expenditures on national education as well as MONE's share from the consolidated budget and the GNP have been on the decline. A report by the World Bank drew attention to the fact that the Turkish education system is predominantly public, and private schools at the basic and secondary levels constitute only 1 per cent of all schools. Therefore, lower public spending on education seems infeasible (World Bank 2000). The Beijing +5 outcome document (2001) also notes that "the lack of resources has first of all an impact on the infrastructure of education in such areas as construction, modernization and maintenance of school buildings, provisions of teaching materials, transport, and training and remuneration of teachers" (p. 64).

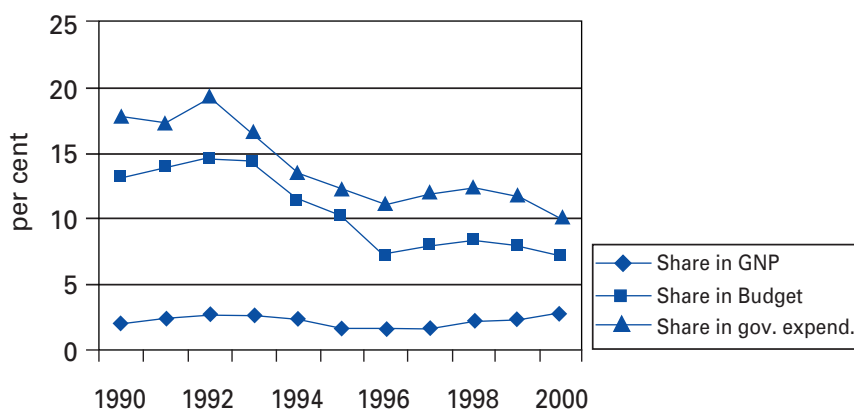
Figure 5.1 shows that while in 1992 the share of MONE from the consolidated budget was in the order of 15 per cent, the figure started to decrease from 1993 onwards. A slight increase was observed after 1996 which can be attributed to the implementation of the eight-year compulsory edu-

## Opportunities and bottlenecks in the schooling of children

cation programme in 1997. However, the increase was short lived. By 2000, the share of MONE dropped to 7.2 per cent. The change in the share of national education in government expenditures over time follow a similar pattern as the change observed in the budget allocated to MONE. While in 1992, 20 per cent of the government expenditures were devoted to education, by 2000 this figure had become 10 per cent. It is quite disappointing to note that the Republic of Turkey spends a meagre 2.1 per cent of its GNP on national education.

Although the Eighth Five-Year Development Programme and the goals put forth by MONE for the years 2000 and 2001 call for the modernization of basic education, the opening up of new schools and increased the capacity of the RPBSs and PPPs, the continually lower resource allocation to MONE makes the realization of these goals difficult. It is also important to note that a good part of the budget allocated to the Ministry is spent on current expenditures such as personnel. For instance, in 2000 roughly 80 per cent of MONE's budget was allocated to personnel spending. Overall, 85 per cent of the budget was spent on current expenditures. Hence, only a fraction of the budget is used for investment. An increase in resource allocation to the education system is a must if the quality of education is to be improved and a greater number of children are integrated into the education system.

Figure 5.1 Allocation of public resources to education



Source: Education Statistics, MONE, <http://www.meb.gov.tr>

Population and Development Indicators 2003, SIS, <http://nkg.die.gov.tr>

### **5.3.2 Student-teacher ratio**

A commonly used indicator of school quality is the number of students per teacher. It is generally assumed that the fewer the number of students in a classroom, the more attention each child gets, which will improve upon his/her skills. Table 5.13 shows that the student-teacher ratio in basic education is around 30 to one, which is considered moderate. There also seems to be a slight improvement in this ratio over time. In 1985 and 1990, the student-teacher ratio was recorded at 33 and 34 respectively. It seems that the merging of junior-high schools with primary schools under the umbrella of basic education schools has impacted on the quality of education positively were the student-teacher ratio to be taken as a yardstick. However in secondary education, over the 1985-2000 period an increase in the student-teacher ratio is observed. In 1985 there were 11 students per teacher in secondary schools whereas in 2000 the figure increased to 16 (Table 5.14). Nevertheless, this figure is still almost half the ratio recorded at the basic education level. A plausible explanation for the increasing student-teacher ratio in secondary education is that the State is gradually shifting more of the available resources to basic education.

A regional comparison may also be illustrative of the differing quality of education in Turkey.<sup>67</sup> As shown in Table 5.15, the number of students per teacher in basic education is relatively higher in South-East Anatolia, which is one of the poorer parts of the country. The high student-teacher ratio is the case despite the fact that the demand for education in this region — illustrated by net enrolment rates in basic education — is relatively low. It seems that the State is having a more difficult time supplying teachers to the eastern part of the country than to the West. The Marmara region also suffers from a relatively high student-teacher ratio but this stems mainly from the high demand for education. As discussed earlier, the enrolment rate in the Marmara region at basic education is close to 100 per cent and, to accommodate excess demand, a significant number of basic education schools in this region operate in double shifts. The discussion above implies that care should be taken in using the student-teacher ratio as an indicator of school quality. The student-teacher ratio of 33 recorded for Eastern Anatolia probably does not signify that children in this region are getting a better education than those in the Marmara region where the student-teacher ratio is 34.<sup>68</sup>

In secondary education (high schools) the student-teacher ratio is much lower. Just as in the case of basic education, regional disparities are also observed. Relatively higher figures are reported in Eastern and South-Eastern Anatolia where the demand for secondary education is lowest, signifying that

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<sup>67</sup> Student-teacher ratios by province are given in Tables A10-A12 in the appendix.

<sup>68</sup> For a thorough discussion on various indicators of school quality see Glewwe (2002) and Orazem and Gunnarsson (2003).

## Opportunities and bottlenecks in the schooling of children

even for a small number of students the State is having a hard time supplying teachers. Over time, there has been an increase in the student–teacher ratio in secondary education and a decline in basic education in all regions, which as noted earlier possibly reflect the reallocation of resources from secondary to basic education.

**Table 5.13 Number of students per teacher in basic education, 1998-2000**

School year	Number of students enrolled ('000)	Number of teachers ('000)	Number of students per teacher
1998-99	9,512	317	30
1999-00	10,053	325	30
2000-01	10,048	329	30

Source: Education Statistics, MONE, <http://www.meb.gov.tr>.

**Table 5.14 Number of students per teacher in formal education, 1985-2000**

	1985-86	1990-91	2000-01
Primary school	31	30	n.a.
Junior high school	44	52	n.a.
Basic education (5+3)	33	34	30
High school	11	13	16

Source: Tables A8-A10 in the appendix.

Note: n.a.- not available.

**Table 5.15 Number of students per teacher by region in 1990-91 and 2000-01 school years**

		Marmara	Aegean	Medi- terranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	East Anatolia	S.E. Anatolia
Basic education	1990	37	28	32	34	30	37	46
	2000	34	25	29	26	26	33	41
Secondary education	1990	13	12	14	12	14	15	16
	2000	18	14	17	14	14	16	20

Source: Tables A8-A10 in the appendix.

## **Gender, education and child labour in Turkey**

Another factor that should be taken into account in evaluating the quality of education is the availability of qualified personnel. Studies mention the deficiency of trained personnel as one of the main bottlenecks of the Turkish education system (Hancioğlu et al. 2000, Türk 1999). The Eighth Five-Year Development Plan also highlights the lack of qualified manpower in the education system (para. 104) and emphasizes the need for increasing the number and quality of the teaching staff (para. 111).

There is clearly a need to improve the quality of education especially in less developed regions of the country. Increasing the number of schools and classrooms to accommodate more children without overcrowding the classrooms and to improve the quality of teaching via teacher training programmes can possible alternative measures. However, increasing the quality of education seems a real challenge considering the budgetary cuts. One possible route to overcome financial bottlenecks is to mobilize local private resources. Offering tax deductions and various incentives might motivate the private sector to contribute to MONE's efforts to increase the capacity and the quality of basic and secondary education. The mass media can also play an important role in keeping the educational needs of children in the public agenda and raising funds to finance educational projects.

### **5.3.3 Curriculum**

An important determinant of the quality of education is the school curriculum. Even though the extension of basic education from five to eight years is a giant step forward, it needs to be complemented by a new and/or revised curriculum. In this respect, school textbooks carry great importance as they determine teaching standards.

The Beijing +5 outcome document (2001) reports that in various countries committees or task forces have been established to formulate interventions to remove gender biases from curricula and textbooks. Some countries have even proceeded with revising their textbooks and curricula to make them gender-bias free. The Fourth and Fifth Combined Periodic Report of Turkey (DGSPW 2003) to CEDAW underlines the gender biased content of the educational curricula and the teaching materials in Turkey. In order to eliminate sex role stereotyping, the DGSPW supported research projects, and the publication and dissemination of research outcomes. The Report recommends the following criteria to be used in evaluating whether the teaching materials are in line with the principals of human rights and gender equality: observance of equal number of male and female characters in the textbooks; representation of male and female characters displaying mutual respect; representation of gender equality in the division of labour at home and at work; representation of women in the public sphere assuming unconventional roles in decision making and management positions; and a gender balance in projecting parental roles and responsibilities (p. 41).

In Turkey, school textbooks are subject to review every five years. The MONE is responsible for approving the recommended changes. For the last

20 years (1982-2003), the curricula in basic and secondary education have not been changed in a significant way. The review of the school textbooks covering the 1982-2002 period shows that the single most important curriculum change has been the introduction of a new course: "Citizenship and Human Rights Education". Some other changes have also been introduced to the history and civic textbooks used in secondary education<sup>69</sup>, though none of the changes related to the elimination of gender stereotyping in school textbooks. Current school textbooks are far from containing material that can be deemed gender-neutral (Acar et al. 1998, Gümüsoğlu 1998, 2001, Soysal 2002). Acar (2003) notes that the Turkish national education "...has also not successfully embarked on a process of cleansing books and teaching material from gender biases that help perpetuate discriminatory traditional role models and images" (p. 18).

To the contrary, school textbooks reinforce discriminatory traditional gender roles. A recent research on the content analysis of the history and civic education textbooks in primary education shows that school books still contain gender-biased approaches (Soysal 2002). The pictures and materials strengthen gender stereotypes by portraying girls'/women's roles in society as limited to the private sphere, the home and family. Illustrative examples such as "mother assisting father in the family" and "girls helping their mothers in household work" are predominantly used. Gümüsoğlu (1998) and Helvacioğlu (1996) note that from the 1950s onwards, numerous examples in textbooks fortify the image of girls and women in the private sphere. In the textbooks, women are predominantly shown as mothers cleaning the house, cooking, ironing, washing dishes, doing the laundry and taking care of children. In contrast, men are represented as decision makers, heads of the household and breadwinners. Similarly Altan (2001: 40-41) argues that in school textbooks, women are portrayed as emotional whereas men are pictured as rational. Women are represented as caring, tolerant, passive, weak and recessive, while men are predominantly represented as leaders, i.e. successful, efficient, competent, stubborn, decisive, self-confident and powerful.

Taking into account the role of textbooks in the socialization of boys and girls and the internalization of gender roles, it can be argued that while the reforms of the education system have managed to increase enrolment rates, they have not done much in erasing the gender biases in the system. The importance of renewing the content of the education system to make it gender neutral has largely been neglected. This means is that girls and boys still receive a gender-biased education where male and female roles are strictly defined in accordance to discriminatory traditional gender roles, reflecting a public/private dichotomy where females are domesticated and represented

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<sup>69</sup> These changes are about the incorporation of recent historical developments such as the collapse of the Soviet Union; new membership to regional and international organizations; texts of international treaties signed by the country; use of new technologies.

## **Gender, education and child labour in Turkey**

as belonging to the private sphere. This paves the way for the internalization of gender roles at a very early age. It can be argued that it also promotes girls' participation in household work, which will be discussed in detail in the following section. In this respect, the content of education in Turkey constitutes another bottleneck in promoting equality in basic and secondary education for girls and boys.

### **5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The Turkish education system has urgent needs to be addressed. Many of the problems originate from a lack of capacity and trained personnel, insufficient infrastructure and a gender-biased instruction. Increasing compulsory education to eight years was a major step in restructuring the education system. It is likely to also contribute to the elimination of child labour at early ages. However, at all types and all levels of education girls lag behind boys. This is particularly marked by their low enrolment rates in basic, secondary and tertiary education, higher dropout rates at all levels and lower representation in vocational and technical schools. Those girls who remain in the education system, either in formal or in non-formal educational institutes, have to confront gender biases that enter into the educational system through the curricula and teaching materials. In non-formal education, courses and training programmes are designed in accordance with the traditional female roles. Although vocational and technical non-formal education contributes to the development and strengthening of skills for women, a limited number of choices available for women restrict their training to "female type" vocations. While MONE has initiated a number of projects and policies in order to restructure the Turkish education system, more effort is needed to achieve an ideal system where high quality basic education is offered to all children, irrespective of their gender or place of residence and where basic human rights and liberties and children's, women's and girls' rights form the basis of all the teaching materials, the instruction and the curricula taught.

## EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOLING OUTCOMES OF CHILDREN

# 6

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

According to the 1999 SIS child labour survey, the number of children (6-17 years) engaged in market work in Turkey was an estimated 1.6 million (SIS 2001), or about 10 per cent of the total child population of 16 million. The majority of these working children, some 1.1 million, are older children in the 15-17 age category. As discussed earlier, the 1999 survey was actually the second survey conducted by SIS to understand the nature of children's activities. The first survey in 1994 revealed a much higher incidence of labour market involvement among children; an estimated 2.2 million children were found to be engaged in some form of market work. Again, older children were found to make up the largest number of working children at an estimated 1.2 million. Hence, the figures reported for 1999 represent a significant reductions in working children, especially with regard to those below age 15.

The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the nature of children's activities and the changes in children's time allocation over time. In particular, it focuses on the work and schooling outcomes of children. As discussed in the theoretical section of the book, "work" is defined comprehensively to include household work (in one's own home). This is imperative in the study of the time-use patterns, especially of female children. To allow for comparability across other studies, the study distinguishes between market work and household work, though it recognizes that both are productive activities. Taking into account the general tendency in the literature to define child labour in reference to 6-14 year-olds, this chapter concentrates on the time-use patterns of younger children. However, the discussion in this section is often complemented by studying the schooling and work outcomes of older children, 15-17 year-olds. Studying the time-use patterns of older children is important not only because some categories of work of 15-17 year-olds are also considered to be child labour that needs to be eliminated according to ILO Conventions and the Turkish law, but also because of possible shifts



## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

in the composition of working children. As the economic incentives of hiring and/or supplying child labour change over time due to policy shifts, older children might replace younger ones at work. So analysing children's work and schooling outcomes in totality helps to monitor the changes occurring in each group and identify the possible sources of these changes.

### 6.2 SCHOOLING AND WORK PATTERNS OF CHILDREN FROM 6 TO 14 YEARS OLD

Schooling and work potentially compete for children's time. Factors that are likely to increase children's school participation are also likely to reduce their employment. However, it is not necessarily true that children engaged in market work will drop out of school or that school non-participants will necessarily engage in market work. This said, it would also be quite unusual to find school non-participants completely idle. If such children are not involved in market work, we would expect to see them doing a certain amount of household work. The possible exceptions would be very young children or older male children. The former might be too young to undertake household chores, while the latter might consider household work outside the bounds of their socially prescribed roles. It would best be conjectured that the older boys have probably quit school and are looking for work.

Table 6.1 Distribution of 6-14 year-olds by employment status, region and sex

	All activities		Market work		Household work	
	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999
Turkey	32.8	31.8	8.5	4.2	24.2	27.6
Male	25.7	21.2	9.9	4.9	15.8	16.4
Female	40.3	42.9	7.1	3.6	33.2	39.3
Urban	29.0	30.8	3.1	1.9	25.9	28.9
Male	21.6	22.2	4.7	2.7	16.9	19.5
Female	36.7	39.9	1.5	1.0	35.2	38.9
Rural	37.0	33.3	14.7	7.7	22.4	25.6
Male	30.2	19.8	15.7	8.0	14.4	11.9
Female	44.4	47.2	13.5	7.3	30.9	39.8

Source: Table 1.2, Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

## Employment and schooling outcomes of children

Table 6.2 School enrolment rates of 6-14 year-olds

	6-14 year-olds		7-14 year-olds	
	1994	1999	1994	1999
Turkey	86.9	88.1	88.0	91.5
Male	90.0	90.9	91.1	94.5
Female	83.7	85.2	84.7	88.4
Urban	90.9	89.5	92.1	93.0
Male	92.7	92.0	93.8	95.5
Female	89.0	87.0	90.2	90.4
Rural	82.5	86.0	83.3	89.3
Male	87.0	89.3	88.0	92.9
Female	77.6	82.7	78.2	85.5

Note: Figures for 7-14 year-olds are author's computations.

Source: Table 1.3, Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 shows the proportion of children (6-14) engaged in market work, household work and schooling in 1994 and 1999. The figures reported in this and other tables in the chapter are based on the CLSs conducted in 1994 and 1999. The reference period in both surveys is the last week in October during which the school year was well under way. As mentioned earlier, prior to 1997, compulsory schooling in Turkey was limited to five years of primary education. Hence, in 1994 a 100 per cent enrolment rate among the 6-14 year-olds is not expected, while a relatively higher enrolment rate is expected to prevail in 1999. It should be noted that 1999 is not the best year to test the effectiveness of the new compulsory education law in boosting school enrolment. The reason is that older children who were out of school prior to 1997, having completed their five years of primary education, would probably not have returned to school. The increase in compulsory schooling would possibly have affected children who were 12 or younger in the spring of 1997, but not those older. To illustrate this point, suppose that after getting a primary school diploma a 12 year old in the spring of 1996 quit school. In the meantime, to avoid "idleness" which is looked upon as one of the main reasons for bad behaviour and delinquency, s/he is put to work. It seems quite unlikely to expect this child to go back to school in 1997 for the simple reason that his/her opportunity cost of going to school will be much higher. There are various reasons for a higher opportunity cost. Firstly, s/he will be older than his/her classmates, which might work to increase the child's non-pecuniary cost of schooling. Secondly, s/he would have already established himself/herself at his/her work place and started to contribute to the household budget. His/her status in the family might even have improved. All of these factors reduce the chances of integrating the dropouts back to the system.

## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

Going back to Table 6.1, while 8.5 per cent of children were found in market work in 1994, another 24.2 per cent were engaged in household work. Overall, the proportion of children engaged in some form of work was 32.7 per cent. The school enrolment rate<sup>70</sup> on the other hand was 86.9 per cent (Table 6.2). By 1999 quite a bit of change had occurred in these proportions. While the proportion of children engaged in market work dropped to 4.2 per cent, the proportion in household work increased to 27.6 per cent. The increase in the number of children engaged in home-bound reproductive activities partly compensated the big drop in the number of those engaged in market work, hence reducing the proportion of children engaged in some form of work only slightly — from 32.8 per cent to 31.8 per cent (Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1). The school enrolment rate registered an increase over time, reaching 88.1 per cent in 1999 (Table 6.2). The reason for the low enrolment rate is partly due to late school entry of 6 year-olds. When the school enrolment rate is recalculated for 7-14 year-olds the figure increases to 88 per cent in 1994 and 91.5 per cent in 1999. The enrolment rate for 12-14 year-olds is calculated in both years as well to see the relative improvement in schooling. In making the comparison the reader should keep in mind the change in the education act and its timing. The results indicate that while in 1994 the enrolment rate among 12-14 year-olds was 72.4 per cent, this figure increased to 80.6 per cent in 1999. Hence, the average improvement in enrolment rates conceals the substantial improvement in the enrolment rates of 12-14 year-olds.

### *The gender division of labour*

Table 6.1 also reveals the gender division of labour within the household. While a disproportionate number of female children are engaged in household work, a relatively larger number (and proportion) of male children are found in market work. In 1994, while 7.1 per cent of female children were engaged in market oriented activities, 33.2 per cent were involved in household work. During the same year, the above proportions for male children were recorded at 9.9 per cent and 15.8 per cent respectively. Favourable changes observed in the proportion of children engaged in market work over the 1994-99 period were felt equally well for both groups of children. From 1994-99, the proportion of male and female children engaged in market work dropped by 50 per cent. However, parallel changes did not take place

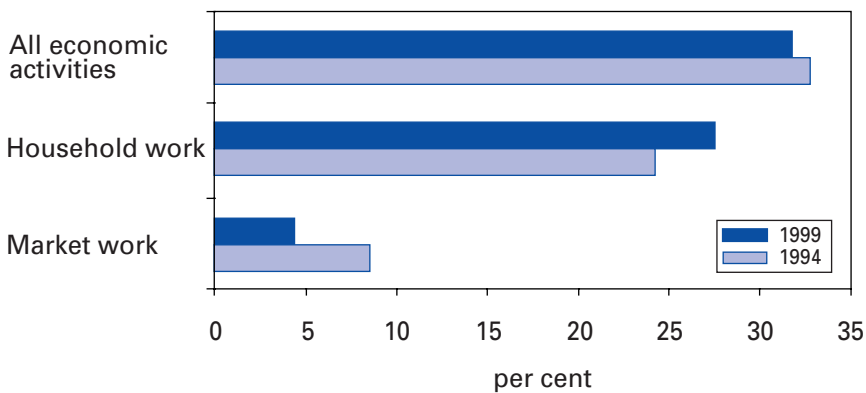
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<sup>70</sup> The data identifies whether the child is enrolled at school or not and if so, whether the child attends school. In both surveys only a small number of children have declared that they are enrolled but do not attend school. The low number of children who said they do not attend school has led us to suspect that what children understand from this question is permanent non-attendance. In fact, what we would also like to measure is how often they neglect going to school for reasons possible associated with household work or market work. For the purposes of this study, we have combined the non-enrolled children with the non-participants under the category of non-school goers.

## Employment and schooling outcomes of children

in household work. While the proportion of female children engaged in household work increased between the two years by 18.5 per cent, the corresponding increase for male children was limited to 3.8 per cent. Due to the differing magnitudes of change in the proportion engaged in household work, while there was a 6.5 per cent increase in the proportion of female children involved in some form of work, a decline was actually recorded for male children. This is consistent with the argument that women's reproductive work is essential for family survival and it is irreplaceable except where hired labour can be substituted for unpaid family labour. Particularly during earlier periods of the family life cycle,<sup>61</sup> where dependent family members outnumber productive ones, poor households overcome the bottleneck by increasing the work hours of women. This pressure is relieved as children, particularly the girls, grow old enough to systematically take over some of these responsibilities (Ertürk 1994).

Figure 6.1 Employment statuts of 6-14 year-olds



Source: Table 1.2, 1999 Child Labour Surveys, SIS.

<sup>62</sup> Household life-cycle approach is used to determine dependency ratios by accounting for the time-use patterns and economic contributions of household members at various stages in the family formation.

***The gender gap in education***

Another striking difference between male and female children is observed in school enrolment. While in 1999 the school enrolment rate of male children was recorded at 90.9 per cent, the corresponding figure for female children was 85.2 per cent (Table 6.2). The gender gap in education is evident in both the urban and rural areas, with the gap being particularly big in the latter. Over time, however, a bigger improvement is observed in the school enrolment rates of female children so that the gender education gap has narrowed. From 1994 to 1999, while the school enrolment rate of male children increased by 1 per cent, the corresponding increase for female children was 1.8 per cent. It is also important to reiterate that the relatively small improvements in school enrolment stem mainly from the late school entry of 6-year-olds. Table 6.2 shows that when school enrolment rates are re-calculated for 7-14 year-olds, higher improvements are realized. For instance, the rate of improvement in school enrolment increases to 3.7 per cent for male and 4.3 per cent for female children among 7-14 year-olds. As also mentioned earlier, although the most disadvantageous group in term of school enrolment is rural girls, the relatively bigger improvement in their school enrolment (6.6 per cent for 6-14 year-olds and 9.3 per cent among 7-14 year-olds) means that they are catching up with their urban counterparts.

***Comparing the decline in the proportions of working children with increased enrolment rates***

In comparison to the rather drastic drop in the proportion of children engaged in market work, the improvements in school enrolment for 6-14 year-olds look small. In other words, not all children who quit market work seem to have enrolled in school. Part of the less than expected increase in school enrolment might be conjectured to stem from the delayed school entry of 6-year-olds. In other words, they might have pulled out of market work but did not enrol in school. Indeed while market work for 6-year-olds almost totally disappeared by 1999, their school enrolment also went down. Another conjecture might be that 12-14 year-olds for whom school enrolment became mandatory could not adjust as fast. But we have in fact shown that they have experienced the most dramatic improvement in school enrolment. Disregarding both groups, in other words considering only the 7-11 year-olds for whom basic education was compulsory both in 1994 and 1999, however, does not change the above observation. In other words, some of the 7-11 year-olds who stopped working in the labour market did not return to or start school. It seems that at least some have become involved in household work. These observations hint that market work may not be the sole reason that keeps children away from school. Some other factors that might hinder children's schooling such as poverty will be discussed later in the study.

## Employment and schooling outcomes of children

**Table 6.3 Distribution of children (6-14 years)  
across various activities**

	All Children			
	1994		1999	
All children	11,407	(per cent)	12,066	(per cent)
School + market work	387	3.4	169	1.4
School + household work	2,277	20.0	2,902	24.1
No school, market work	586	5.1	341	2.8
No school, household work	487	4.3	427	3.5
Just school	7,253	63.6	7,560	62.7
No school, no work	417	3.7	667	5.5

	Male Children			
	1994		1999	
All children	5,856	(per cent)	6,154	(per cent)
School + market work	247	4.2	105	1.7
School + household work	882	15.1	971	15.8
No school, market work	333	5.7	193	3.1
No school, household work	41	0.7	36	0.6
Just school	4,140	70.7	4,516	73.4
No school, no work	214	3.7	334	5.4

	Female Children			
	1994		1999	
All children	5,551	(per cent)	5,911	(per cent)
School + market work	141	2.5	64	1.1
School + household work	1,395	25.1	1,931	32.7
No school, market work	253	4.6	148	2.5
No school, household work	446	8.0	392	6.6
Just school	3,113	56.1	3,044	51.5
No school, no work	203	3.7	333	5.6

Note: Absolute figures are in thousands.

Source: Tables 1.2 and 1.3, Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

***Combining work and school***

The time allocation of children between school and work shown in Table 6.3 demonstrates the extent to which children who are engaged in some form of work are able to combine work and school. For both years, children mainly fall into one of two groups. The largest group (63.6 per cent in 1994 and 62.7 per cent in 1999) are non-working children who attend school. The next largest group (20 per cent in 1994 and 24.1 per cent in 1999) are children who combine school and household work. In contrast, the proportion of children who attend school while at the same time are involved in market work is rather limited. This group became even smaller in 1999 (declining from 3 per cent in 1994 to 1 per cent in 1999). Children who are solely engaged in market work also make up a relatively small group (5.1 per cent in 1994), although they constituted roughly 60 per cent of the children engaged in market work in 1994. In 1999, the size of this group further dropped to 3 per cent though their share among child market workers increased to 75 per cent.

The findings indicate that schooling is more compatible with household work than market work. This is not surprising considering that household work in one's own home does not require the child to make an additional trip to the workplace before or after school, which is often the case for market work. The need and the cost of additional commuting might hinder children's school attendance simply because the child needs to be at three different places during the day. Various other reasons also exist such as household work being more flexible than market work in terms of task completion. Most important, however, is the fact that reproductive work, which is done predominantly by girls, is an integral part of the gender role and identify female children, i.e., it is part of "who they are". Therefore, performing domestic chores is not only "work" but also gender learning, a process which is less categorical and disrupted for femininity than it is for masculinity (Chodorow 1978).

Despite the obvious negative correlation between schooling and the market work of children, this should not be interpreted to imply that market work increases the likelihood of dropping out of school. It might very well be the contrary: some of the children who are engaged in market work may have failed school and therefore started working. In short, the figures in Table 6.3 do not provide any evidence to imply causality one way or the other. They simply show that the two outcomes are correlated.

***Gender differences across school and work categories***

Gender differences in the distribution of children across various school and work categories are also illustrated in Table 6.3. One interesting observation is the relatively few female children who do nothing but attend school. While the proportion of such children among males was 71 per cent in 1994, the corresponding figure for female children was 56 per cent. Over time, there has been a drop in the size of this group among females while it has become slightly bigger among males. A significant portion of female children who do attend school are also engaged in household work. For instance in 1994, one

out of every three female children who attended school was also engaged in household work. Over time, although a larger number of female children were found to attend school, higher school attendance was accompanied by an increase in the size of the domestic workers.

The proportion of children who neither go to school nor engage in any form of work is small, but not negligible. In our discussion above we have implied that we would expect to see a larger proportion of male children “idle”. However, our implicit assumption is not verified by the data. If anything, a slightly higher proportion of female children are found to be doing neither household work nor market work. They do not attend school either. It is quite possible that this is partly because female children are more likely than their male counterpart not to consider household work as work. Although the interviewers had been instructed to give examples to guide children, some might have neglected to do so or the children did not understand the questions properly. It seems rather implausible that a 12-year-old girl who does not attend school will simply be doing nothing. We test whether our second conjecture — that children who are idle will be made up of very young ones — is supported by the data. Indeed, it was observed that in 1999, 77 per cent of such children were made up of 6-9 year-olds. However, this proportion was only 53 per cent in 1994 (SIS, 1999; Table 1.3). We suspect that either these children misunderstood what they have been asked or that they are simply not involved in any work due to their young age.

### 6.3 SCHOOL AND WORK OUTCOMES OF 15-17 YEAR-OLDS

In trying to find an explanation for the big drop observed in the number and the proportion of children engaged in market work, it might be instructive to look at how the employment and schooling outcomes have changed for the 15-17 year-olds. One can entertain the idea that due to the increasing publicity against child labour which probably increased public awareness and concern on the issue, the passage of ILO Convention No. 138, the increase in the legal working age to 15 years and the numerous programmes of IPEC and others have all been instrumental in reducing the demand for the labour of young children from 6 to 14. To the extent that families have also become aware of the possible negative consequences of employment at very young ages and comply with the increase in the compulsory schooling age, the supply of child labour might have also dropped. Furthermore, to the extent that the use of cheap child labour is essential to the viability of some establishments (especially small establishments that work with very low profit margins), the demand for child labour might have shifted to the older age group — 15-17 year-olds. As an initial test of this conjecture the work and schooling outcomes of older children are analysed.

At first glance, the figures reported in Table 6.4 seem to be telling an opposite story from the one suggested above. As in the case of younger chil-



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dren, a drop in the employment rate and an increase in the school enrolment rate of older children are observed. For instance, while the proportion of children employed in market work was 32.5 per cent in 1994, this figure declined to 28 per cent in 1999. The rate of school enrolment increased from 45 per cent to 51 per cent. However, a closer glance at the data shows that the experiences of male and female children and those living in rural and urban areas have differed. For instance, while the employment rate of male children dropped in urban areas, that of the female children did not significantly change between the two time periods. In rural areas, the opposite is observed. The significant increase in the school enrolment rates of female children in rural areas might partly explain the drop in their employment rate.

**Table 6.4 Employment and schooling of 15-17 years-olds**

	Market work		Household work		School attendance	
	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999
Turkey	32.5	28.0	n.a.	36.2	44.7	51.0
Male	39.3	34.8	n.a.	13.8	54.1	58.2
Female	25.4	20.9	n.a.	59.4	34.8	43.6
Urban	20.4	17.2	n.a.	41.3	55.8	60.0
Male	30.6	24.8	n.a.	17.8	62.5	64.5
Female	8.9	8.9	n.a.	66.7	48.3	55.2
Rural	46.1	44.8	n.a.	28.3	32.3	36.9
Male	49.8	51.3	n.a.	7.3	44.2	47.8
Female	42.5	38.6	n.a.	48.6	21.0	26.4

Note: n.a. -not available. 1994 figures are author's computations.

Source: Tables 1.2 and 1.3, Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

### *Modest declines in employment rates for older children*

The relatively modest declines in the employment rate of older children means that the overall decline the proportion of children engaged in market work (including younger and older children) is not as drastic as the rate reported earlier for younger children. As shown in Table 6.5, the proportion of children engaged in market work (ages 6 to 17) has declined by about 30 per cent from 14.5 per cent to 10.2 per cent over the 1994-99 period. The decline in urban areas is relatively smaller in comparison to the change in rural areas. Although there is no across-the-board increase in the employment rates of older children that supports the conjecture that the demand for labour has shifted toward older children, the fact that there is no change in the employment rate of female children in urban areas and that of male children in rural areas prevent the discarding of the theory altogether.

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**Table 6.5 Employment of all children by region**

	Market work			
	1994 per cent	1994 N	1999 per cent	1999 N
Turkey Ages 6-17 years	14.5	2,194	10.2	1,635
Urban Ages 6-17 years	7.4	594	5.8	553
Rural Ages 6-17 years	22.5	1,602	16.6	1,083

Note: Absolute figures are in thousands.

Source: Tables 1.1 and 1.2, Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

### 6.4 AGE-EMPLOYMENT PROFILES

Tracing out the age-employment profiles of children is important since such an analysis helps identify the risk groups. The evolution of market work, household work and schooling by age for male and female children are shown in Figures 6.2 through 6.6. Here the emphasis is not on any one age group per se but rather on the overall picture of how employment and school enrolment evolve over time. As is apparent from the figures, children's involvement in market work occurs beyond age 11, which until 1997 marked the end of compulsory education under the previous law. Up to that age, very little labour market entry is observed. Age 11 also marks the point beyond which school enrolment registers a sharp decline. The drop is especially marked in the case of female children, revealing the major bottleneck for girls' education in Turkey i.e., the transition from compulsory to non-compulsory schooling. While the enrolment falls more or less smoothly beyond age 11 for male children, jumps are observed in girls' schooling profiles. The second major drop in enrolment for girls comes around age 14 which marked the end of junior-high school in 1994 and basic compulsory education in 1999. The third jump is more difficult to explain as it does not correspond to the end of high school. It occurs around age 16. It might be conjectured that some of the girls are dropping out of school to get married. In both surveys, 16 years corresponded roughly to the legal marriage age for female children, which at the time was 15 years. The new Civil Code which went into force in January 2002 raised the legal age of marriage to 17 years. It would be worthwhile to monitor whether this will have any impact on girls' schooling. Observation in this regard should also be supported by further research in this area.

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Figure 6.2 Age-employment and schooling patterns of male children in 1994

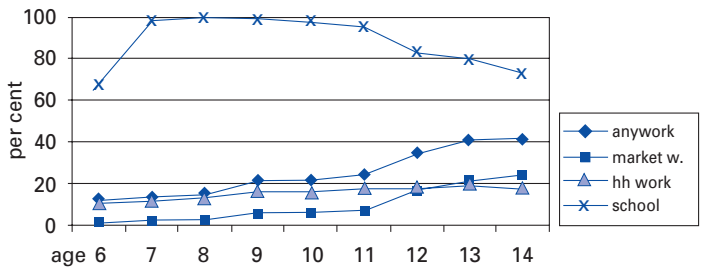


Figure 6.3 Age-employment and schooling patterns of female children in 1994

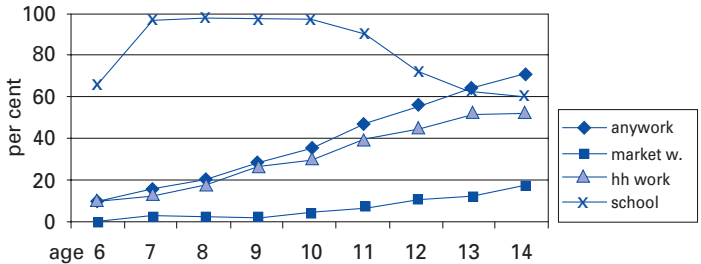
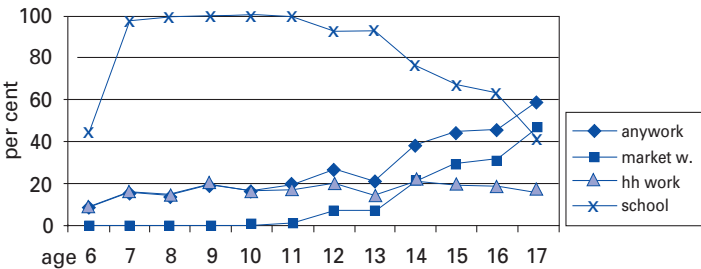
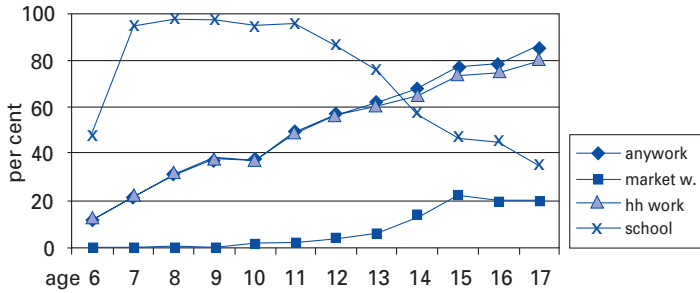


Figure 6.4 Age-employment and schooling patterns of male children in 1999



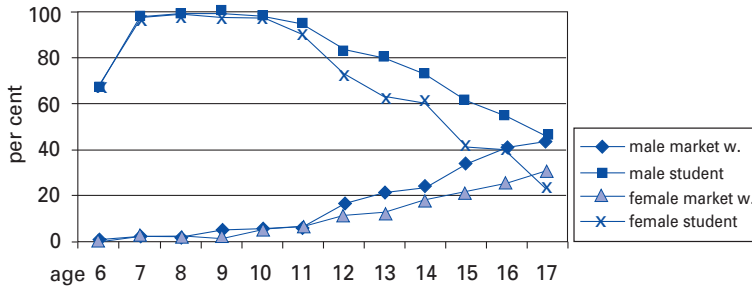
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Figure 6.5 Age-employment and schooling patterns of female children in 1999



Source: Author's computations based on 1994 and 1999 Child Labour Surveys, SIS.

Figure 6.6 Market work and schooling of male and female children in 1994



Source: Author's computations based on 1994 Child Labour Survey, SIS.

The rather disadvantaged position of girls from a very early age in education is clearly illustrated in Figures 6.2-6.6. Nowhere do the school enrolment profiles of female children in 1994 and 1999 lie above those for males. These findings hint that families have a preference toward the schooling of their sons. This preference gets magnified as children grow older. However, over time the improvement in the school enrolment rates of female children have been instrumental in reducing the gender gap.

Market work at very young ages is almost non-existent in Turkey, which is encouraging. What little child labour exists in this age group is limited to rural areas. For example, while the employment rate of 6-9 year-olds in 1999 in urban areas was 0.1 per cent, the corresponding figure in rural areas was 1.9 per cent. These figures were recorded at 0.3 per cent and 5.6 per cent in 1994. In other words, the number of very young children in market work dropped drastically over time, the average improvement being in the order of 70 per cent. The relatively greater prevalence of employment in this and older age groups in rural areas relates to the nature of the work carried out,

which is primarily agricultural. In 1999, over 95 per cent of children involved in market work in this age group in rural areas were employed in agriculture. These children work on family farms as unpaid family workers.

Household work seems to become an integral part of a significant number of female children's lives from very young ages. Their involvement in household chores increases with age and by age 14 one out of every two female children regularly carries out household work. By age 17, eight out of ten female children become involved in household work. Male children's involvement in household work increases early on but remains roughly constant at later ages. The vastly different degrees of involvement in household work between boys and the girls is an indication of the society's view of what constitutes appropriate work for each sex. Feminist research reveals that sex stereotyping tends to weaken in middle-class urban families. However, the database used in this study does not allow for a detailed analysis of the intersection between gender and class in terms of time allocation of children.

The age-employment and age-enrolment profiles indicate a general improvement in the schooling and work outcomes of children almost in all age groups except for the 6-year-olds. It seems that late school entry intensified in 1999 compared to 1994 but that this did not have any negative implications for older children. The need to keep children at school longer in 1999 might have negatively affected the timely school registration of 6 year-olds.

Although male children's school enrolment increased across the board for all age categories, the most significant improvement took place for 12-13 year-olds, which may be a reflection of the positive effect of compulsory schooling. The strong negative correlation between schooling and market work noted earlier meant that an increase in child schooling is accompanied by a decline in child labour. Indeed, one of the most drastic drops in child employment was observed for the 12-13 year-olds. It seems that increased schooling is potentially important in explaining the decline in the employment of children in this age group. The group among whom the second best improvement in schooling was observed is the 16-year-olds. Again the increase in schooling is accompanied by a drop in employment. The increase in the enrolment rate of 16-year-olds possibly signifies that a larger number of male children are continuing on to high school.

For female children, the most significant changes took place in the 12-13 age group followed by the 16-17 age group. The same explanations that were provided for male children can also be offered here to shed light to the increasing enrolment and decreasing employment rates of female children. Note in particular the rather flat employment profile of the female children in 1999 and the drastic increase in the school enrolment rate of the 17-year-olds. The higher school enrolment rates of older female are particularly welcome not only because of their historically low rates, but also because it implies delayed marriage and child bearing for these girls.

It has been established in this section of the study that age is an important factor that determines the extent of children's involvement in market and household work and their school enrolment. In doing so, we have essentially ignored other factors that might determine work and/or schooling outcomes such as the place of the residence of the child. However, multivariate studies that control for a whole host of factors have repeatedly shown the child's age to be an important determinant of child employment and schooling (Dayıoğlu 2003, Dayıoğlu and Assaad 2002, Tansel 2000, Tunalı 1997). A positive relationship between age and work and a negative relationship between age and schooling would be expected simply because of the higher opportunity cost of not working. As discussed earlier, the opportunity cost includes both the pecuniary and the non-pecuniary costs of not working and/or going to school.

### 6.5 AGE AT LABOUR MARKET ENTRY

As discussed earlier, children's risk of employment in market work increases drastically as they turn age 11. This finding is important from the perspective of policy making. To complete the picture on the age-employment pattern of children, their age at first labour market entry is analysed. The average age at which various groups of children take up their first job is given in Table 6.6 disaggregated by sex and place of residence. In both years, children in rural areas start working at younger ages compared to their urban counterparts. Interestingly, female children are also found to enter the labour market at younger ages. This general result is driven by the gender age gap in labour market entry in rural areas.<sup>72</sup> In rural areas, relatively early entry is expected since at least part of the economic activity carried out by adult household members take place within household premises so that it is easier for children to become a part of the production process early on. It is also relatively more common for female children to help around the house. Again, if some of the work carried out is market oriented, they get classified as doing market work.

Delayed entry into the labour market is an important indicator of the improvement realized in the issue of child labour. While in 1994, the average age at which children started work was 9.3 years, by 1999 this figure increased to 9.9 years. In rural areas, a relatively bigger improvement is observed, which goes hand in hand with the relatively bigger drop in child labour in this area. It is important to mention that delayed entry across time is observed for both the male and female children.

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<sup>72</sup> The age differences are statistically significant at conventional levels except for the difference between male and female children in 1994.

**Table 6.6 Age at first employment  
(6-14 years)**

	1994	1999
Turkey	9.3	9.9
Male	9.5	10.3
Female	9	9.4
Urban	10.9	11.3
Male	11	11.2
Female	10.8	11.6
Rural	8.9	9.5
Male	9.1	9.9
Female	8.8	9.1

Source: Author's computations based on 1994 and 1999 Child Labour Surveys, SIS.

***Significance of the type of first job held***

In parallel to the age at first labour market entry, the first job held is also a pertinent factor in understanding the work patterns of children. It has been proposed above that early entry in rural areas can be explained by the prevalence of home-based production systems. If this is so, a significant proportion of children, particularly girls and those residing in rural areas, should be employed as unpaid family workers at their first job. The survey did inquire about the nature of first job held, the results of which are tabulated in Table 6.7. It is interesting to note that the proportion of children who have declared that they are currently holding their first job is rather high. In 1994 this figure was in the order of 56 per cent. In 1999, it increased to 77 per cent. If these figures can be taken as crude indicators of the relative mobility of working children within the labour market, it seems that a significant proportion of children stick to their first job. Further comparison of 1994 and 1999 figures indicates that the mobility of children is greatly reduced in 1999 which might be to do with the increase in the legal working age to 15 years and the greater public awareness of this legal change. Clearly, in the absence of detailed work histories of children, these figures are approximate.

Among those who have declared to still hold their first job, a significant proportion are employed as unpaid family workers. For the country at large, this figure was recorded at 78.9 per cent in 1994 and at 67.8 per cent in 1999. This ratio is particularly high among females and among those living in rural areas. Among female children who hold their first job, the proportion employed as unpaid family workers in 1999 was 80 per cent, as opposed to 57.8 per cent of male children. These ratios were recorded at 88.3 per cent in rural and 8.4 per cent in urban areas.

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These figures indicate that a significant portion of children enter the labour market as unpaid family workers. A rough estimate indicates that this proportion was in the order of 70 per cent in 1999 and little under 85 per cent in 1994. These figures are obtained by summing up the proportion of children who said they started out working as unpaid family workers but no longer do so and those who continue to work in household establishment. While some, especially urban male workers, move onto the paid labour market as they get older, others continue to be employed at household-level establishments. A comparison of the 1994 and 1999 figures indicate that there is a significant decline in the proportion of children who start out working as unpaid family workers. The decline hints that the fall in child labour is possibly accompanied by a reorientation toward the paid labour market.

Table 6.7 Nature of first job held by children (6-14 years) in 1994 and 1999

Year 1994	All	Turkey M	F	All	Urban M	F	All	Rural M	F
Same as current job	55.5	54.7	56.7	58.5	57.4	62.2	54.8	53.8	56.0
<i>Household work</i>	78.9	71.8	88.8	25.6	24.2	29.6*	91.2	88.2	96.9
Worked in hh establish.	39.3	39.1	39.8	23.3	23.0	24.0*	43.1	44.2	41.7
Other	5.2	6.3	3.5	18.2	19.6	13.8*	2.1	2.0	2.3

Year 1999	All	Turkey M	F	All	Urban M	F	All	Rural M	F
Same as current job	77.1	70.2	85.8	71.8	71.6	72.3	78.7	69.5	87.6
<i>Household work</i>	67.8	57.8	80.0	8.4*	9.5*	5.2*	88.3	83.6	92.7
Worked in hh establish.	17.0	21.5	11.4	12.0	10.1	18.4*	18.4	26.6	10.4
Other	5.9	8.4	2.8	16.2	18.4	9.3*	2.9	3.9	2.0

Note: Other work includes wage work. Figures in italics are calculated based on the sub-sample of 'same job' holders.

\* signifies small cell size.

Source: Author's computations based on 1994 and 1999 Child Labour Surveys, SIS.



## 6.6 HOURS OF WORK

The most critical aspect of child labour is the long hours of work. In 1994, children 6-14 years engaged in market work put in on average of 38.4 hours per week. In 1999, this figure was recorded at 40.2 hours (Table 6.8). Older children tend to work even longer hours. The average hours of work per week among the 15-17 year-olds was 47 hours in 1994 and 47.7 hours in 1999. The upper panel of Table 6.8 gives the average hours of market work and Table 6.9 its distribution in both years. As is apparent from both tables, children in urban areas work substantially longer hours compared to their rural counterparts. While the former put in 52.2 hours per week in 1999, the latter worked for 36.1 hours. A similar gap, though at a much smaller scale, is also observed between the male and female children. On average, female children are found to work for fewer hours in market work. However, in order to make the comparison justifiable it is necessary to also consider the hours girls put into household work.

The lower panel in Table 6.8 gives the mean hours of household work and Table 6.10 the distribution of children across the different hours categories in household work. When the tables on household work and market work are compared, it is apparent that children work substantially less hours doing household work than market work. Given that the data available accurately depicts time-use in household work, it seems that children who are engaged in household work fare better than their counterparts in market work. Table 6.8 shows that female children put in relatively more hours to household work compared to male children. In other words, the gender gap observed in the amount of time put into market work is reversed. While on average, young working female children put in 10.9 hours per week to household work, this figure is recorded at 6.9 hours per week in for male children. Again, contrary to the observations on market work, the time put into household work is higher in rural than urban areas. The relatively few time-saving consumer durables and the inferior infrastructure in rural areas probably necessitate the household members' higher time input.

To be able to compare the true time input of male and female children, it is imperative that the total amount of time spent on both activities is accounted for. Calculated this way, in 1999 female children's time input was found to be 14.3 hours per week in comparison to 15 hours recorded for male children. Accounting for household work reduces the gender time gap to less than one hour per week. It is interesting to also note that when the broad definition of work is employed, the average time input by rural children exceeds the time input of urban children. While in 1999 female children put in 19.2 hours per week, the corresponding figure was 10.6 hours in the case of urban children.

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**Table 6.8 Mean hours of market and household work**

	Mean hours of market work only			
	6-14	15-17	1994	1999
	1994	1999	1994	1999
All	38.4	40.2	47.0	47.7
Male	39.2	41.0	49.1	49.8
Female	37.2	39.1	43.8	44.0
Urban	45.9	52.2	51.4	53.8
Rural	36.6	36.1	44.9	44.0

	Mean hours of household work only			
	6-14	15-17	1994	1999
	1994	1999	1994	1999
All	9.7	9.7	n.a.	16.5
Male	7.3	6.9	n.a.	9.2
Female	10.9	10.9	n.a.	18.4
Urban	8.7	7.9	n.a.	13.2
Rural	11.0	12.4	n.a.	21.2

Note: n.a.- not available.

Source: Author's computations based on 1994 and 1999 Child Labour Surveys, SIS.

**Table 6.9 Distribution of children in market work by hours of work**

Ages 6-14 years	All		Urban		Rural		Male		Female	
	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999
<14	6.7	9.2	6.9	5.6	6.7	10.5	6.6	8.7	7.0	10.0
14-34	35.2	30.5	19.8	8.0	38.9	38.3	33.5	29.5	37.7	31.8
35-42	18.6	15.3	7.3	8.3	21.3	17.7	18.5	12.5	18.7	19.2
43+	39.5	45.0	65.9	78.1	33.1	33.6	41.5	49.3	36.7	39.0

Ages 15-17 years	All		Urban		Rural		Male		Female	
	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999
<14	2.0	2.1	1.7	1.4	2.2	2.5	1.6	1.6	2.7	2.9
14-34	14.5	18.7	6.6	7.1	18.4	25.7	11.5	16.8	19.2	22.1
35-42	22.0	15.9	13.4	10.1	26.2	19.4	19.4	13.5	26.2	20.2
43+	61.5	63.3	78.3	81.4	53.3	52.5	67.5	68.2	52.0	54.8

Source: Author's computations based on 1994 and 1999 Child Labour Surveys, SIS.

## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

Table 6.10 Distribution of children in household work by hours of work

Ages 6-14 years	All		Urban		Rural		Male		Female	
	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999
<14	76.3	75.0	81.2	82.5	69.8	64.2	88.7	87.4	70.1	69.7
14-34	21.5	22.3	16.6	15.9	27.8	31.3	10.7	10.2	26.9	27.5
35-42	1.5	2.1	1.4	1.0	1.7*	3.5	0.5*	2.4*	2.0	1.9
43+	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.7*	0.9	0.2*	0*	1.0	1.0

Ages 15-17 years	All		Urban		Rural		Male		Female	
	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999
<14	n.a.	48.5	n.a.	60.8	n.a.	31.5	n.a.	82.4	n.a.	39.8
14-34	n.a.	39.0	n.a.	31.7	n.a.	49.0	n.a.	12.9	n.a.	45.7
35-42	n.a.	7.5	n.a.	4.9	n.a.	11.1	n.a.	4.6*	n.a.	8.2
43+	n.a.	5.0	n.a.	2.6	n.a.	8.5	n.a.	0.1*	n.a.	6.3

Note: \* signifies small cell size. Source: Author's computations based on 1994 and 1999 Child Labour Surveys, SIS.

## 6.7 CHILDREN IN HAZARDOUS CHILD LABOUR

The distribution of children with respect to hours of market work presented in Tables 6.9 and 6.10 is alarming since a substantial number of them are found to work for considerably long hours. In both years, working children are found to concentrate quite heavily at the upper end of the hours distribution. In 1994, 6.7 per cent of the 6-14 year-olds were employed for less than 14 hours per week as opposed to 39.5 per cent who were employed for more than 43 hours per week. In 1999, these ratios respectively were 9.2 per cent and 45 per cent. Among older children, concentration at the upper end of the hours distribution intensifies. While only 2.3 per cent of 15-17 year-olds were found to be working for less than 14 hours per week in 1999, the proportion working over 43 hours during the same year was roughly 65 per cent. When the hours distributions in 1994 and 1999 are compared mixed results emerge. In comparison to 1994, more children are found at the bottom of the distribution in 1999, which is an encouraging sign. However, at the same time, a larger proportion of them are found at the top of the distribution, which works to worsen the distribution in 1999.

In contrast to market work, hardly any children are found to be excessively engaged in household work.<sup>73</sup> The overwhelming majority of es-

<sup>73</sup> This finding should be taken with caution, as the full scope of household work and work that takes place in the private sphere is not sufficiently documented. At the same time, however, the hypothesis that social convention may provide some mechanisms of protection for children working within primary relations needs to be explored.

pecially the younger children work for less than 14 hours per week. Even among older children, there is hardly a significant proportion that work for more than 35 hours per week.

Following a recent report by ILO (2002b), we employ various cut-off points in terms of the number of hours worked to identify children in hazardous work. The ILO considers any type of economic activity hazardous if it is carried out by 6-12 year-olds. Children between the ages of 12 and 14 are also included in this category if their weekly hours of work exceed 13 hours. For the 15-17 year-olds, a 43-hour cut-off point is employed. In addition, children employed in certain industries that are inherently dangerous are automatically classified under the hazardous work category, regardless of their working hours. These would include such sectors as mining and quarrying and construction. It should be noted that the inclusion of these two industrial sectors is expected to produce a negligible effect on the measure employed here simply because in Turkey very few children are found in such sectors. To give an example, in 1994 little more than 2 per cent of the employed children (6-17 years) were engaged in mining and construction taken together.

Hazardous work is considered as part of the worst forms of child labour (ILO, 2002b) that need to be eliminated immediately. The other category of worst forms consists of the unconditional worst forms of child labour, such as bonded labour or child prostitution and the like that are not included in the statistics. In Turkey the magnitude of such worst forms of child labour is believed to be rather small. A few case studies provide a detailed account of the hardship faced by children (see for instance Ertürk 1994, Akşit et al. 2001). The paucity of such studies and their qualitative nature make it rather difficult to even provide a guess-estimate on their possible magnitudes. Therefore, such studies need to be complemented by quantitative surveys to estimate the magnitude of such activities.

Following the above categorization, 11.2 per cent of children in 1994 were found to be engaged in hazardous work (Table 6.11). In 1999, this proportion declined to 7.5 per cent. The relatively sharp decline in the number and proportion of children in hazardous work stems mainly from the huge drop in the number of very young working children. As discussed earlier, the decline had the effect of almost halving the magnitude of child labour. Since the index employed here gives a relatively more weight to young children by not employing a cut-off point in terms of hours, the reduction in the size of this group had the effect of pulling the average down. When the proportions of male and female children in hazardous work are compared, a relatively higher proportion of male children are found to be under the risk of employment in jobs that are unsuitable for their capacities. While in 1994, 13.8 per cent of male children could be categorized in hazardous work, the corresponding figure for female children was 8.5 per cent. By 1999, these figures declined to 9.5 per cent in the case of male and to 5.5 per cent in the case of female children. Children residing in rural areas

Table 6.11 Percentage of working children in hazardous work

	Hazardous work		Extended hazardous work	
	1994	1999	1994	1999
All	11.2	7.5	15.5	12.8
Male	13.8	9.5	15.2	10.7
Female	8.5	5.5	15.9	15.1
Urban	6.3	5.0	9.9	9.0
Rural	16.9	11.3	21.9	18.6

Source: Author's computations based on 1994 and 1999 Child Labour Surveys, SIS.

are also under a greater risk of getting involved in hazardous work. While in 1994, 16.9 per cent of rural children were found in the hazardous work category, the corresponding figure in urban areas was 6.3 per cent. Over time, both ratios improved and were recorded at 11.3 per cent and 5 per cent respectively.

An additional type of worst form of child labour includes children who are classified as mobile workers. This category consists mainly of children engaged in petty trade and street vending. They sell napkins and *simit* (savory roll) at various parts of the city, shine shoes, carry grocery bags etc. Including them in this categorization (irrespective of hours of work or children's age) seems fitting since they do not have a fixed place of work and are potentially subject to abuse. However, the extended definition of hazardous work did not lead to a significant increase in the estimated ratio. This exercise has shown that the size of this group is not as big as often assumed.

It should be emphasized that hazardous work is defined solely on the basis of market work (ILO, 2002b). In other words, children performing household work in their own homes are not included in this categorization, regardless of the hours or conditions of work. Apart from the apparent difficulties in acquiring accurate data, the omission of such children in labour statistics has often been justified by the assumption that they put in substantially less hours, so that their schooling and general development are not affected. However, as illustrated in Table 6.10, there are children who put in a significant number of hours to household work. It might be instructive to look at the change in the size of the hazardous work category when children in household work are also taken into account. The difficulty comes in choosing an hours cut-off point. It can be argued that one hour of economic work would not entail the same hardship as one hour of household work. Obviously, the validity of this claim very much depends on the conditions of work and the age of the child. For instance, regularly attending to a disabled sibling for a 10-year-old girl will carry a

bigger responsibility than doing agricultural work around the family farm. Since the child labour questionnaire did not collect information on the working conditions of children or the nature of work carried out in household chores, we have to set an hours cut-off point to identify children in excessive household work. We have chosen 14 hours to delineate hazardous from non-hazardous household work. Admittedly, in the absence of studies that investigate the impact of hours of household work on child development in Turkey, the choice remains rather arbitrary. However, we have assumed that, just as economic work under 14 hours are found not to be harmful for 12-14 year-olds, less than 14 hours of household work may also be not harmful for 6-14 year-olds. Hence, the extended definition of hazardous work includes 6-14 year-olds if they have done any household work for 14 or more hours and 15-17 year-olds if they have carried out household work for 43 or more hours.

The proportion of working children in "extended hazardous work" is found to be 15.5 per cent in 1994 and 12.8 per cent in 1999. Due to the inclusion of household work, the figures are naturally higher than reported on the basis of market work. However, it is important to note that whether defined on the basis of market work or not, hazardous work is on the decline. Another important finding is that extending the hazardous work definition changes the gender composition of children in hazardous work. While on the basis of market work, a greater portion of male children are found to be involved in work unfit for their capacities, this observation is reversed when extended definition is employed. For 1999, while 10.7 per cent of working children are found to be engaged in hazardous work, this figure is 15.1 per cent for female children. Consequently, female children make up slightly less than 60 per cent of children in extended hazardous work. As is clear from Table 6.11, the debate on whether household work should or should not be considered as a basis in determining hazardous work does not particularly concern the male child. However, for female children the decision is important, because the inclusion of household work increases the number of female children that require immediate attention.

## 6.8 SECTOR OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

### *Agriculture*

The sector in which children in market work are found differs with place of residence. As would be expected, the overwhelming majority of rural children are employed in agriculture. In 1994 close to 90 per cent of the young male and over 95 per cent of the young female market participants residing in rural areas were found in agriculture (Figures 6.7-6.8). The drastic fall in the incidence of child labour did not change the structure of employment for female children in rural areas. In other words, although a smaller number of female children were found in agriculture, the dominant role that agriculture plays in their lives did not change. However, significant changes were observed in the patterns of employment for rural male children. In comparison to 1994, in 1999 a smaller proportion of them were employed in agriculture — the change being from 88 per cent to 76 per cent. Although the employment decline also took place in other sectors (with the exception of services) the rather severe drop in agriculture resulted in an increase in the share of the remaining sectors.

In agriculture, there is an across the board decline in the number of male and female children from all age categories. It seems that fewer younger children are involved in general and in agriculture in particular. Older children on the other hand are turning to the non-agricultural sector. Older children in agriculture consist mainly of unpaid family workers. Therefore, the movement toward the non-agricultural sector also means a movement toward wage labour. Note again that over the 1994-1999 period, the employment of this age group increased by about 5 per cent. However, the increase has mostly originated from the increase in the employment rate of female children, while the employment rate of males has roughly remained constant. It seems that the demand for child workers has shifted toward older female children.

### *Industry*

In urban areas, industry is the main sector where young children are found. In 1994, 34 per cent of the male and 58 per cent of the female market participants were employed in industry (Figures 6.9 and 6.10). However, agriculture is still an important sector for female children in urban areas. In 1994 a quarter of them were found in it. In the case of male children, a relatively more even distribution across the sectors is observed. Although industrial employment dominates the distribution, significant numbers of children are also found in trade and services. Over time, there has been a decline in the share of female children in industry and agriculture. Instead, the share of services increased, so much so that in 1999 the proportion of male and female children in this sector was equalized. However, note that agriculture and industry still remained the two most important sectors for female children. Quite interestingly, from 1994 to 1999 an increase in the

proportion of male children employed in industry and a decline in trade and services were observed. The increase in the proportion of male children and a decline in the proportion of females in industry had the effect of reducing the share of females in this sector from 34 per cent to 29 per cent. It seems that female children withdrew from industry faster than their male counterparts.

The observed changes in industry become even more interesting when the patterns of employment for older children are considered. Quite contrary to the trends observed for younger children, the number of older children in industry actually recorded an increase between the 1994-99 period. In fact, the magnitude of the increase is such that the decline in the number of younger children is exactly offset by the increase in the number of older children. In other words, no significant change in the number of children in industry is observed when the 6-17 year-olds are considered as a group. The question that comes to mind again is whether the younger children have been replaced by their older counterparts. This conjecture is plausible since the gender composition of the industrial child workforce does not show much of a change to speak of. As discussed earlier, such a development might be the end result of the legal ban on child labour though it is not enforced very strictly. Since the figures produced here come from two cross sectional surveys and not a panel, it is not possible to resolve this issue but nevertheless is worth looking for other clues that might support this claim. For instance, are there similar developments in other sectors?

### *Trade and services*

In trade and services, an increase in the number of 15-17 year-olds is observed but the increase is not big enough to compensate for the reduction observed in the number of 6-14 year-olds. Unlike the gender neutral increase in the size of the 15-17-year-old industrial workforce, in trade and services there is a definite process of feminization. In trade, while the increase in the number of 15-17 year-olds solely originated from female children, in services there is an increase in the size of both groups but nevertheless with a female bias. These observations do not refute the conjecture that older children may be replacing younger ones since due to cost considerations (for instance the minimum wage is higher for children above 16 years of age) the employers might be trying to economize in two ways: one, by hiring fewer children; and two, by replacing male labour with cheaper female labour where possible.



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Figure 6.7 Distribution of 6-14 year-olds across industries in rural areas

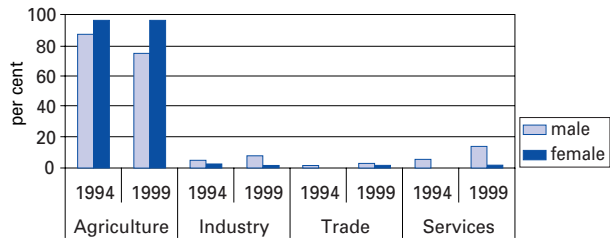


Figure 6.8 Distribution of 15-17 year-olds across industries in rural areas

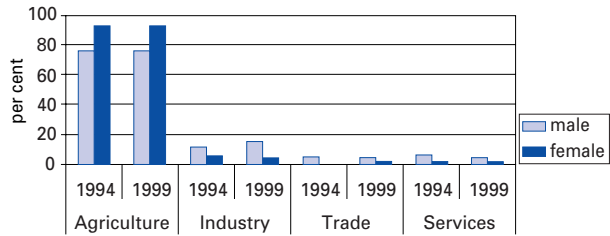


Figure 6.9 Distribution of 6-14 year-olds across industries in urban areas

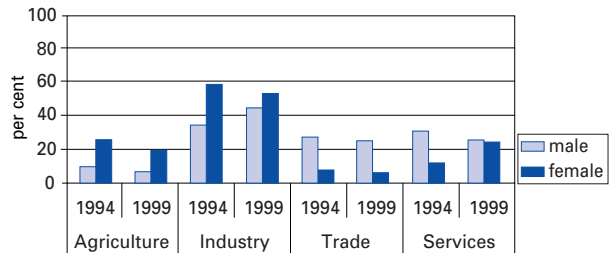
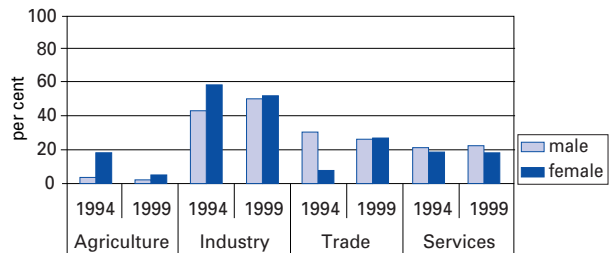


Figure 6.10 Distribution of 15-17 year-olds across industries in urban areas



Source: Table 1.4 Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

## 6.9 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF CHILDREN IN MARKET WORK

The observed urban-rural dichotomy in the sectors in which children in market work are found implies that there are differences in the employment status of children by place of residence as well. Indeed, where agriculture dominates, the overwhelming majority of children are employed as unpaid family workers. In others, the dominant form of employment is wage work. While in rural areas 80 per cent of employed children in 1999 were unpaid family workers, this proportion was limited to 8 per cent in urban areas (Figures 6.11 and 6.12). Over time there seems to be a move toward wage work. Even in rural areas a decline in non-wage work is observed. Consider for instance male children working in rural areas. In 1994, 89 per cent of them were employed as unpaid family workers; this proportion declined to 72 per cent in 1999. The decline is the end result of a drastic fall in the number of working children in agriculture. The increase in the proportion of those employed as wage workers actually signify a smaller decline in wage work as compared to non-wage work. In urban areas, a similar development is observed where a fall in the proportion engaged in non-wage work and a rise in the proportion engaged in waged work are realized. These changes basically stem from the disproportionate changes in the number of employed children in these sectors.

Wage employment consists of casual and regular employment. In contrast to urban areas, wage work in rural areas usually takes the form of casual work. For instance, in 1999 more than three out of four child wage workers were casual employees. This proportion is limited to less than a half in urban areas. The composition of wage work differs by region due to the nature of work involved. Agricultural work is seasonal so that demand for permanent employees is limited. It is interesting to also note the relatively higher increase in the share of casual workers over time. It seems that the rise in the share of wage work stems mainly from the increase in the share of casual work.

### *Differences in employment status between girls and boys*

Figures 6.11 and 6.12 illustrate that a greater proportion of employed female children in urban areas are wage earners. For instance, while in 1994 close to 75 per cent of the urban female children in market work were wage earners, the corresponding figure for male children was 68 per cent. In 1999, these ratios became 90 per cent and 77 per cent respectively. These figures may be taken to indicate that the urban paid labour market is fairly open to female children and may be more so to females than males. However, it is important to note that in urban areas another possible avenue of employment exists for male children which is self-employment. Self-employment often means petty trading on the streets. Children are often lured to this activity due to relatively higher monetary return. In the rural areas paid labour market is rather closed to both groups of children though there seems to be more demand for male child labour.

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Figure 6.11 Distribution of 6-14 year-olds into wage and non-wage work in urban areas

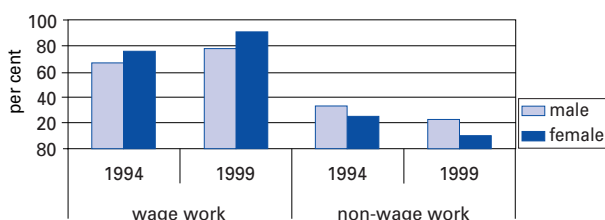
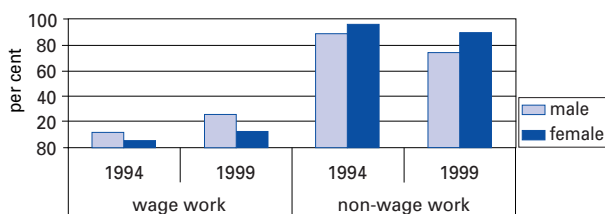


Figure 6.12 Distribution of 6-14 year-olds into wage and non-wage work in rural areas



### *Differences among age groups*

The employment patterns of 15-17 year-olds do not vastly differ from the younger group (Figures 6.13 and 6.14). The main difference is that the urban paid labour market is relatively more open to older than younger children so that a smaller proportion of the former is found to engage in non-wage work. In urban areas, aside from the fact that a larger proportion of older children are wage workers, over time, a bigger proportion of them has been channelled to this form of employment. Going back to the discussion in the previous section, this change can be explained by older children replacing younger children in wage employment. Indeed, while the number of children in unpaid family work went down, the numbers in wage work increased.

In rural areas the employment patterns of older female children do not really differ from their younger counterparts. The overwhelming majority is still employed as unpaid family workers. A similar observation is made for male children as well though a larger proportion of them are found in wage work. The paid labour market seems to be relatively more open to males than females. A similar situation is expected to prevail between younger and older male children. In other words, a higher proportion of older male children is expected to be found in wage work. This is so in 1994 but not in 1999. The drastic drop in the number of older male

## Employment and schooling outcomes of children

Figure 6.13 Distribution of 15-17 year-olds into wage and non-wage work in urban areas

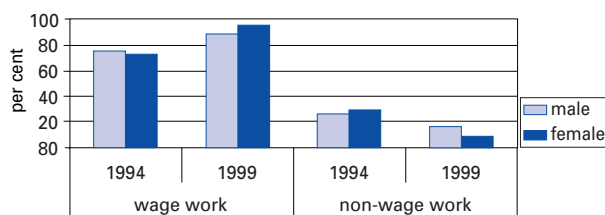
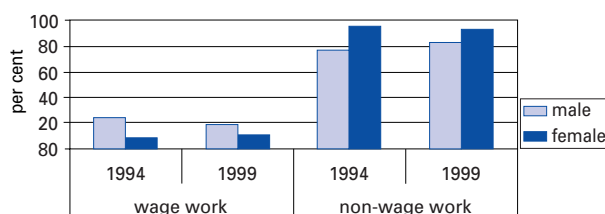


Figure 6.14 Distribution of 15-17 year-olds into wage and non-wage work in rural areas



Source: Table 1.6 Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

children in wage work in 1999 resulted in the proportion of younger males in this sector to surpass the rate reported for their older counterparts. The number of older children in non-wage work remained rather stable over time. A drop in wage work and a stable employment in non-wage work resulted in an increase in the proportion of older male children employed as unpaid family workers.

### *The effect of changes in the volume of economic activity on the employment patterns of children*

To sum up, it seems that for both the older and younger male and female children there has been a general decline in employment in rural areas. As noted in previous sections, the increase in the school enrolment rate of children in rural areas has not been high enough to fully account for the observed decline in their employment. Alternative explanations include changes in the volume of economic activity in rural areas. As discussed earlier, almost the entire population of rural working children is employed in agriculture and mostly as unpaid family workers in household establishments. Any decline in agricultural activity will necessarily be reflected in the employment of children.

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The change in the volume of economic activity in rural areas is understood by looking at the change in the employment rate of prime age adults (ages 20 to 54) and due to data limitations, the employment patterns of 12-14 year-olds is substituted for the incidence of child labour. The change in the employment patterns of children and adults over the 1988-99 period are shown in Figure 6.15. Note that the data points shown on the chart are point estimates with standard errors associated with them. What is of interest in this exercise is not to compare each data point which is not statistically possible without having the necessary information, but rather to see the general trend in the employment of children and adults. The data employed in this exercise come from the semi-annual Household Labour Force Surveys (HLFS) of SIS, the results of which are open to public use at the SIS Web site. It is not possible to extend the time frame of the analysis further since in the year 2000, the working age population was redefined to include individuals above 15 years and above. Nevertheless, the 12-year period under consideration should be able to provide clues regarding the employment patterns of younger and to some extent older children. In the data base, older children were categorized in such a way so as to include young adults. So the 15-19 age group does not exactly correspond to what is defined as older children here.

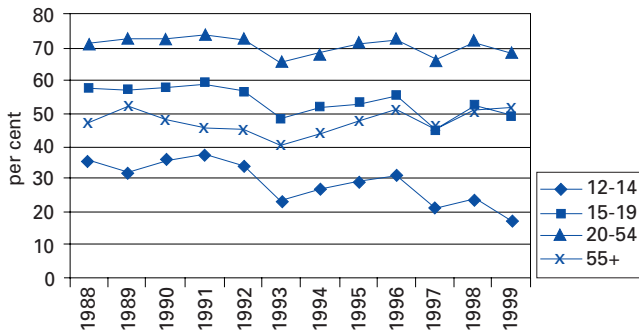
When Figure 6.15 is analyzed, the first observation made is the wide fluctuation in employment over time, which must partly result from the nature of agricultural production and external shocks beyond farmers' control. What needs to be highlighted here is that child employment mimics adult employment. When adult employment expands, so does the child employment. When it contracts, so does the child employment. However, a given change in adult employment gets amplified so that both the expansions and contractions in adult employment give rise to much higher proportionate changes in child employment. Note the rather deep fall in both the adult and child employment in 1993. Another decline is observed in 1999. As discussed in Chapter 4, Turkey experienced a rather severe economic crisis in 1994 and another one in 1999. The fall in the employment rate as recorded in the October round of the 1993 HLFS preceded the final blow that came in April 1994 with the devaluation of the TL. Towards the end of the year, the economy was back on the recovery track so that employment registered a modest increase. Casual observation indicates that child employment in rural areas goes hand in hand with adult employment. However, it is also quite clear from Figure 6.15 that there is a declining trend in child employment. Consequently, the drastic fall in the incidence of child labour in rural areas between 1994 and 1999 must be viewed as part of this ongoing process which admittedly we do not understand fully. More research needs to be carried out to unearth the process that has given rise to the falling trend in child labour in rural areas.

In explaining the fall in the employment rate of younger children in urban areas, it is possible that older children have replaced (at least partly)

## Employment and schooling outcomes of children

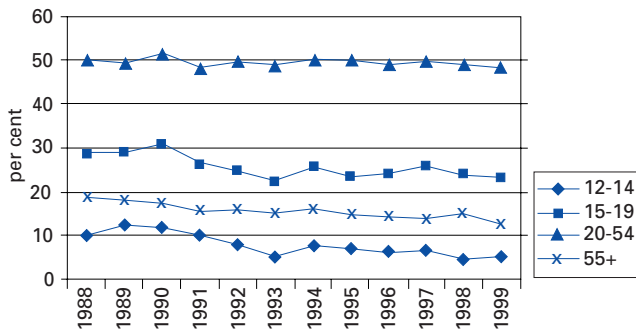
younger ones. Although the evidence proposed here is not clear cut, it nevertheless lends support to the conjecture. Further research in the degree of substitutability between older and younger children is certainly in order. The employment pattern of children and adults are also charted out for urban areas (Figure 6.16). Here, the link between adult and child labour is not obvious. Over time, the employment rate of the prime age adults seems to be rather stable, while that of children seems to be on the decline again.

Figure 6.15 Employment rate by age groups in rural Turkey



Source: HLFS data base, SIS, <http://www.die.gov.tr>.

Figure 6.16 Employment rate by age groups in urban Turkey



Source: HLFS data base, SIS, <http://www.die.gov.tr>.

## 6.10 OCCUPATION HELD

The sample size of the Child Labour Surveys, which form the basis of this work, does not allow a detailed study of the occupations held by children. At most, one can take a look at the distribution of children across one-digit broad occupational categories. Having studied the economic activities and the job status of working children it is not hard to guess the broad occupational categories where they are to be found. In rural areas, the overwhelming majority of children are agricultural workers whereas in urban areas they are mostly service or production workers. The distribution of younger children across the broad occupational categories is given in Table 6.12. The figures in the table clearly show once again the distinctly different gender patterns of work and the urban–rural dichotomy. For instance, child workers in rural areas are overwhelmingly clustered under agricultural workers, whereas in urban areas they are mostly production or service workers. When male and female children are compared, a significantly larger proportion of females are found to be employed as agricultural workers whereas males are mostly production workers. The broad employment patterns established for younger children apply to older children as well. The only difference is that compared to younger children, a smaller proportion of them are agricultural workers and are represented in larger numbers as sales, services and production workers.

Table 6.12 Occupational distribution of children  
in market work in 1999

	Younger children (6-14 years)			Urban	Rural
	Turkey	Male	Female		
Agricultural workers	65.6	52.9	83.6	8.7	85.4
Sales workers	4.1	6.1	1.4*	11.6	1.5*
Service workers	9.4	10.8	7.3*	29.2	2.5*
Production workers	20.4	29.4	7.7*	49.3	10.4

	Older children (15-17 years)			Urban	Rural
	Turkey	Male	Female		
Agricultural workers	54.0	43.6	71.8	3.5	84.2
Sales workers	8.2	9.1	6.6*	20.0	1.1*
Service workers	8.4	10.0	5.8*	17.9	2.8*
Production workers	26.6	34.8	12.4	51.8	11.5

Note: Other occupational categories are left out as there is negligible number of children

\* signifies small cell size.

Source: Author's computations based on 1999 Child Labour Survey, SIS.

## Employment and schooling outcomes of children

**Table 6.13 Occupational distribution of children  
in market work in 1994**

	Younger children (6-14 years)				
	Turkey	Male	Female	Urban	Rural
Agricultural workers	76.2	68.4	87.7	11.9	91.9
Sales workers	4.1	6.0	1.1*	17.3	0.8*
Service workers	6.1	8.0	3.4*	24.4	1.7*
Production workers	13.5	17.4	7.7	46.4	5.5

	Older children (15-17 years)				
	Turkey	Male	Female	Urban	Rural
Agricultural workers	58.9	46.0	79.6	7.4	84.3
Sales workers	6.7	10.4	0.7*	17.1	1.6*
Service workers	7.1	9.1	3.8*	16.2	2.6*
Production workers	26.5	33.6	15.0	57.3	11.3

Note: Other occupational categories are left out as there is negligible number of children.

\* signifies small cell size.

Source: Author's computations based on 1999 Child Labour Survey, SIS.

As discussed earlier, both the incidence of child labour and the economic activities carried out by young child workers have changed over time. These changes naturally impact on the distribution of children across occupations as well. With the drastic fall in the incidence of child labour among the 6-14 year-olds in agriculture, the proportion of children employed as agricultural workers registered a decline. The comparison of the two distributions in Tables 6.12 and 6.13 for the years 1994 and 1999 shows that this is true for both the urban and rural children and for male and female child workers. Instead, there has been an increase in the proportion of children employed as production workers. For older children, it is interesting to note that the pattern of occupational distribution has not shown much of a change. There has also been a shift away from agriculture toward other occupations but the change is not as drastic as is observed for younger children.

### 6.11 ESTABLISHMENT SIZE AND CHILD EMPLOYMENT

A sizable proportion of younger children who are in wage work are clustered into small establishments employing less than 10 employees. The figures in Table 6.14 are compiled only for children in urban areas since the



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number of wage workers in rural areas is too small to provide meaningful estimates. In this exercise older and younger children are pulled together due to the small number of children in categories other than small establishments. Before proceeding on to discuss the distribution of child wage earners across the differently sized establishments, it might be interesting to mention that the majority of younger children employed in small establishments are actually clustered among those employing less than five workers. So when talking about young children in small establishments what is really referred to are micro-establishments, many of which are run by the owners who themselves take part in the production process. Although the survey does not provide detailed characteristics of the establishments where children are employed, field surveys carried out by various institutions have revealed them to be rather small businesses operating in the informal sector.

**Table 6.14 Distribution of children in wage work  
by establishment size**

Size	1994			1999		
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female
<10	72.8	77.9	54.4	60.8	64.6	50.4
10-24	14.6	14.8	13.7	24.1	23.2	26.6
25+	12.7	7.3	31.9	15.1	12.2	22.8

Note: Includes only children in wage work in urban areas.

Source: Author's computations based on 1994 and 1999 Child Labour Surveys, SIS.

Going back to the discussion on the distribution of children across differently sized firms, it can be observed from Table 6.14 that 60.8 per cent of child wage workers in 1999 were employed in small establishments. This proportion is down from 72.8 per cent recorded in 1994. The drop can be explained by the rather drastic fall in the proportion of young child workers and the modest increase in the proportion of older children in the paid labour market. Since the odds of finding younger children employed in small establishments is higher than older children, it is not surprising to see an increase in the proportion of children in medium-size and large establishments.

Another interesting finding is in regard to the gender differences in the distribution children across establishments. In both years, a larger proportion of female than male children are found in large establishments and a much smaller proportion in small establishments. It seems that larger establishments offer better job opportunities to female than male children. It might also be the case that due to cultural protectiveness over girls, families prefer to place their daughters in large establishments where other women are employed who can shield them from possible harassment. It is worth noting that the overwhelming majority of female children in large estab-

lishments are employed in the manufacturing sector. Although over time a decline is observed in their proportion, this change has been in favour of medium-sized establishments. Therefore, the conjecture that families prefer bigger establishments to smaller ones to place their daughters is valid for both 1994 and 1999.

### 6.12 OCCUPATIONAL HAZARD AND WORK-RELATED ACCIDENTS

The employment of the majority of children in small establishments naturally raises concerns about occupational safety since small establishments are reputed to often ignore health and safety standards due to cost concerns. Indeed, field survey results and numerous reports prepared by the Labour Inspection Unit of the MLSS point out that occupational standards put forward by the Ministry are rarely met by small establishments. The reports detail the work conditions at the industry level and the picture drawn looks rather bleak, hence the concern for child safety.

Despite these external reports, in both the 1994 and 1999 CLS very few children report work related accidents. In fact, the number of respondents in both years is too few to produce meaningful estimates on the nature of work related accidents experienced by children. These findings can be interpreted in a number of ways. It can be argued that working children do not experience any occupational hazard or work related accidents. But given the numerous reports prepared by the MLSS describing the unfavourable work environment of children this seems implausible. When asked about work related accidents and occupational hazard children might be thinking about serious accidents that for instance keep them from coming to work or require their hospitalization or at least a trip to the nearest dispensary. Children might have the tendency to under-report accidents to protect their parents from social embarrassment or from having to worry about them. In the event that the child is not found at home (despite a number of visits to the household) the interview is carried out with an adult member of the household. It is quite possible that the parents/adult members might not clearly know what goes on in the workplace or children might deliberately hide the unpleasant incidences at work which lead parents to under-report accidents/hazards realized by children.

### 6.13 REASONS FOR WORK

When asked about the reasons for their employment in market-oriented activities, children most frequently declare their need to contribute to household income. The second most frequently provided answer is to help out in household economic activities. The data presented in Table 6.15 show that 40 per cent of the answers given in 1999 fell into the former category, while

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21 per cent fell into the latter. Both answers are clearly related to household income. A sizable group of children said they work simply because it is their family's wish. In 1999 19.2 per cent of the answers were in this category. The other less frequently cited reasons were "to help pay off household's debt", "to meet own needs", and "to learn a trade".

Although for both the male and female children the primary motivation for market work seems to be the desire or the need to contribute to household income, girls tended to stress the need to help out in household economic activities more frequently than the boys. This is probably to do with the higher tendency of female children to get involved within the household establishment as unpaid family workers. A larger number of female children also declare the reason for work simply as their family's wish, which probably shows the greater control the family exerts over the activities of female children. It is also interesting to note that a significantly larger number of male children than female children declared "to learn a trade" as the reason for their employment. While in 1999 12.9 per cent of the answers provided by male children fell into this category, for females the corresponding proportion was limited to 1.2 per cent.

The answers given by older children reveal that the primary reasons offered can all be categorized under financial need. Nevertheless, in comparison to the younger group, a larger proportion of older children have mentioned that they work "to learn a trade". The proportion of answers that fell into this category is again smaller for girls than for boys. Just as in the case of younger female children, older girls also mentioned that they work simply because their families desire them to work. In 1999, one fifth of the answers provided by female children fell under this category.

**Table 6.15 Reasons for employment in market work by sex (6-14 year-olds)**

	All		Male		Female	
	1994	1999	1994	1999	1994	1999
Contribute to HH income	34.6	39.8	35.3	42.1	33.9	36.4
To help pay off HH debt	4.2	4.9	4.5	5.1	3.9	4.5
Help out in HH economic act.	29.0	20.8	26.4	17.5	32.5	26.4
To meet own needs	3.8	3.8	4.8	4.1	2.5	2.7
To learn a trade	6.5	8.2	9.2	12.9	2.5	1.2
Family's wish	21.1	19.1	19.1	16.2	23.8	23.6
Other	0.8	3.3	0.7	2.1	0.8	5.2

Note: Children can provide multiple answers so that column totals can exceed 100 per cent.

Source: Table 1.5, Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

## Employment and schooling outcomes of children

**Table 6.16 Reasons for employment in market work by sex in 1999 (15-17 year-olds)**

	All 1999	Male 1999	Female 1999
Contribute to HH income	37.7	37.9	37.4
To help pay off HH debt	5.1	5.4	4.3
Help out in HH economic act.	19.2	15.8	25.5
To meet own needs	7.4	8.6	5.3
To learn a trade	11.2	14.7	5.0
Family's wish	14.5	12.3	18.5
Other	5.0	5.3	4.1

Source: Table 1.5, Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

Note: 1994 figures are not available.

Children can provide multiple answers so that column totals can exceed 100 per cent.

### 6.14 REASONS FOR NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL

It is also interesting to look at the reasons why children do not attend school or drop out of school. The primary reason given by younger children (6-14 year-olds) is the need to contribute to the household income (Figures 6.17 and 6.18). Children who answered the question by saying that they have dropped out of school because of the need to engage in paid work, household chores or household economic activity and those who said their families cannot afford to send them school are grouped under non-participation due to “financial reasons”. As discussed in Chapter 5, although basic education schools in Turkey are free of charge, families still need to pay for school supplies, transportation, etc. Older children have also cited financial concerns as the primary reason for not attending school. This is consistent with the reasons they provided to explain why they are engaged in market work.

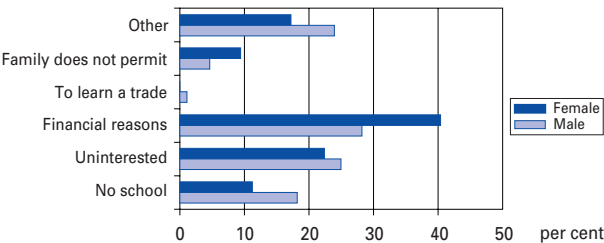
It is also interesting to note that a significant portion of the answers provided by children fell under the category of “not interested in school”. This category is particularly significant for older children. It is difficult to tell whether children are genuinely disinterested in school and therefore dropped out or that they are using this reason as a way of justifying their present status. However, as discussed earlier and as the reasons provided here show, one cannot discard the idea that children start working because they have dropped out of school rather than the other way around. It might very well be that children or their families find what is taught in school irrelevant to their daily lives. If one of the motivations for dropping out of school is to get an alternative form of training (because what is taught in school is irrelevant) by becoming an apprentice, one would expect a significant number of answers provided by children to fall under the category of “to take up a trade”. But this is not the case. The proportion of answers

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that fall in this category is especially small for younger children and for females. Clearly, more research needs to be carried out to determine the underlying reasons that discourage children from attending school.

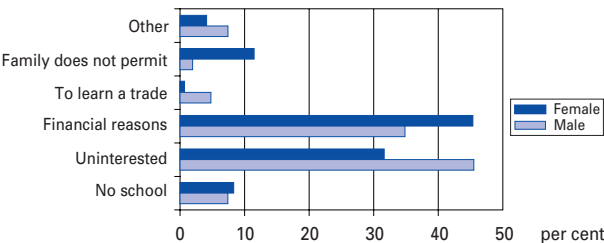
It is also interesting to note the gender differences in the answers provided. Compared to male children, a larger number of females gave a financial reason for not attending school. It seems that, at least from the answers provided, female children's schooling is more sensitive to the financial standing of the household as opposed to male children. It is also the case that a larger number of female children said they do not attend school or they dropped out because their families do not wish them to attend school. This becomes a more important factor for older female children. These results imply that female children's time and the way in which it is employed is under a greater family scrutiny than that of male children. The fact that the control intensifies at older ages hints that the social norms governing female children's physical mobility might be a factor that keeps them away from school. Understanding the way in which children and their families perceive education and formal schooling is important in formulating programmes to keep more of the children at school. Hence a thorough analysis of the reasons behind non-attendance is most important.

Figure 6.17 Reasons given by 6-14 year-olds for not attending school



Source: Table 2.18 Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

Figure 6.18 Reasons given by 15-17 year-olds for not attending school



Source: Table 2.18 Child Labour Survey 1999, SIS.

## 6.15 HOUSEHOLD DYNAMICS AND CHILD LABOUR

The previous section outlined the reasons that push children to market work, highlighting the importance of the financial standing of the household — at least as is perceived by children. Although the connection between poverty and child labour is generally assumed (Grootaert and Kanbur 1995, Bulutay 1995), it is possible that after controlling for other factors, household income might no longer be a significant determinant of child labour. In fact, in a number of country studies, quite contrary to the general understanding and empirical studies that support these expectations, researchers have either found a weak link between child labour and poverty or no link at all (see for instance Blunch and Verner 2000, Borooah 2000, Canagarajah and Coulombe 1997). Dayioğlu and Assaad (2002) have found for Turkey, however, that children in poorer households face a higher risk of labour market employment. Tansel (2000) and Dayioğlu (2003) have shown that the schooling of children also gets negatively affected by low household income. For rural Turkey, Ertürk (1994) developed a household resource base model in explaining how households maximize their survival security, where children of households at the lower end of the security scale must engage in wage labour. Whereas at the higher end of the security scale, schooling becomes a priority for the time allocation of children. These findings indicate that higher household income will improve schooling and employment outcomes of children.

Dayioğlu and Assaad (2002) have further shown that employment of children is responsive to paternal wages where an improvement in father's wages is expected to reduce child labour. Although maternal wages are not found to impact significantly on the labour market outcomes of children, the mother's education is found to reduce the odds of children's employment. The father's education, however, does not seem to have an independent impact on children's employment outcomes. In other words a father's education seems to primarily produce a favourable effect on the labour market outcomes of children by increasing his wages. The mother's education appears to have an independent effect. The finding that the mother's education impacts more significantly on the employment outcomes of children is also noted by Tunalı (1997). In fact, the relatively bigger role mother's education play in increasing the welfare of children is repeatedly noted by researchers (Strauss and Thomas 1995). Another interesting finding is the relatively larger employment response of female children's employment to an improvement in mothers' education (Dayioğlu and Assaad 2002). This result is not surprising either as it has been noted earlier by a number of researchers (Thomas 1994).

Tunalı (1997), Tansel (2002) and Dayioğlu (2003) also note the favourable effect parental education exerts on the schooling of male and female children. The higher the schooling level of parents, the higher is the likelihood that children will attend school. Tunalı (1997) also shows what

has been highlighted in the text that the odds of finding female children in household work are much higher compared to male children.

## **6.16 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Substantial improvements have been observed in the child labour situation in Turkey. Fewer children are entering the labour market and those who do are entering at older ages. Hazardous child labour is also on the decline. The biggest drop in the proportion of children in market work is observed among younger children, which means that a smaller proportion of working children are very young. This is certainly an important achievement. The decline in the number and proportion of children engaged in market work is accompanied by an increase in the number and proportion of children enrolled in school. However, the observed increase in school enrolment does not seem to be high enough to fully explain the substantial drop in child labour, especially among younger children. The relatively smaller improvement in schooling than what is expected tells us that there are other factors that keep children out of school. The results of the multivariate studies cited in the text have shown for instance that children from poorer households have a lower probability of school enrolment. The fall in market work not matched by equally rapidly growing school enrolment meant that children are channelled into household work. Indeed, while market work is on the decline in Turkey, an increase in the incidence of household work is observed. While the increase in the latter is high enough to almost fully compensate the drop in the former among 6-14 year-olds, when all children are taken together a larger proportion of them are found to be employed in 1999 when a comprehensive definition of work is used so as to include household work.

The substantial drop in the proportion of children engaged in market work especially among younger children can in part be attributed to the increase in compulsory schooling, but probably also to the awareness raising activities against child labour and to over 100 projects implemented in Turkey in the past decade to eradicate child labour at very young ages. However, the fact that a major part of the drop originates from the rural sector in the form of a reduction in the number of children engaged in market work as unpaid family workers implies that fundamentally changes are taking place in rural areas. To fully understand the rural dynamics of the child labour problem more research is needed. In this section of the study, a number of conjectures have been proposed to explain various phenomena. For instance, the roughly stable child employment in industry in urban areas is explained by the possibility that older children are replacing young ones. This conjecture and others could be used as research questions for future work so as to shed light to causes and consequences of changing composition and the incidence of child work in Turkey.

## CONCLUSION

# 7

This book began with the objective to examine the gender differentials in child labour and educational attainment of children in Turkey. The underlying motivation behind this endeavour was to contribute to the development of an integrated approach to gender, education and child labour, so that effective intervention strategies may be developed to eradicate child labour while increasing the educational attainment of boys and girls and to overcome existing gender disparities. International human rights regimes and the principles emanating from the global UN conferences provide the overarching framework against which targets and standards are established by the international community. Various theoretical issues of importance to the subject at hand have been raised throughout the study. These are:

- Children's non-leisure time can be allocated to education, market work and household work.
- The latter two constitute a continuum of activities ranging from remunerated market production to un-paid household reproductive activities.
- The boundary within which measurements of economic activity in most national statistics takes place is limited to formal market activities and are therefore incomplete.
- Due to institutionalized forms of sex division of labour, women and girls are defined in terms of their reproductive roles within the family and men as breadwinners within the labour market.
- The interplay between social and sectoral division of labour or between patriarchy and market forces results in a hierarchical allocation of tasks between women and men and a sex-segregated occupational structure in all sectors, including agriculture, industry and services.
- The intersection of the gender contract in the household and the employment contract in the market jointly determine the patterns of time allocation for girls and boys differentially.



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- Due to the “hidden” nature of the primary responsibilities assigned to girls, their economic contributions remain invisible and the potential constraint these non-market activities pose for their educational attainment becomes unaccounted for.
- Consequently, a male bias dominates analytical and programme approaches to child labour.

In view of the above considerations, it has been argued that integrating the concept of reproductive work into the analysis of productive work is compelling in order to establish the link between market and household sectors, to capture the shifts that take place between the two and to help bring to light the gender blind aspects of time allocation for human capital development and production of goods and services. It has also been argued that such an analysis requires a gender perspective at macro, meso and micro levels in order to understand how the subject position of boys and girls are differentially constructed and their concrete experience of work and schooling determined. Gender analysis must go beyond merely cataloguing the differences between women and men and girls and boys to one that allows for the identification of the structure and processes through which gender inequalities — in the home and in the market — are constantly reproduced though in modified forms. Gender analysis complements sex-disaggregated data, which is essential for formulating intervention strategies and developing gender indicators for monitoring change. Based on the major findings of this study, ways of improving the child labour database as well as possible areas of intervention are discussed below.

### **7.1 ENHANCING THE DATABASE ON CHILD LABOUR**

The two national surveys on child labour conducted by the SIS provided invaluable information on working children. As mentioned earlier, the child labour surveys were designed as modules of the 1994 and 1999 HLFS, which at the time covered individuals 12 years of age and above. Starting in year 2000, the lower age limit for the HLFS is increased to 15 years to match the legal working age. Being a module in the HLFS meant that the CLS would use the sampling frame that is specifically designed for the HLFS. The targeted population in household surveys is all households in Turkey, whereas households with children in the 6-14 or 6-17 year age category constitute the risk group for the CLS. However, since the majority of surveyed households were expected to fall into the latter category, it was felt that the costs would weigh more than the benefits of carrying out a separate survey on child labour. Therefore, the 1994 and 1999 HLFS were actually carried out as multi-purpose surveys with two additional questionnaires attached to them to measure the incidence of child labour in Turkey.

Although such multi-purpose surveys are cost effective, they do have certain drawbacks. For instance, increased survey time might end up increasing the non-response rate. It is also not clear how the non-employment of an ideal sampling frame has affected the results. Apart from these general concerns, an important limitation of both child labour surveys was their rather restrictive sampling size. Although in the 1999 a bigger sample size was employed, it was still insufficient to allow child labour estimates to be produced on a provincial level. Neither was it possible to provide the estimated number of working children in specific industries or occupations. Naturally these shortcomings affect policy making. The State Institute of Statistics needs to implement the Child Labour Surveys periodically over a shorter time frame with an enlarged sample to produce data at the provincial level, thereby allowing geographical targeting. This is particularly crucial for the proper monitoring of the implementation of the Time-Bound Policy and Programme Framework.

Another issue is in regard to the timing of the surveys. At the time the 1994 and 1999 surveys were launched, the HLFS were conducted semi-annually in April and October. The CLSs were launched in the October round of the HLFS. Actually both months probably have similar advantages and disadvantages. Regardless of whether the survey was conducted in April or October, the schooling and work activities of children would have been collected equally well, unless there are certain economic activities, particularly agricultural work, that take place in October but not in April or vice versa. What is important is that both Child Labour Surveys were launched in the same month so that seasonality does not become a concern when comparing the results of 1994 and 1999. However, seasonality is a concern for the overall study since the summer work activities of children are ignored. If it is indeed the case that the likelihood of children's employment in market and household work increases once they are out of school, the 1994 and 1999 studies will be underestimating the incidence of child labour. One way to remedy this problem is to include in the Child Labour Survey questionnaires a subsection on the work history of children. Currently, the work history information is limited to the age, at which the child has started working, and the job s/he held when s/he started working. However, inclusion of another subsection to the survey will admittedly make it even longer and might increase the non-response rate further.

Another remedy is to restructure the survey by excluding certain sections and including others that are thought to be vital such as the work history of children. A possible set of questions that can be excluded is the subsection on the working conditions of children. These questions no doubt carry utmost importance in understanding the likely consequences of work on child health and development. However, as discussed in Chapter 6 of the study, these questions did not work in either survey. The number of working children who reported work-related accidents is so few in comparison to the figures reported by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security that the ac-

cident/injury rate is thought to be significantly underestimated. Instead, the working conditions of children can be understood better through an establishment based survey to complement the household labour force survey, thereby, some of the questions can be shifted from the latter to the former. Such an analysis will surely provide invaluable information not only on the conditions of work but also on the place of child labour in the production process. The data from such an analysis will allow the policy-makers to understand for instance the relationship between technology and child labour and the degree of substitutability between child labour and other forms of labour. A relatively convenient way of conducting the establishment survey is to visit the workplaces of children who were determined to be working in the household survey. If children declared that they work in the home-based establishment, the designated household can be asked to answer the establishment questionnaire as well. In this way, information on both the work and reproductive activities of children will be collected in a comprehensive way.

Another way of complementing the household labour survey is to conduct a school-based survey. Currently, the information on the educational activities of children is limited to whether they go to school or not. Information on the time they spent in school and at home doing their homework, how often they miss school because of work, their progress in school relative to non-working children and the direct cost of schooling is rather important to device effective policy tools to keep children in school. Likewise, their ability to join extracurricular activities offered at school is important in understanding the school performance and the general development of children. Recognizing the importance of attracting working children to school and keeping them in the schooling system, MONE has conducted a number of studies primarily to increase the awareness of teachers toward working children and the problems they face. In particular, one of the recent MONE projects was on increasing the attendance and retention rates and the performance of working children at basic education schools. All these are commendable efforts and need to be replicated so that the schooling system as a whole becomes sensitive to the phenomenon of working school children. However, these efforts cannot replace the type of school survey that is recommended here. To build a sound data base on the schooling outcomes of children requires all aspects of working children to be known; their family background, the socio-economic conditions they live under, the importance of their work for household sustenance, their work environment and the differential treatment they encounter on the basis of their sex, at home, at work and in school. This can be achieved through a three-tier survey as recommended above and their systematic replication.

The recommended data collection effort described above is likely to cover the majority of working children. Nevertheless, the surveys regardless of how well they are designed and implemented may still leave out certain children who are involved in work that is “hidden” from the public eye or

may be hard to capture. For instance, the situation of children engaged in paid household work within the system of *evlatık* discussed earlier is one such area. Likewise, children who are seasonal workers and move around with their families following the harvest season or those who may be engaged in sporadic work represent other areas that often escape documentation. To capture the magnitude of the involvement of children in such work and understand their work and schooling patterns, special surveys specifically targeting such children need to be implemented. Indeed, as discussed earlier special studies have been commissioned by ILO-IPEC to study such phenomenon. By and large, such work tended to be rather strong on the qualitative but not on the quantitative side. These surveys need to be replicated in the future as well and to allow for their use in completing the big picture; they need to be designed in such a way so as to provide at least a rough estimate of the problem at hand.

Another avenue to understand the work patterns of children is time-use surveys. These surveys are especially useful in understanding the dynamics of the household economy since they gather information on the types of activities carried out by respondents within given time intervals throughout the entire day. In regular household-based child labour surveys, children are inquired about whether they do household work or not and if so, for how long during the day. They do not gather information about the types of work carried out by the children. This information is important because it can be employed in putting together policy instruments in reducing the work burden of children. For instance, it is often conjecture that female children are kept out of school because they need to look after their younger siblings. If this is indeed true, then provision of state-funded child care (on the condition that female children attend school) will free girls from such duties and make their schooling more sustainable.

## 7.2 POSSIBLE AREAS OF INTERVENTION

Before getting into specific areas of policy and programme intervention it must be emphasized that successful implementation of any intervention strategy needs to be carefully operationalized as specific time-bound targets. The Time-Bound Policy and Programme Framework offers a timely initiative in this regard. It is envisaged that the findings and recommendations of this study will be integrated into this Framework. The effective mainstreaming of child labour into national policy requires clear budget lines dedicated to areas that are critical to dealing with child labour issues in all relevant public institutions. The Framework needs to be strengthened with strong accountability mechanisms that include clear feedback and reporting procedures and budget lines that indicate how much funds are allocated to each target. Recent experiences in gender budgeting can provide methodological guidelines in this regard (Çağatay et al. 2000, Balmori 2003). Additionally, the national

partners collaborating with the ILO need to develop specific indicators on gender, education and child labour to serve as basis for the budget lines and in order to measure change at certain intervals as part of the overall process of monitoring progress in the implementation of the Framework.

### **7.2.1 Focusing on improving household incomes and access to education to reduce child labour**

This study used various data sources to analyse schooling and work outcomes of children. This analysis, as well as lessons learned from previous projects undertaken within the context of ILO-IPEC in Turkey and elsewhere, reveal two major areas of intervention to reduce child labour: improvement and education.

#### ***Increasing household income***

Increasing household income through various means constitute a set of possible policy instruments to reduce child labour. Indeed, in recent ILO-IPEC projects the need to improve family income is recognized and projects have been designed to enhance household welfare through an improvement in household economic standing. The programmes that have been devised along these lines have mainly revolved around income generating projects. Attention has been drawn in the literature to the potential danger of these programmes in leading to higher incidence of child labour. Children have a higher likelihood of being employed in family establishments, particularly in home-based work. Since many of the income generating programmes involve female oriented household work, this will ultimately mean that more children — particularly girls — will also get involved in whatever economic activity is introduced to the household. The simulation exercises have further shown that a higher incidence of child labour still results even under the very unlikely event that the household is pushed into the next income bracket (Dayioğlu and Assaad 2002).

However, it should be mentioned that the employment of children in family establishments might improve their working conditions. It was shown earlier that rural children who are employed in family establishments work for significantly fewer hours compared to their urban counterparts or those working as wage labour in agriculture. Since they will be working with their family, it can be assumed that they will be working in a safer environment. More importantly, they might combine work with schooling more easily. If indeed it is true that work in the family establishment affords children a better working environment and employment conditions, then the question is: To what extent do home-based income generating programmes offer acceptable policy choices in the name of improving upon the working conditions of children? This, no doubt, is a paradoxical issue since the burden of work under such programmes will disproportionately fall on girls and women. Therefore, such policy considerations need to be carefully tailored to avoid deepening gender inequalities.

The link between father's wages and child labour implies that policies enacted at the macro level will likely affect children's labour market outcomes. Labour market measures taken to improve upon the functioning of the labour market will surely have a favourable impact on child labour. However, this and the finding that lower household income leads to higher child labour and lower schooling means that the ongoing economic crisis in Turkey may very well reverse the favourable trends noted between 1994 and 1999. The burden of unfavourable economic conditions may fall on children, who unlike adult labour have the flexibility of doing odd jobs for meagre returns. Thus, child labour needs to be monitored more closely during times of hardship to make sure that it does not take an upward swing.

### ***Education***

Before discussing the possible interventions that can improve children's access to education, one important avenue that also positively impacts a child's life chances deserves mention. That is women's education. Mothers' education not only helps reduce child labour and increase the schooling of children, as shown by the studies enumerated earlier, but also favourably impacts on other outcomes of children such as their health status (Strauss and Thomas 1995). Hence, it seems that one cannot go wrong by investing in mothers' education.

Increased opportunity of education to working children, no doubt, remains a primary policy tool. This is also one of the major commitments within the context of both the CRC and the CEDAW. While equal access to education and training is a primary guiding principle it does not suffice. Renewed attention must be given to quality and content of education as well as its relevance to the world of work. Given existing gender inequalities in education attainment, special measures may be necessary to encourage parents to prioritize the education of their daughters. There are various examples of such initiatives worldwide. For instance the Progresia Programme in Mexico targets poor rural girls and aims to increase their level of schooling through an education subsidy. It is interesting to note that the education subsidy is paid to the mother of the child and its continued payment (along with food grants) is conditional on the female child's regular school attendance. The education subsidy is designed to compensate the family for the foregone earnings of the child as she reallocates more of her time from work to school. The programme is found to have a positive impact in increasing the enrolment rates of the girls and in reducing child labour (Schultz 2002). In another programme, which targets girls in poor neighbourhoods in urban Pakistan — the Urban Girls' Fellowship Programme in Quetta, the enrolment rates of girls are tried to be increased through the establishment of private schools (Kim et al. 1998). The education subsidy is paid directly to the school rather than the girl child or her family. The schools are also allowed to admit boy students though there is a limit to the number that can be enrolled. The evaluation of the programme indicates that there has been



an increase in both the boys' and girls' enrolment rates, though an education subsidy does not exist for boys. A project in rural Brazil (the PETI Program), aims to reduce the incidence of child labour by elongating the school hours of children with the creation of an after-school programme. Families whose children opt to attend the after-school hours and at the same time attend school 80 per cent of the time, qualify for an income transfer. The programme has been found to reduce the incidence of child labour and increase the school performance of the participating children (Yap et al. 2001).

Implementation of an education subsidy in Turkey through a programme similar to the one in Mexico needs to be considered seriously and integrated into the Time-Bound Policy and Programme Framework. A number of education programmes do exist that try to encourage the schooling of girls and boys by reducing the private costs of schooling. For instance, poor families may choose to send their children to boarding schools which are free of charge at the basic education level. Although the government meets the children's expenses during the year, the family is not compensated for the foregone earnings of the child. This might discourage the families who are in dire need of the labour of the child from sending him/her to boarding school. The limited number of boarding schools across the country also means this option is only available to a limited number of children. Boarding schools, where they exist, are more likely to attract male than female children. Especially among the more conservative families, having the female child outside the "control" of the family in co-ed schools far away from the family domicile might simply be unthinkable. Hence, in the education of the girl child a double hurdle exists: to overcome the prejudice of the family against the schooling of the girls and to reduce the financial burden of schooling. In this sense, an education subsidy specifically targeting the female child might prove highly beneficial. Taking into account the especially disadvantaged position of female children in Eastern and South-Eastern Anatolia, in the implementation of the education subsidy geographical targeting might prove useful.

For older female children who are more difficult to integrate into the education system, distance learning supported by non-formal education classes might be an option. The basic goal of the programme will be to help school dropouts finish their schooling externally. What is recommended here is already implemented by MONE within the framework of a project supported by UNICEF. The project is underway in a number of sites mostly in eastern provinces which are marked by the highest illiteracy rates in the country. The project aims to contribute to the achievement of universal basic education by targeting the worst off group which is composed of girls living in eastern provinces. Such programmes need to be expanded and made an integral part of the eight-year compulsory education programme, at least for a period of time until the bottlenecks in girls' education are overcome. The project implemented by MONE and UNICEF is also somewhat similar to the project implemented in Pakistan where private schools are es-

tablished for girls. The important difference seems to be the recognition that a movement from co-ed education is temporary whose duration depends upon the rate at which prejudices against girls' education can be eradicated.

Another option that exists for out-of-school female youth are community centres like the ÇATOMs in South-Eastern Anatolia. As discussed earlier, these provide various opportunities for girls and women to enhance their social and educational skills and capabilities. However, the potential drawback of this option is that such centres, where attendance is only guaranteed through peer pressure and teacher encouragement, might reorient children away from formal education towards vocational training, literacy courses and the like. Such a reorientation can be kept at the minimum for at least the basic education students through educational subsidies proposed earlier.

In reducing child labour or at least the work hours of children, another possible avenue is to offer after-school classes as was done in Brazil. This might be more of an appropriate policy tool in urban areas where enrolment rates in basic education is quite high. In rural areas, the primary consideration is to attract as many children as possible to the main educational stream. Obviously, the crucial long-term policy instrument in this regard has to do with the quality of schooling. Encouraging the schooling of children will have little merit if the education provided is not adding to their productive capacity. In this regard, much needs to be done in terms of school curricula, school infrastructure, teaching methods and the use of supplementary material. The school environment needs to be welcoming for the "student workers" if more of them are to be integrated to the schooling system. At least at the basic education level, the general notion that schools in the western part of the country are superior to the ones in the east needs to be eliminated. The main goal of MONE and the other relevant bodies of the State should be the standardization of at least the basic education system across the country. This means that in terms of school infrastructure, school facilities and services and the quality of teaching, basic education schools should not be differentiable by place of residence. This is a first step in eliminating the century old regional gaps in education across the country. A greater attention to the disadvantaged regions of the country will likely to affect the educational outcomes of female children more so than male children as they are the ones who are most disadvantaged. Education of the girls will, in turn, positively impact on the human capital development of the region by way of reduced fertility and infant mortality and higher schooling of future generations.

One of the important bottlenecks in the provision of high quality educational services even at the basic level has been the limited budgetary allocations to MONE. In light of fiscal austerity that the standby agreements with the IMF call for, it is doubtful that the share of the Ministry from the budget will exceed 10 per cent in the coming years. Naturally, this alloca-



tion will be insufficient to accommodate a higher demand, should the school enrolment rates increase. To overcome the financial bottlenecks an appeal to the private sector and international donors can be made. Mobilization of private resources can be achieved with the help of broadcast and print media. There are already examples of such fund drives for specific projects run by nationwide networks. In collaboration with the Ministry, local networks can be encouraged to organize such drives at least once a year to mobilize the local private resources.

In the chapter on education, it has been conjectured that the unbalanced sex ratio at vocational schools, curriculum that is geared more toward male children's fields of interest and the gendered nature of even the basic education text books, work to discourage female children's school attendance and their integration in the schooling system and furthermore, help maintain the archaic values that limit their opportunities as adult women. Eliminating gender stereotyping from school textbooks should be the immediate concern of MONE as it has implications for the society at large. Introducing new vocations that might interest girls and promoting their participation in "boys' vocations" through various measures like recruiting female instructors for these fields might help increase girls attendance in non-traditional fields and therefore, ease their integration into the labour market.

The full implementation of the compulsory basic education law is an important first step in combating child labour and in complying with basic human rights standards. This, no doubt, requires effective monitoring mechanisms. Historically, the top down authoritarian control mechanisms has proven to be ineffective. Innovative methods that utilize the types of incentives suggested above are essential. However, the most effective incentive lies in the self evident value in education as a superior alternative to work and early marriage for girls and for boys. The Turkish education system, which experimented in innovative and effective models in the 1940s, has fallen short of demonstrating its relevance to all segments of the population, particularly for girls of poor families who exist at the margins of mainstream society. This remains a major challenge for Turkey.

### 7.2.2 Further policy recommendations

#### *The importance of enhancing the collaboration among international entities*

It is recommended here that international entities, such as the ILO-IPEC and UNICEF, which have been very active in Turkey as well as elsewhere in enhancing children's welfare, adopt a project network approach to their parallel activities in the participating countries to link respective project teams into a constructive dialogue. This will considerably improve the quality of the work output as the various teams will benefit from the consultation and sharing of experiences at every phase of the project. Such an approach

would also contribute towards achieving an integrated rather than fragmented country specific outcome. This is particularly important in developing concept papers such as the current one on gender, education and child labour and in charting out possible avenues of intervention to enhance the future prospects of children, in particular of the working children and the girl child.

### *Incorporating a comprehensive gender perspective*

Recognition of the gender dimensions of child labour has become evident in the course of the initiatives undertaken within the context of the IPEC programme in Turkey. Nonetheless, a comprehensive gender perspective in the approach to child labour is still lacking in many areas. Gender is still often perceived by relevant actors — policy-makers and implementers alike — as an add-on issue at best. Gender analysis needs to be integrated into all initiatives. In this regard, partnership needs to be established with the Directorate General of the Status and Problems of Women as well as women's NGO's and women's studies programmes of academic institutions. The experience and expertise achieved in gender issues among Turkish academicians and activists can provide positive contributions to the efforts to eliminate child labour.

### *Grounding child labour efforts firmly within a human rights perspective*

To ensure sustainability to efforts and avoid deviations from the commitment to eradicate child labour, particularly at times of negative economic trends, the approach to child labour needs to be firmly grounded within a human rights perspective. The CRC and CEDAW, both ratified by Turkey, need to be considered together as a complementary and unified frame of reference in articulating the rights of women and children living under diverse and sometimes contrasting realities. The 1998 ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work is yet another instrument representing a strong commitment on the part of governments as well as employers' and workers' organizations to ensure that social justice goes hand and hand with economic growth and development;<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> The Declaration highlights four essential elements for social justice, namely: (i) freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining; (ii) the elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labour; (iii) the effective abolition of child labour; (iv) the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.

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### ***Keeping child labour issues high on the public agenda***

Clearly, significant progress has been achieved in raising public awareness on child labour. To ensure that the momentum built up does not disappear, however, a more rigorous advocacy programme is needed to keep child labour issues on the public agenda and implant sensitivities in this regard in the collective consciousness of the society. Both broadcast and print media can play a vital role in disseminating information on child labour issues, violation of children's rights and on efforts to eradicate child labour and increase their level of schooling.

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## ACRONYMS

<b>BEP</b>	Basic Education Programme
<b>CEDAW</b>	United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
<b>CEC</b>	Community Education Centres
<b>CLU</b>	Child Labour Unit
<b>CLS</b>	Child labour survey
<b>CRC</b>	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
<b>DAW</b>	Director of the Division for the Advancement of Women
<b>DGSPW</b>	Directorate General of the Status and Problems of Women
<b>DİSK</b>	Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions
<b>DFT</b>	Development Foundation of Turkey
<b>GA</b>	United Nations General Assembly
<b>GDI</b>	Gender Development Index
<b>GEM</b>	Gender Empowerment Index
<b>GNP</b>	Gross national product
<b>GOT</b>	Government of Turkey
<b>HAK-İŞ</b>	Confederation of Real Trade Unions
<b>HDI</b>	Human Development Index
<b>HLFS</b>	Household Labour Force Survey
<b>HPI</b>	Human Poverty Index
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organization
<b>ILO-IPEC</b>	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
<b>ILO-SIMPOC</b>	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
<b>INSTRAW</b>	International Training and Research Institute for the Advancement of Women
<b>MEDA</b>	Mediterranean Economic Development Area

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<b>MEKSA</b>	The Foundation of Vocational Training and Small Industries
<b>MLSS</b>	Ministry of Labour and Social Security
<b>MONE</b>	Ministry of National Education
<b>MOU</b>	Memorandum of Understanding
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental organization
<b>NSC</b>	National Steering Committee
<b>PPPS</b>	Provincial Primary Pension Schools
<b>RPBS</b>	Regional Primary Education Boarding Schools
<b>SIS</b>	State Institute of Statistics
<b>TES-AR</b>	Turkish Research Institute of Small and Medium Sized Enterprises and Crafts
<b>TESK</b>	Confederation of Turkish Tradesman and Handicrafts
<b>TISK</b>	Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations
<b>TÜRK-İŞ</b>	The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDAW</b>	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Program
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
<b>UNFPA</b>	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
<b>VAC</b>	Vocational and apprenticeship training centre

## Appendix 1

### EDUCATION INDICATORS

Table A1 Net enrolment rates in 1985, 1990 and 2000

	1985	1990	2000
<b>Primary school</b>	<b>87.3</b>	<b>87.2</b>	<b>n.a.</b>
<b>Junior high school</b>	<b>37.5</b>	<b>44.8</b>	<b>n.a.</b>
<i>General junior high school</i>	34.4	40.1	n.a.
<i>Vocational junior high school</i>	3.1	4.7	n.a.
<b>Basic education</b>	<b>74.1</b>	<b>75.3</b>	<b>90.1</b>
<b>Secondary education</b>	<b>20.3</b>	<b>25.7</b>	<b>38.8</b>
<i>General high school</i>	13.2	15.2	24.6
<i>Vocational high school</i>	7.2	10.6	14.2

Source: 1985, 1990, 2000 Population Census, SIS; 1985 and 1990 National Education Statistics, SIS; 2000 National Education Quantitative Data, MONE as reported in Erciyes (2003).

Note: n.a. not available.

Table A2 Net enrolment rates by region in 1985

	Marmara	Aegean	Medi- terranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	East Anatolia	South-East Anatolia
<b>Primary school</b>	<b>98.7</b>	<b>90.7</b>	<b>87.2</b>	<b>88.9</b>	<b>87.9</b>	<b>74.0</b>	<b>75.5</b>
<b>Junior high school</b>	<b>53.2</b>	<b>41.5</b>	<b>40.8</b>	<b>40.6</b>	<b>31.1</b>	<b>23.1</b>	<b>20.1</b>
<i>General junior high school</i>	49.9	38.1	37.7	37.6	26.6	21.1	18.3
<i>Vocational junior high school</i>	3.3	3.4	3.1	3.0	4.5	2.0	1.9
<b>Basic education</b>	<b>84.9</b>	<b>76.7</b>	<b>75.4</b>	<b>76.1</b>	<b>72.4</b>	<b>62.4</b>	<b>62.8</b>
<b>Secondary education</b>	<b>28.1</b>	<b>22.1</b>	<b>19.0</b>	<b>23.1</b>	<b>17.3</b>	<b>12.4</b>	<b>9.9</b>
<i>General high school</i>	17.8	14.2	13.3	14.8	10.5	8.5	7.3
<i>Vocational high school</i>	10.3	7.9	5.8	8.4	6.8	3.9	2.6

Source: 1985 Population Census, SIS; 1985 National Education Statistics, SIS, as reported in Erciyes (2003).

## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

Table A3 Net enrolment rates by region in 1990

	Marmara	Aegean	Medi- terranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	East Anatolia	South-East Anatolia
<b>Primary school</b>	<b>98.1</b>	<b>89.4</b>	<b>88.6</b>	<b>88.7</b>	<b>86.3</b>	<b>74.2</b>	<b>76.5</b>
<b>Junior high school</b>	<b>60.9</b>	<b>47.9</b>	<b>43.4</b>	<b>50.6</b>	<b>39.7</b>	<b>28.6</b>	<b>24.9</b>
<i>General junior high school</i>	56.6	43.1	38.5	45.5	32.8	25.6	22.0
<i>Vocational junior high school</i>	4.3	4.8	4.9	5.1	6.9	3.0	2.9
<b>Basic education</b>	<b>87.8</b>	<b>77.9</b>	<b>76.1</b>	<b>78.8</b>	<b>73.4</b>	<b>61.7</b>	<b>61.6</b>
<b>Secondary education</b>	<b>32.9</b>	<b>27.6</b>	<b>25.2</b>	<b>29.7</b>	<b>23.4</b>	<b>16.5</b>	<b>13.4</b>
<i>General high school</i>	19.1	16.1	16.2	16.9	12.8	10.4	9.1
<i>Vocational high school</i>	13.8	11.5	9.0	12.8	10.6	6.1	4.7

Source: 1990 Population Census, SIS; 1985 National Education Statistics, SIS, as reported in Erciyes (2003).

Table A4 Net enrolment rates by region in 2000

		Marmara	Aegean	Medi- terranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	East Anatolia	South-East Anatolia
<b>Basic education</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>100<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>93.0</b>	<b>90.0</b>	<b>88.5</b>	<b>84.2</b>	<b>76.8</b>	<b>83.9</b>
	Male	100 <sup>1</sup>	94.3	91.5	89.0	85.4	84.6	91.6
	Female	100 <sup>1</sup>	91.8	88.5	88.0	83.0	68.0	75.4
<b>Secondary education</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>47.9</b>	<b>43.2</b>	<b>40.8</b>	<b>42.7</b>	<b>37.1</b>	<b>23.2</b>	<b>21.6</b>
	Male	49.2	45.6	43.9	46.3	44.0	30.8	28.2
	Female	46.5	40.7	37.6	39.0	30.3	15.6	14.7
<i>General high School</i>	<b>Total</b>	<b>26.2</b>	<b>26.6</b>	<b>29.5</b>	<b>27.9</b>	<b>21.8</b>	<b>17.8</b>	<b>17.3</b>
	Male	25.2	25.3	30.4	28.4	23.3	23.4	22.9
	Female	27.4	28.0	28.5	27.3	20.2	12.2	11.5
<i>Vocational high school</i>	<b>Total</b>	<b>21.7</b>	<b>16.6</b>	<b>11.4</b>	<b>14.9</b>	<b>15.4</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>4.3</b>
	Male	24.0	20.4	13.5	17.8	20.6	7.4	5.3
	Female	19.2	12.7	9.1	11.7	10.1	3.4	3.2

Source: 2000 Population Census, SIS; 2001 National Education Quantitative Data, MONE, as reported in Erciyes (2003).

Note: (1) indicates that figures exceeding 100 are round to 100. Inconsistencies between the normal place of residence and the place where the child attends school can lead to net enrolment figures exceeding 100

Table A5 Net enrolment rates by province in 1985

Province	Primary school	Junior high school	General junior high school	Voc. junior high school	Basic education	high school	General high school	Voc. high school
Adana	89.2	39.1	36.0	3.1	75.9	21.0	13.9	7.1
Adıyaman	84.0	20.2	17.3	3.0	71.6	9.1	5.7	3.4
Afyon	83.5	30.3	25.8	4.5	69.3	14.9	6.6	8.2
Ağrı	67.6	11.2	9.3	1.9	55.6	5.0	3.2	1.8
Amasya	88.6	36.9	32.2	4.7	74.8	20.4	13.3	7.1
Ankara	92.0	57.2	55.3	1.9	83.0	33.6	23.3	10.2
Antalya	87.0	32.7	29.2	3.5	70.1	19.7	14.1	5.6
Artvin	89.5	41.2	35.5	5.7	75.4	20.5	13.5	7.0
Aydın	88.5	37.0	34.3	2.8	72.9	21.6	15.0	6.6
Balıkesir	94.1	47.2	42.6	4.7	80.1	27.0	17.4	9.6
Bilecik	90.4	41.3	37.8	3.5	74.5	21.3	12.2	9.1
Bingöl	72.3	13.2	11.1	2.1	59.5	6.8	4.5	2.2
Bitlis	58.2	13.9	12.4	1.5	49.3	6.8	4.9	1.9
Bolu	91.7	34.5	29.2	5.3	74.4	19.0	10.1	8.9
Burdur	87.6	41.9	36.2	5.7	75.2	22.0	14.7	7.3
Bursa	94.4	46.6	40.9	5.7	80.2	22.9	12.8	10.1
Çanakkale	92.5	44.0	37.8	6.2	77.3	23.0	14.8	8.3
Çankırı	76.5	24.3	20.9	3.4	62.2	9.9	5.1	4.8
Çorum	89.8	24.1	20.0	4.1	72.9	13.3	8.1	5.2
Denizli	91.6	39.9	36.0	4.0	77.4	20.8	13.2	7.6
Diyarbakır	70.5	21.4	20.5	0.9	58.3	11.4	9.0	2.4
Edirne	92.7	48.4	45.7	2.8	79.8	25.0	14.8	10.2
Elazığ	84.1	34.5	31.3	3.2	71.1	19.6	14.0	5.7
Erzincan	81.2	32.4	29.5	2.9	68.3	16.8	10.5	6.3
Erzurum	76.0	23.1	21.2	1.9	62.9	12.8	7.7	5.0
Eskişehir	93.3	58.6	56.2	2.4	82.8	33.2	17.1	16.1
Gaziantep	95.9	28.7	25.7	3.0	78.4	14.2	10.3	3.9
Giresun	83.2	30.1	25.0	5.1	68.8	17.1	10.3	6.9
Gümüşhane	84.3	20.1	16.8	3.3	65.2	10.1	5.7	4.4
Hakkari	58.1	15.3	14.0	1.3	50.2	4.7	3.4	1.3
Hatay	91.0	67.8	65.2	2.7	88.5	17.4	14.1	3.3
Isparta	84.4	41.2	35.5	5.7	72.6	25.8	14.7	11.1
Içel	87.7	39.5	37.1	2.4	74.5	21.2	15.3	5.9
İstanbul	100.1	59.0	57.1	2.0	89.2	31.0	21.0	10.0
İzmir	94.6	54.4	52.1	2.3	83.2	29.9	21.0	8.8
Kars	84.8	25.0	23.7	1.4	71.2	12.2	9.5	2.7
Kastamonu	85.0	22.8	17.5	5.3	67.5	13.0	6.5	6.5
Kayseri	91.1	35.5	31.2	4.3	76.4	22.9	13.3	9.6
Kırklareli	94.4	52.7	50.8	2.0	81.4	29.9	18.0	11.9
Kırşehir	86.0	39.5	36.4	3.1	74.9	16.1	7.2	8.9
Kocaeli	97.0	53.2	47.9	5.3	84.6	30.3	14.5	15.7
Konya	84.7	28.9	24.9	4.1	69.5	15.6	9.4	6.3



## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

Kütahya	89.9	36.2	30.7	5.5	75.2	17.8	7.6	10.2
Malatya	84.6	35.6	32.4	3.2	72.7	21.0	14.1	7.0
Manisa	89.0	32.7	28.8	3.9	71.6	16.8	10.3	6.5
K.Maraş	79.3	22.5	20.2	2.3	65.8	10.1	6.8	3.3
Mardin	68.6	13.7	12.9	0.8	57.1	6.8	5.2	1.6
Muğla	90.3	34.4	31.9	2.5	73.7	17.2	11.7	5.4
Muş	66.7	15.1	14.2	1.0	56.3	5.3	3.4	1.9
Nevşehir	91.7	33.0	29.1	3.9	75.3	15.9	9.9	6.0
Niğde	87.5	27.6	24.6	3.0	73.1	13.1	8.6	4.5
Ordu	81.8	29.3	24.8	4.5	68.0	15.7	9.2	6.5
Rize	92.1	31.9	26.4	5.5	73.2	17.8	10.2	7.6
Sakarya	94.7	37.0	32.1	4.9	77.0	20.1	10.5	9.6
Samsun	89.4	32.6	28.2	4.4	74.4	19.2	12.2	7.0
Siirt	62.4	17.5	15.5	2.1	53.2	8.2	6.0	2.3
Sinop	85.6	22.0	17.6	4.3	69.3	13.7	8.9	4.7
Sivas	88.2	30.2	27.5	2.6	73.0	16.5	10.6	5.9
Tekirdağ	93.1	47.1	43.8	3.3	78.5	24.1	13.4	10.7
Tokat	85.0	27.7	23.4	4.3	70.3	15.2	7.9	7.3
Trabzon	86.5	36.5	32.3	4.2	73.0	21.1	14.9	6.1
Tunceli	76.4	31.5	30.1	1.4	66.6	16.2	13.5	2.8
Şanlıurfa	68.3	14.6	12.9	1.7	56.3	6.6	4.7	1.9
Uşak	92.5	43.3	39.3	4.0	79.8	22.0	12.5	9.5
Van	59.8	13.9	13.0	0.9	49.9	6.7	4.6	2.1
Yozgat	85.8	25.2	21.6	3.6	70.5	12.0	7.2	4.8
Zonguldak	93.9	37.0	32.9	4.1	78.5	18.9	11.0	7.8

Source: 1985 Population Census, SIS; 1985 National Education Statistics, SIS, as reported in Erciyes (2003).

Note: (1) indicates that figures exceeding 100 are round to 100. Inconsistencies between the normal place of residence and the place where the child attends school can lead to net enrolment figures exceeding 100 per cent.

Table A6 Net enrolment rates by province in 1990

Province	Primary school	Junior high school	General junior high school	Voc. junior high school	Basic education	high school	General high school	Voc. high school
Adana	91.8	49.1	44.8	4.2	80.0	30.3	17.7	12.6
Adıyaman	83.2	28.1	23.1	5.0	70.2	12.5	7.8	4.8
Afyon	76.5	34.4	28.9	5.5	64.7	17.5	7.7	9.9
Ağrı	69.2	18.2	15.5	2.7	58.9	8.4	4.5	3.9
Amasya	86.8	48.7	39.4	9.3	76.8	29.0	16.3	12.7
Ankara	97.3	75.5	71.5	4.0	91.9	44.0	26.0	18.0
Antalya	88.4	43.4	38.7	4.7	74.2	24.7	16.7	8.1
Artvin	90.9	56.0	47.5	8.6	81.1	29.9	17.5	12.4
Aydın	86.5	42.9	37.1	5.8	72.7	26.3	15.6	10.7
Balıkesir	93.1	56.9	49.4	7.5	81.7	33.7	17.5	16.1
Bilecik	90.5	53.0	47.6	5.4	78.6	32.7	12.2	20.5
Bingöl	69.8	20.7	17.6	3.1	58.5	9.3	5.2	4.1
Bitlis	59.6	19.3	17.6	1.7	51.2	11.0	7.3	3.7
Bolu	91.8	43.9	34.3	9.6	76.3	25.4	11.9	13.5
Burdur	86.5	48.4	39.0	9.4	75.0	28.1	18.1	10.0
Bursa	96.0	55.4	48.8	6.6	83.0	31.2	16.0	15.2
Çanakkale	90.8	55.9	47.4	8.5	79.9	29.3	15.6	13.7
Çankırı	72.8	29.8	25.2	4.6	59.8	15.7	6.4	9.3
Çorum	87.6	33.0	26.1	6.9	72.4	18.1	9.9	8.2
Denizli	86.7	46.0	40.7	5.2	74.5	25.8	14.9	11.0
Diyarbakır	72.1	24.7	23.2	1.5	60.2	14.9	10.7	4.2
Edirne	91.1	59.3	55.7	3.5	81.1	34.7	19.7	15.0
Elazığ	89.6	43.7	39.5	4.2	76.7	26.7	18.1	8.6
Erzincan	79.0	40.2	35.1	5.1	68.0	24.5	12.3	12.2
Erzurum	80.6	29.0	25.6	3.4	67.1	20.1	10.7	9.4
Eskişehir	91.3	68.7	65.1	3.6	84.6	43.7	21.9	21.8
Gaziantep	93.0	31.6	28.0	3.7	75.5	17.9	12.8	5.1
Giresun	82.9	37.2	30.3	6.8	69.6	22.0	10.9	11.1
Gümüşhane	79.3	27.3	22.8	4.4	63.5	14.8	9.7	5.0
Hakkari	62.6	21.6	18.8	2.8	54.2	8.3	5.3	2.9
Hatay	93.6	41.8	37.3	4.5	79.0	22.3	17.6	4.7
Isparta	76.7	46.6	37.9	8.7	68.1	29.9	14.5	15.4
Içel	87.1	45.6	41.4	4.1	74.7	25.4	17.0	8.4
İstanbul	100.1	64.7	62.1	2.6	89.3	33.8	21.4	12.3
İzmir	96.2	60.4	57.6	2.9	84.9	35.5	22.6	12.9
Kars	87.1	30.2	28.3	1.9	73.6	17.1	12.1	4.9
Kastamonu	81.8	32.4	23.6	8.8	67.9	18.6	8.8	9.8
Kayseri	89.4	46.2	39.2	7.0	77.6	27.4	16.4	11.0
Kırklareli	92.1	65.8	62.7	3.1	84.0	40.8	20.1	20.7
Kırşehir	86.1	50.2	46.2	4.0	78.1	26.8	12.6	14.2
Kocaeli	98.7	62.2	55.3	7.0	87.4	33.5	15.8	17.8
Konya	83.3	35.0	28.9	6.1	69.0	20.1	11.6	8.5

## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

Kütahya	87.9	41.9	33.1	8.8	73.7	23.3	9.6	13.8
Malatya	86.1	45.6	40.6	5.0	75.9	24.8	17.2	7.5
Manisa	88.0	38.2	33.1	5.1	71.9	21.1	11.8	9.3
K.Maraş	82.6	29.1	23.7	5.5	68.7	15.8	9.8	6.0
Mardin	68.5	20.3	18.4	1.9	58.0	9.8	6.8	3.0
Muğla	89.5	43.9	39.3	4.6	75.3	23.2	14.0	9.2
Muş	67.4	17.6	15.1	2.5	56.7	9.3	6.0	3.3
Nevşehir	91.2	42.3	36.3	6.0	76.4	21.2	12.1	9.1
Niğde	85.2	32.0	28.3	3.7	70.8	18.7	8.3	10.4
Ordu	79.7	32.9	26.2	6.7	66.5	18.7	9.5	9.1
Rize	90.3	41.7	33.8	7.9	75.0	23.1	11.3	11.8
Sakarya	93.1	45.2	37.4	7.8	77.7	25.8	13.3	12.5
Samsun	91.0	40.8	34.6	6.2	76.5	25.9	15.6	10.3
Siirt	60.7	21.2	17.4	3.8	52.9	12.4	7.5	4.8
Sinop	84.7	29.9	23.2	6.6	70.1	15.1	8.6	6.5
Sivas	84.7	38.5	32.4	6.1	71.8	21.5	12.2	9.3
Tekirdağ	90.0	57.2	53.0	4.2	79.8	30.6	14.2	16.4
Tokat	79.6	35.1	28.3	6.8	67.8	19.2	8.3	10.9
Trabzon	84.6	42.7	37.2	5.5	72.0	28.2	17.2	11.0
Tunceli	85.6	46.4	42.7	3.7	76.3	17.5	14.2	3.3
Şanlıurfa	73.3	18.9	15.5	3.3	60.4	8.3	5.5	2.8
Uşak	91.9	52.6	46.2	6.4	80.5	32.3	16.7	15.6
Van	63.7	18.2	17.0	1.2	54.8	10.5	5.5	5.0
Yozgat	83.9	31.2	25.3	5.9	69.6	17.2	9.3	7.9
Zonguldak	92.3	50.4	44.0	6.4	80.6	29.7	17.1	12.6
Aksaray	89.0	30.2	27.1	3.1	73.0	16.9	10.9	6.0
Bayburt	76.6	22.3	18.8	3.5	59.8	12.3	5.3	6.9
Karaman	82.3	34.1	25.9	8.2	68.2	18.6	11.6	6.9
Kırıkkale	78.0	48.8	44.9	3.9	70.8	28.9	14.5	14.4
Batman	66.9	25.4	23.5	1.9	58.7	14.3	8.6	5.7
Şırnak	45.1	9.6	8.8	0.8	38.2	3.6	3.3	0.3

Source: 1990 Population Census, SIS and 1990 Education Statistics, MONE as reported in Erciyes (2003).

Note: (1) indicates that figures exceeding 100 are round to 100. Inconsistencies between the normal place of residence and the place where the child attends school can lead to net enrolment figures exceeding 100 per cent.

Table A7 Net enrolment rates by province in 2000

Province	Basic education			Secondary education (High School)			General high school			Vocational high school		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Adana	98.5	1001	96.1	45.5	48.4	42.3	33.9	34.0	33.8	11.6	14.5	8.6
Adıyaman	83.8	85.1	82.3	28.0	36.6	19.8	22.7	30.6	15.3	5.3	6.1	4.5
Afyon	76.9	76.8	76.9	27.5	33.8	20.9	16.3	17.8	14.8	11.2	16.1	6.1
Ağrı	69.8	82.0	56.1	11.2	18.1	4.9	7.8	12.7	3.4	3.4	5.4	1.6
Amasya	91.6	92.3	90.9	41.8	49.8	33.5	27.2	29.8	24.6	14.5	20.0	8.9
Ankara	1001	1001	1001	60.4	59.0	62.1	40.3	38.0	42.8	20.2	21.0	19.3
Antalya	91.6	92.2	90.8	40.3	41.8	38.6	28.5	28.8	28.1	11.8	13.0	10.4
Artvin	94.4	95.4	93.3	54.1	63.9	44.2	20.8	22.5	19.0	33.4	41.4	25.2
Aydın	87.4	89.4	85.3	40.4	42.5	38.3	27.8	26.5	29.1	12.7	16.1	9.2
Balıkesir	94.9	95.5	94.3	51.2	53.2	48.9	32.8	30.5	35.4	18.3	22.7	13.5
Bilecik	93.0	93.6	92.3	51.5	57.4	44.8	21.1	20.0	22.5	30.4	37.4	22.4
Bingöl	70.7	79.0	61.2	20.8	28.7	13.2	16.3	23.5	9.5	4.4	5.2	3.7
Bitlis	60.7	69.8	50.1	13.3	19.6	6.3	9.5	14.6	3.9	3.8	5.1	2.4
Bolu	95.6	96.4	94.7	46.6	52.2	40.7	21.8	20.6	23.2	24.8	31.6	17.5
Burdur	87.5	87.0	88.0	46.5	47.9	45.0	33.3	30.7	36.2	13.2	17.2	8.8
Bursa	1001	1001	98.7	49.7	55.0	43.9	25.1	24.9	25.3	24.6	30.1	18.6
Çanakkale	96.8	97.7	95.9	48.3	53.3	42.9	26.3	25.5	27.2	22.0	27.8	15.7
Çankırı	62.7	62.1	63.4	27.2	33.6	20.1	11.7	11.7	11.8	15.5	21.9	8.3
Çorum	91.3	92.3	90.4	37.1	47.8	27.2	25.8	31.4	20.6	11.3	16.4	6.6
Denizli	93.0	93.7	92.3	42.1	44.4	39.6	25.5	25.3	25.6	16.6	19.0	14.0
Diyarbakır	80.5	90.2	69.8	23.3	29.8	16.7	21.1	26.9	15.1	2.3	2.9	1.6
Edirne	97.0	98.1	95.8	56.1	56.3	56.0	30.6	26.9	34.6	25.6	29.4	21.4
Elazığ	86.6	90.0	82.9	43.0	52.8	32.6	36.4	44.9	27.5	6.6	7.9	5.1
Erzincan	65.5	65.2	65.8	30.1	35.4	24.1	20.8	24.7	16.5	9.2	10.7	7.6
Erzurum	76.7	79.8	73.2	23.5	32.4	14.6	17.1	23.3	10.9	6.4	9.1	3.7
Eskişehir	93.7	94.5	92.8	59.6	64.0	54.9	34.0	29.8	38.6	25.6	34.2	16.3
Gaziantep	98.9	1001	95.0	29.7	36.3	22.8	22.2	27.4	16.6	7.6	8.9	6.2
Giresun	75.9	75.7	76.0	34.3	39.6	28.6	18.9	20.1	17.6	15.4	19.5	11.0
Gümüşhane	63.9	63.7	64.0	20.2	26.9	12.8	12.0	16.2	7.3	8.3	10.8	5.5
Hakkari	87.0	99.1	73.2	16.9	24.0	9.2	12.2	17.7	6.1	4.8	6.3	3.0
Hatay	97.0	98.8	95.1	42.6	48.7	36.5	34.9	39.0	30.8	7.7	9.7	5.7
Isparta	70.3	69.6	71.0	36.1	38.2	33.7	23.0	22.8	23.2	13.1	15.4	10.4
Içel	84.7	86.4	82.8	43.0	42.8	43.2	28.8	27.8	29.9	14.2	15.0	13.4
İstanbul	1001	1001	1001	46.1	45.0	47.4	26.2	25.1	27.5	19.9	19.9	20.0
İzmir	1001	1001	99.8	51.4	50.9	51.9	30.9	27.3	34.7	20.5	23.6	17.2
Kars	90.1	94.9	84.9	28.2	37.5	19.8	20.1	25.4	15.4	8.1	12.1	4.4
Kastamonu	94.8	97.3	92.2	35.0	44.6	26.1	16.0	16.9	15.2	18.9	27.7	10.8
Kayseri	97.1	98.3	95.8	45.1	49.7	40.4	30.1	31.2	28.9	15.0	18.5	11.5
Kırklareli	92.5	93.6	91.2	61.5	64.0	58.8	33.5	30.0	37.4	28.0	34.0	21.4
Kırşehir	84.3	84.3	84.2	47.7	52.8	42.6	34.9	36.4	33.3	12.9	16.4	9.3
Kocaeli	1001	1001	1001	51.4	58.2	43.9	25.0	25.1	24.8	26.5	33.1	19.1

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Konya	78.4	78.4	78.5	27.5	32.4	22.3	19.4	21.8	16.9	8.1	10.6	5.4
Kütahya	80.3	80.5	80.0	35.4	45.1	24.9	18.3	21.4	15.1	17.0	23.7	9.8
Malatya	77.2	77.2	77.2	32.2	36.3	27.9	26.0	28.6	23.2	6.2	7.7	4.6
Manisa	92.3	94.7	89.7	39.0	43.1	34.9	24.1	24.0	24.1	14.9	19.1	10.8
K.Maraş	82.4	83.9	80.8	30.0	36.7	23.0	19.3	22.0	16.4	10.8	14.7	6.6
Mardin	83.5	91.0	75.3	16.8	24.5	8.8	12.5	18.5	6.3	4.3	6.0	2.5
Muğla	97.9	98.3	97.5	45.2	44.7	45.9	30.0	26.9	33.6	15.3	17.8	12.3
Muş	69.4	80.6	56.2	12.1	18.5	5.7	9.5	14.2	4.7	2.7	4.3	1.0
Nevşehir	88.1	90.6	85.7	33.6	37.9	29.5	21.8	22.8	20.8	11.8	15.1	8.7
Niğde	86.8	89.3	84.3	25.8	32.0	20.0	16.7	18.7	14.7	9.1	13.3	5.3
Ordu	74.8	76.8	72.7	29.0	33.8	24.2	16.2	17.1	15.2	12.8	16.7	8.9
Rize	87.0	88.0	86.1	43.2	51.4	34.7	23.3	25.5	21.0	19.9	25.8	13.8
Sakarya	1001	1001	99.8	42.4	51.1	33.4	20.2	21.5	18.9	22.3	29.6	14.5
Samsun	91.6	94.1	89.0	39.9	46.4	33.8	25.8	27.6	24.1	14.1	18.8	9.7
Siirt	84.5	98.6	68.6	21.7	33.7	9.6	15.1	22.9	7.0	6.7	10.7	2.5
Sinop	89.1	91.1	87.1	33.7	40.1	28.2	20.7	21.5	20.0	13.0	18.6	8.2
Sivas	80.6	81.6	79.5	34.6	42.1	27.1	19.9	23.2	16.6	14.7	18.9	10.5
Tekirdağ	96.8	98.0	95.5	56.3	60.1	51.9	26.6	23.0	30.7	29.6	37.1	21.2
Tokat	71.3	71.8	70.7	25.2	31.4	18.8	15.1	17.3	12.9	10.0	14.1	5.9
Trabzon	71.8	72.3	71.3	36.9	41.2	32.5	24.5	26.3	22.8	12.4	14.9	9.7
Tunceli	92.3	93.9	90.5	51.0	49.3	52.9	43.5	39.9	47.5	7.5	9.4	5.4
Şanlıurfa	74.1	84.1	62.5	12.3	16.9	7.2	10.0	14.4	5.2	2.2	2.5	2.0
Uşak	93.8	94.5	93.2	45.8	49.9	41.5	32.0	31.3	32.7	13.8	18.6	8.8
Van	75.8	91.4	58.2	17.8	29.0	7.7	13.2	22.0	5.4	4.6	7.0	2.3
Yozgat	70.8	70.4	71.1	26.2	33.9	18.4	13.9	17.5	10.3	12.3	16.3	8.1
Zonguldak	97.2	98.9	95.4	50.7	58.3	43.3	29.3	26.8	31.8	21.4	31.5	11.5
Aksaray	84.9	86.0	83.8	25.7	31.8	19.6	18.1	20.5	15.8	7.5	11.3	3.8
Bayburt	78.4	79.4	77.2	25.8	39.0	12.5	15.8	24.2	7.2	10.1	14.8	5.3
Karaman	83.9	84.2	83.6	33.8	41.5	25.9	21.0	24.5	17.4	12.8	17.0	8.6
Kırıkkale	75.8	75.0	76.7	39.3	45.0	33.0	27.2	29.4	24.7	12.1	15.6	8.2
Batman	87.9	97.5	77.3	19.1	27.1	11.0	16.1	22.9	9.2	3.0	4.2	1.8
Şırnak	85.4	98.8	70.3	10.8	17.2	4.2	6.7	10.1	3.2	4.1	7.2	1.0
Bartın	97.5	99.4	95.6	42.6	55.9	30.6	22.0	24.7	19.4	20.6	31.1	11.2
Ardahan	94.0	96.9	90.9	28.2	37.7	19.2	18.8	25.4	12.6	9.4	12.3	6.6
İğdir	91.7	99.4	83.5	29.9	35.8	24.4	24.5	29.3	20.0	5.4	6.5	4.5
Yalova	1001	1001	99.3	44.1	41.9	46.9	20.6	16.9	25.2	23.5	25.0	21.7
Karabük	93.9	95.1	92.8	54.4	64.5	44.7	30.4	30.4	30.4	24.0	34.1	14.4
Kilis	92.2	98.6	85.6	30.9	37.6	25.3	20.3	22.7	18.2	10.7	14.9	7.0
Osmaniye	86.4	87.3	85.5	38.7	43.9	33.5	30.0	33.0	26.8	8.8	10.9	6.6
Düzce	97.2	98.3	96.1	37.0	43.2	30.1	15.0	16.5	13.4	21.9	26.7	16.7

Source: 2000 Population Census, SIS; 2001 National Education Quantitative Data, MONE, as reported in Erciyes (2003).

Note: (1) indicates that figures exceeding 100 are round to 100. Inconsistencies between the normal place of residence and the place where the child attends school can lead to net enrolment figures exceeding 100 per cent.

Table A8 Number of students per teacher by region in 1985

	Marmara	Aegean	Medi- terranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	East Anatolia	South-East Anatolia
<b>Primary school</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>42</b>
Junior high sch.	50	33	39	44	42	50	56
Basic education	35	29	31	34	31	37	43
<b>High school</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>

Source: 1985 National Education Statistics, SIS, as reported in Erciyes (2003).

Table A9 Number of students per teacher by region in 1990

	Marmara	Aegean	Medi- terranean	Central Anatolia	Black Sea	East Anatolia	South-East Anatolia
<b>Primary school</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>43</b>
Junior high sch.	64	37	47	48	50	65	70
Basic education	37	28	32	34	30	37	46
<b>High school</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>

Source: 1990 National Education Statistics, SIS, as reported in Erciyes (2003).

## Gender, education and child labour in Turkey

Table A10 Number of students per teacher by province in 1985, 1990 and 2000

Province	1985-86				1990-91				2000-01	
	Prim. school	Junior high school	Basic educ.	High school	Prim. school	Junior high school	Basic educ.	High school	Basic educ.	High school
Adana	33	44	35	17	34	53	38	18	36	20
Adıyaman	42	55	44	12	37	51	39	14	30	22
Afyon	30	34	31	8	29	52	33	10	23	12
Ağrı	45	35	44	11	46	76	49	19	48	18
Amasya	24	79	29	10	22	59	27	10	20	12
Ankara	34	47	37	13	30	47	34	11	25	14
Antalya	25	24	25	10	23	26	23	11	26	15
Artvin	26	36	28	14	21	40	25	18	21	15
Aydın	24	32	26	6	22	38	25	7	24	13
Balıkesir	26	25	26	8	24	27	25	9	22	12
Bilecik	18	31	20	7	21	50	25	10	25	12
Bingöl	35	54	36	9	31	46	33	11	33	19
Bitlis	40	55	41	11	36	63	39	13	36	16
Bolu	23	45	26	9	20	47	23	12	20	15
Burdur	17	42	20	5	14	56	17	7	16	11
Bursa	31	59	35	8	31	66	37	11	32	16
Çanakkale	18	26	19	7	15	34	18	8	20	13
Çankırı	29	39	31	8	26	42	28	11	23	10
Çorum	34	51	36	10	31	57	34	13	26	13
Denizli	25	28	26	9	22	35	25	10	23	12
Diyarbakır	43	55	45	17	42	66	45	15	41	21
Edirne	19	19	19	11	16	249	22	14	20	14
Elazığ	30	48	33	16	26	44	29	15	25	15
Erzincan	25	34	27	12	21	55	25	14	20	11
Erzurum	38	39	38	12	36	60	39	15	32	12
Eskişehir	24	36	27	11	22	34	25	12	23	15
Gaziantep	40	55	42	14	47	76	50	18	44	22
Giresun	25	37	27	12	22	46	25	15	24	13
Gümüşhane	29	29	29	10	20	48	23	13	20	15
Hakkari	38	115	41	5	41	274	48	15	48	21
Hatay	34	55	36	14	34	70	39	17	31	19
Isparta	24	19	23	8	22	31	24	9	21	11
Içel	27	54	30	10	27	50	30	12	28	18
İstanbul	39	70	45	15	40	78	47	15	40	20
İzmir	32	40	34	8	30	37	32	22	28	16
Kars	36	54	38	18	35	80	39	24	34	20
Kastamonu	23	36	24	7	19	44	21	9	21	11
Kayseri	29	55	32	13	29	73	34	16	28	17
Kırklareli	17	21	18	9	17	30	19	13	22	16
Kırşehir	23	28	24	15	23	37	26	17	20	16
Kocaeli	33	54	37	13	34	66	39	16	36	19

## Appendix 1

Konya	33	35	34	10	37	42	38	11	31	14
Kütahya	28	53	31	7	27	71	32	9	23	13
Malatya	29	58	33	14	25	75	31	14	25	15
Manisa	27	26	27	9	28	32	28	9	26	12
K.Maraş	37	44	38	14	36	63	39	16	30	18
Mardin	42	57	43	12	38	73	40	15	42	20
Muğla	21	24	22	7	19	27	21	9	22	14
Muş	41	74	44	11	40	67	43	16	37	15
Nevşehir	28	41	30	9	28	52	32	12	23	11
Niğde	35	39	35	11	25	41	27	14	24	13
Ordu	33	39	34	13	32	50	35	15	28	15
Rize	28	53	31	15	27	65	32	19	26	15
Sakarya	29	48	31	10	29	81	34	12	32	17
Samsun	31	39	32	12	29	42	31	14	35	13
Siirt	41	56	43	14	34	56	36	14	37	16
Sinop	25	43	27	6	21	47	23	7	22	10
Sivas	32	56	35	15	28	67	33	16	27	17
Tekirdağ	20	35	22	9	19	46	24	10	28	18
Tokat	31	37	32	13	27	44	30	15	26	14
Trabzon	28	35	29	12	25	40	28	15	23	14
Tunceli	24	94	29	9	26	116	33	12	23	13
Şanlıurfa	43	62	45	12	49	89	53	18	45	18
Uşak	27	23	26	8	23	26	24	10	23	12
Van	41	54	42	12	40	72	43	18	41	22
Yozgat	35	56	37	12	36	68	39	14	27	14
Zonguldak	34	60	37	11	34	87	41	17	24	20
Aksaray					43	43	43	16	25	12
Bayburt					32	56	35	15	26	14
Karaman					33	51	36	11	25	14
Kırıkkale					35	67	41	18	24	15
Batman					43	93	47	21	44	23
Şırnak					47	141	51	12	49	21
Bartın									21	11
Ardahan									30	19
Iğdır									32	20
Yalova									26	16
Karabük									20	12
Kilis									25	12
Osmaniye									27	16
Düzce									30	17

Notes: Some cells are empty since at the time of data collection, some provinces had not yet acquired provincial status.

Source: 1985 and 1990 National Education Statistics, SIS; 2000 National Education Quantitative Data, MONE, as reported in Erciyes (2003).





## Appendix 2

### TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE STUDY

#### Development of a concept paper on gender, education and child labour in Turkey

##### 1. Background

With a mandate to give special attention to the situation of girls, ILO-IPEC programmes apply a gender-sensitive approach throughout the programming cycle of child labour interventions. One of the aims of these efforts is to fully and concretely take into account the policy and programming linkages between “the elimination of child labour”, “education for all” and “gender equality”.

As a result of gender roles attributed to children by the society, there are differences in the work and educational experiences of boys and girls and these differences should be fully and concretely taken into account and policy and programming linkages between “the elimination of child labour”, “education for all” and “gender equality” should be established. In work situation, boys and girls face different educational, developmental, health and moral risks. Therefore, when taking rehabilitative and preventative measures these differences should be recognized in order to provide them with services that are relevant to their live experiences. There are also differences in the educational experiences of boys and girls, differences that demand different approaches when developing education policy and programmes and modalities for implementation. Integration of child labour and gender issues in education is key if they are to be addressed effectively and if school is to meet the special needs of working boys and girls.

Although the problem of child labour and gender disparities in educational attainment of working children are generally recognized, an integrated approach to solving these problems is still missing. In order to bring more closely together the objectives of combating child labour and extending the benefits of primary education to all boys and girls, there is a crucial need to focus on the related issues of gender, education and child labour.

## **Gender, education and child labour in Turkey**

Attempts have been made to analyze gender and education, gender a child labour and child labour and education. Despite the body of research available, there remain many important gaps including details into links between gender, education and child labour. It is the ultimate aim of IPEC to conduct research to fill this gap. However, as the first step towards research a synthesis review of existing data leading to the development of a concept paper, is planned. This would facilitate help to identify in more detail information gaps, clarify concepts and facilitate the development guidelines for research. Therefore, this terms of reference is developed within the framework of Gender Networking, to develop a concept paper into links between gender, education and child labour in Turkey.

It was felt necessary to establish a knowledge base to move into a more effective networking. This knowledge may be used as an advocacy and programming tool in Turkey.

### **2. Work Expected**

At the end of this assignment, an analytical concept paper on “gender, child labour and education” will have been produced by the team of consultants. The paper should be analytical and concise and should not be less than 50 pages and not exceed 80 pages, font Times Roman 11, single spaced, presented in user-friendly format with tables and diagrams as appropriate.

The paper should contain the following components:

- 1) Review available (un) written information on the topic. Cover census reports, special research reports, articles, and (un) published papers on the topic to enable the research team to design, focus, and organise the Concept Paper in consultation with ILO-IPEC.
- 2) Review of the primary education system in terms of enrolment and dropout rates, utility of primary education for working children, if possible indirect cost involved and gender discrepancies,
- 3) Review of available non-formal education system in the country and identify their relative suitability for working children in terms of gender,
- 4) Review of the available models and types of vocational and skills training for working children, and identify their relative suitability for working children in terms of gender
- 5) Review of the child labour reach data in Turkey including;
  - disaggregated, (i.e. broken down by sex) information
  - the character, nature, levels of education (enrolments and attendance),
  - identifying gender differentials at work and in life, in terms of the division of labour, and access to and control over resources and benefits
  - the individual activities done by boys and girls and identify
  - working hours per day / per week;

- the work hazards;
  - age (also starting age of work)
  - opportunities and participation in training and education for boys and girls;
  - the job segregation between boys and girls horizontally (sectors) and vertically (hierarchical levels).
  - identification of the social and cultural barriers that reinforce gender disparities, lack of education and child labour ;
- 6) A comprehensive analysis and synthesis of the review and the development of a concept paper including ideas and suggestions for further research; and programme interventions.



## Appendix 3

### BIOGRAPHIC NOTE ON THE AUTHORS

#### *Yakın Ertürk*

Yakın Ertürk is the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women (2003-). She is a professor of Sociology and has been on the faculty of the Department of Sociology and the Gender and Women's Studies Program at the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey since 1986. In 2002 she became the head of the latter. She also taught at the Centre for Girls, at King Saud University in Riyadh (1979-82) and from 1979 to 1981 served as its Chair. Between 1997 and 2001 she took leave from her university post at METU and joined the United Nations, serving first as Director of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic (Oct.1997-Feb.1999), then as Director of The Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) at UN Headquarters in New York (March 1999 - Oct. 2001). She has worked for various national and international agencies on rural development and women in development projects. Yakın Ertürk's areas of interest are multilateral dialogue, conflict, identity politics and violence against women, globalization, population movements, labour use patterns and women in development. Yakın Ertürk received her PhD degree in development sociology from Cornell University in 1980.

#### *Meltem Dayıoğlu*

Meltem Dayıoğlu is an assistant professor in the Department of Economics at the Middle East Technical University. She received her Ph.D. from the same university in 1995 and has been a faculty member since then. Her main interest areas include labour economics, income distribution and gender issues. She has produced work on the labour market outcomes of women in urban Turkey. In particular, her work focused on the explaining the reasons behind the low participation rate of urban women and the significant gender earnings gap. She has also produced work on child labour where she studied the work and schooling outcomes of children in Turkey. She has been in-

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