

**RESEARCH ON IMMIGRANT CHILD LABOUR:
EXAMPLE OF KANARYA REGION IN ISTANBUL**

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ABSTRACT

This study, which is based on measuring and evaluating whether there are a link and a relationship between the work of Syrian immigrant women and their children in Kanarya region of Küçükçekmece district of Istanbul, covers 15 randomly selected Syrian migrant women among 164 people who received textile education. As a result of semi-structured in-depth interviews, a comprehensive profile regarding Syrian women and their child labourers has been reached. Understanding how child labour evolves within the neoliberal economic system is important for understanding unequal relationships in gender-based production and employment processes, so a holistic gender perspective is adopted in this study. How can the child labour problem be read through women's employment? The problem of child labour is a critical issue in answering questions about how to develop safe working conditions for Syrian women and how to develop policies to increase their employment. For this reason, it is important to discover the working conditions and subjectivity in the labour processes of the relevant sample group.

Keywords: Employment, Child Labor, Immigrant, Working Condition

INTRODUCTION

Migration is an important factor affecting children and families and it is a worldwide phenomenon that has always been part of human history. Moving to a new country can affect children and adolescents in a variety of ways, including family relationships, social and educational performances (Gomez, 2015: 9).

Children migrate for countless reasons such as economic factors, education, gender and cultural reasons, personal factors and emergencies (Van de Glind and Kou, 2013: 30). As a matter of fact, with immigration, children face many dangers and risks, especially with the exploitation of labor and human trafficking.

Child labor means unacceptable work for children, defined as any person under the age of 18. Because the child is considered too young to enter a job or employment (Donger, 2016:4). It is estimated that 246 million children worldwide are engaged in child labor. About 70 % (171 million) of these children work under hazardous conditions - mines, chemicals and pesticides or hazardous machinery. Children are used in factories, ovens, carpet weaving, seafood preparation while dealing with hazardous materials, housework and other jobs.

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Those who work free of charge as a domestic worker in their own homes are everywhere as labourers in fields and secret workshops, but they are invisible. Besides, the vast majority of working children - about 70% - are thought to work in the agricultural sector (UNICEF, 2016). On the other hand, UNICEF is not against working children. Participation of children or adolescents in business life generally evaluates things that do not negatively affect their health and development or interfere with their education. Light work (not obstructing education) is provided from the age of 12, in accordance with Convention 138 of the International Labor Organization (ILO). In the light of all these, the dimensions of child labour in the world and in Turkey, the perspective of child labour, as an important issue have been taken into consideration in accordance with the purpose of the study.

1. CHILD LABOR IN THE WORLD AND TURKEY

Children who have to work under inhuman conditions can be forced to work by being exposed to human trafficking and various slavery. When the distribution of the number of child workers worldwide is examined, it is seen that the African continent is in the first place with 19,6 %. While Asia and Pacific countries follow Africa with 7,4 % in terms of child labor, America and European continents follow them.

Table 1: Regional Distribution of Child Labor%

Africa	19,6
Asia and Pasific Countries	7,4
America	5,3
Europa and Central Asia	4,1
Arabic Countries	2,9

Source: International Labour Office, p.5

According to UNICEF, when the distribution of child workers between the ages of 5-17 by gender and region is examined, it is striking that child labor, in general, is concentrated in the African continent. While sub-Saharan Africa hosts 29 % of the total child labor in the world, the ratio of both male and female workers constitutes 29 % of the total children. The East and South Africa region accommodate 27 % of total child labor in the world, while males account for 27 % of the total children and girls 26 %. While West and Central Africa host 31 % of the total child labor in the world, men make up 30 % of the total children and girls make up 31 %. It is observed that the Middle East and North Africa have a much lower percentage in terms of child labor compared to other regions. What is observed in underdeveloped countries is that it accounts for 29 % of total child labor in the World and that the proportion of both male and female workers in these countries constitutes 29 % of total children.

Table 2: % of Child Workers (5 -17) by Age and Region

	Male	Female	Total
Sub-Saharan Africa	29	29	29
East and South Afrika	27	26	27
West and Central Africa	30	31	31
Middle East and North Africa	5	4	5
Underdeveloped Countries	29	29	29

Source: UNICEF Global Databases, 2019

On the other hand, thanks to the constructive solutions that have been tried to be implemented in recent years, the number of child workers in each sector has decreased significantly, but the latest situation is not yet at the desired level. Factors such as ongoing civil wars, foreign interventions, immigration, economic crises, increases in the unbalanced distribution of gross national product among individuals in the countries can be cited among the reasons for the failure to achieve a full recovery. Besides, it continues to constitute approximately half of the total number of child workers, even if the children working in hazardous jobs have passed years. As a matter of fact, while the number of child workers working in dangerous jobs was 170 million in 2000, this number was recorded as 72 million in 2016 (Karadoğan, 2019).

It is obvious how critical the child labor issue is with the numerical indicators mentioned above. For this reason, child labor was brought up in three main international conventions (Donger, 2016: 4):

- International Labor Organization Convention No. 138 and Recommendation 146 (1973) on employment for the minimum age,
- Law No. 182 and Recommendation 190 on the Prohibition and Emergency Action on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of ILO Child Labor, No. 182 (1999),
- United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

These conventions shape the concept of child labor and form the basis of child labor legislation issued by the signing countries. According to Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, everyone up to the age of 18 is considered a child. On the other hand, child labor is a very narrow concept and refers to children acting against the ILO standards in contracts (138 and 182). This includes all children under the age of 12 who are engaged in all economic activities beyond the work of children between the ages of 12 and 14 who are busy with the worst form of child labor. Situations that are enslaved, forced labor, forced into illegal activities, or face danger can be considered as the worst forms of child labor.

Turkey has been a party to the above conventions aimed at preventing all kinds of abuse and neglect of children and has ensured that it becomes a domestic law by signing the related conventions. On the other hand, Turkish refugee legislation does not have a rights regulation for migrant children. However, the general regulations on this issue emphasized the fundamental rights afforded to all children. This includes the rights to education, health, asylum and protection from all forms of ill-treatment.

Based on Article 71 of the Labor Act No. 4857 in Turkey, to protect children and young workers "Regulation on Procedures and Principles of Operation Children and young workers" is removed. According to the definition in the regulation, the child worker refers to the person who has completed the age of 14 and has not completed the age of 15 and has completed primary education (Can, 2016).

According to the United Nations Refugee Organization (UNHCR), although there is no special regulation on the rights of migrant children in the Turkish refugee legislation, the following regulations were introduced after 2013 to ensure the fundamental rights of refugee children in line with the Convention on the rights of the child and other international obligations and general law rules:

- The right of primary education to refugee children is guaranteed.
- Efforts are made to ensure the right of refugee children to health (free treatment). In cooperation with public hospitals, these children are provided with free treatment and psychological assistance.
- In addition, sheltering and other basic needs of the refugee child who comes without a companion are also provided.
- Unaccompanied minors need protection in Article 3 of Law No. 2828, whose physical, mental and moral development and personal safety are endangered and defined as abandoned by their parents. Unaccompanied children have the same rights as adult asylum seekers. Only these children have the right to be children in need of protection.

Poverty is one of the reasons for working children in Turkey. It is thought that the intense immigration from Syria since 2011 could not be put under a full plan-program, and that the delays and deficiencies in the regulation of economic and legal regulations accordingly are also reflected in child labor figures. It is known that the refugee population coming from Syria consists of half of children and women, elderly people in need of care.

Among the working children in the 6-17 age group who have difficulties in finding any job with various constraints, 39,3% of the children attending school work to help the economic activity of the household and 24% to contribute to the household income. In children who do not attend school, the proportion of those who work to contribute to household income is 58,7%. The proportion of children who do not attend school and work to help the household's economic activity is 18,1%. In total, more than half of the children work for economic reasons (TÜİK, 2013).

On the other hand, the average weekly actual working time of children working in economic jobs in Turkey is extremely high. While the average weekly working time of children in the 6-17 age group is 40 hours, this period is 45,8 hours for the children in the 15-17 age group. The average weekly actual working time is 28 hours for the children in the 6-14 age group as well. Boys work an average of 43,2 hours a week, while girls work 33 hours (DİSK-AR, 2015).

2. SYRIAN IMMIGRANTS IN TURKEY

Turkey has been one of the countries that has become the target of an intense mass of migration in the immediate aftermath of the war that began in Syria in 2011 (UNHCR, 2016). The lack of adequate and inclusive legislation prepared by the relevant institutions makes it difficult for Syrian children to access education, and is seen as one reason why Syrian children are turning to child labour. The lack of adequate and inclusive legislation prepared by the relevant institutions makes it difficult for Syrian children to access education, and is seen as one reason why Syrian children are turning to child labour. According to UNICEF data, there are 1.5 million Syrian children in Turkey in 2016. Approximately 54% of the Syrian population in Turkey is made up of Syrian children, of which 746,000 are school-age children. However, an estimated 500 thousand Syrian children were not enrolled in any school (UNICEF, 2016).

However, a general determination on the subject was that children enrolled in the school continue their school irregularly to provide economic support to their families. Most Syrian children are employed as child laborers in sectors such as textile, leather and agriculture, with cheap wages, under unsafe, unsanitary conditions. In Istanbul, child labor is frequently found in Esenler, Küçükçekmece, Bağcılar region. It is seen that the most important sector in which migrant masses and especially child labor is concentrated is the clothing sector. While this sector continues to be the sector where Syrian migrants, refugee women and children work most frequently after 2011, it is obvious that small textile workshops have created an environment for child labor.

The failure of Syrian women to gain access to work and employment, which is important for these children, deeply affects the lives of thousands of children. It seems that the laws and regulations regarding the access of refugees to working life since the days of the Syrian crisis are not sufficient for child care and education.

The meeting with the women's Solidarity Foundation (KADAV) officials concluded that due to reasons such as lack of language, cultural codes, discriminatory and racist attitudes, Syrian women lack the level of socialization and relationship with the Turkish masses. Besides, it is stated that the majority of school-age children work in any job and are not enrolled in the school to support their families in need of economic support.

The fact that Syrian women can not speak Turkish language, do not trust themselves, have various problems in participating in social life, and cultural limitations from the patriarchal family structure. So All these factors make it difficult for them to participate in business life.

Although Syrians are granted official work permits through the "Regulation on Work Permits for Foreigners Provided with Temporary Protection" issued by the Council of Ministers resolution 2016/8375, most employers are far from paying the same salary to Syrian employees and recognising their Social Security contributions. These problems can not be resolved due to the lack of language and bureaucratic conditions. On the other hand, the clothing sector is one of the sectors where cheap labor is available for Syrians and children are preferred in this sector. While children receive less salary than adults, they have to endure both harder working conditions and long hours.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Historically, many studies of child labour have been conducted due to busy working hours and heavy working conditions. The first law could come as a 'ban' in England in 1833 and 1844. Although hundreds of years have passed, the problem remains current, and as of 2016, children are still heavily employed. Although there is a large period of time between this period and today, many studies on child labour today refer to children as cheap labour (Basu et al., 1999; Bass, 2004; Serwadda-Luwaga, 2005).

In other similar studies, there was a relationship between child labor and living standards, while low-income families sent their children to work, the reverse situation developed in families with relatively good conditions, and even children whose fathers were unemployed were forced to work to increase their family income. Parents usually decide to employ children because they see them as a family member who can work (Krueger, 1996; Basu, 1998; Duryea, Sam and Levison, 2007). It is also possible to associate this with poverty because one of the main causes of child labor is economic constraints (Bhat and Rather, 2009). Due to these economic constraints, poor family children are sent to work rather than going to school (Rena, 2009). Rena's (2009) study shows that child labor is higher in poor countries as well.

Besides, the number of family members is an effective reason for the occurrence of child labor. As the number of family members increases, poor families cannot meet the needs of their family members and it is known that they send their children to work.

Child workers work in many different sectors that contain risk and danger. It is a known fact that children have a physically sensitive and weak body. Despite this, children work in difficult conditions and are injured, disabled and face conditions that threaten their health for life (Levison and Murray-Close, 2005). In addition, environmental and professional conditions greatly affect the health and development of children. While the effect of the work varies from work to work, it can also vary from country to country.

Jensen and Nielsen (1997) stated that for Zambia as an underdeveloped country, both economic and sociological variables are important determinants for the choice between attendance and child labor in the study of what influences school attendance and child labor. And in particular, they concluded that poverty compelled households to keep their children away from school.

Khakshour et al. (2015), in their study, concluded that children in developing countries work more than children in developed countries. They also noted that in developing countries children were observed to start working at a younger age and sometimes work in the family, while others stated that they had to work on the streets or collect garbage or create their own business.

In his study, in which he examines the economic impact of child labor, Galli (2001) examines that child labor has negative effects on poverty, human capital accumulation, health, investment and technological change in the short term. However, he concluded that child labor, in the long run, has positive effects on income inequality, gender inequality and foreign direct investment and adult employment, but negative on adult wages.

Akabayashi and Psacharopoulos (1999) investigated the relationship between child labor and human capital formation for Tanzania using child time logging data. He concluded that there is a balance between working hours and working and that working hours are affected by social conditions more than working hours. He also stated that working hours are negatively related to reading and mathematical skills through the reduction of human capital investment activities, which indicates the balance between child labor and human capital.

Canagarajah and Coulombe (1997) analyzed the determinants of child labor for 1987-92. There are some clear gender-based distinctions in the types of tasks performed by a girl and boy worker; While girls are doing more housework, boys are in labor. As a result of the study, it was found that there was a significant negative relationship between going to school and working. It also states that increasing demand for schooling is an effective way to reduce child labor and ensures that Ghana's human capital is stable.

4. FIELD RESEARCH AND DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

This research consists of Arab, Kurdish and Turkmen origin of Syrian women with a sample of 164, who came from the textile education center of the Kanarya neighborhood from various districts of Istanbul (Esenyurt, Esenler, Küçükçekmece). And 15 people, who are application groups, were chosen randomly from this group of 164 people. The training center where the application is made is KADAV, migrant Women's Solidarity Center. The reason why this center and the related sample group were chosen here is that they come from the regions where the child labour is concentrated and where the relevant mass lives heavily (Esenyurt, Esenler, Küçükçekmece (Ikitelli, Ataturk quarter, Canary quarter). Besides, the sample selected in the study is neither representative of the general population of Turkey nor of all migrant women and children, and is intended to support and strengthen the limited number of studies in the field.

The questionnaire application with 15 randomly selected women consists of two groups of questions directed to women. The surveys prepared using the Likert scale include demographic information (age, marital status, household population, number of working children and age of children) and survey questions (on child labor and women's employment). These questions were prepared in advance and directed to women with open ends. The fact that most of the women know the languages of Arabic or Kurdish required the study to be accompanied by an interpreter who spoke Arabic and Kurdish, and after the application, translation was done. Afterwards, the data were tested and interpreted by entering the SPSS program. In addition to the quantitative data obtained, the research was tried to be strengthened with qualitative data sources, TÜİK(Turkish Statistical Institute) data, books, reports, articles and online data sets.

The question of the survey is a Syrian child labor in Turkey. It has been taken up with the assumption that there is an impact on the participation of Syrian migrant women in employment in reducing child labour. The question is, has the provision of Syrian women's employment reduced child labour?

The hypothesis of the research is based on these:

H0: There is no relationship between Syrian child labor and the work of their mothers.

H1: There is a relationship between Syrian child labor and the work of their mothers.

While the study puts child labour at the Centre, the issue of women’s employment is not just an independent variable that characterizes social gender as “mix-interpret”, but it is in the form of an epistemological framework that determines the research methodology.

5. FINDINGS

This research aims to explain the dimensions of child labor and women’s employment by bringing together the information obtained through the survey study conducted with Syrian women in the Migrant World Women’s Solidarity Center. The results were tested and interpreted under five main titles as Reliability, Variance analysis, Correlation, Factor analysis and Normal distribution test according to the structure of the information obtained.

Table 3: Reliability Analysis

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach’s Alpha	N of Items
,885	13

In practice, two questions had to be removed from the confidence interval and the questions were reversed. As a result of the confidence test conducted on the remaining 13 items after these items were removed, it was found as 0,88 as seen in Table 3. (The alpha coefficient was found to be 0,69 in the procedure performed on 15 items before 2 questions were removed). In this case, the final test consisting of 13 items can be viewed as reliable.

Table 4: Variance Analysis

ANOVA _a						
Modal	Sum of Squares	df	Mean of Squares	F	Significant Difference	
1	Regression	,112	1	,112	,260	,619 _b
	Residual	5,621	13	,432		
	Total	5,733	14			
a. Dependent Variable: Number of children working in the household						
b. Predictors: (Constant), I am working at a job right now						

One-way variance analysis (ANOVA) is used to calculate the significance of the difference between three and more independent averages in a normal distribution series. Anova alone compares the arithmetic averages of three or more groups cumulatively. If at least one of these comparisons is meaningful, the ANOVA result is also meaningful (Durak, 2016).

Hypotheses established in this case:

H0: there is no relationship between Syrian child labour and their mother’s work.

H1: there is a relationship between Syrian child labour and the work of mothers.

According to the Anova test results given above, it is seen that the number of women working at work (female employment) and the number of children working (child labour) affect each other. There was a significant difference between the number of children working in the household and women working in a job in favour of women working in a job. There was a significant difference between the number of children working in the household and the women working at a job in favor of women working at the job. Thus, the H0 hypothesis is rejected and the H1 hypothesis is accepted.

Table 5: KMO ve Bartlett’s Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,655
Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	148,981
	df	45
	Sig.	,000

Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) assumes the factability of the correlation matrix if Kaiser Meyer-Olkin (KMO) is greater than 0,6 and Bartlett’s Sphericity Test is less than 0,05 for measuring sampling adequacy or whether data can be a good factor.

KMO and Bartlett’s test is significant over 0, 50. As a result of the questionnaire application above, the sample size of 15 people was sufficient and the Barlett test results ($p < 0,001$; the data had a normal distribution (0,65 was significant)). The Likert scale used in the research was very positive to very negative to determine the opinions of the people about the given propositions. Accordingly, propositions are rated as (5) strongly agree, (4) agree, (3) indecisive, (2) disagree, (1) disagree.

Table 6: NormalityTest

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
How old are you? (1)	,208	15	,081	,932	15	,293
What is the number of children living in the household? (4)	,216	15	,059	,870	15	,034
What is the number of working children in the household? (5)	,316	15	,052	,790	15	,003
What are the age of working children in the household? i) 5-9 ii)9-13 iii)13-18 iv)18 and over (6)	,231	15	,051	,793	15	,003
If I could work, I wouldn’t send my children to work (Q1)	,385	15	,057	,630	15	,000
It is compulsory to work because children earn family income.(Q2)	,453	15	,058	,561	15	,000
I was working before the immigration (Q3)	,385	15	,063	,630	15	,000
I can’t work to take care of my children and my family(Q7)	,210	15	,073	,839	15	,012
a. Lilliefors Significance Correction						

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov (k-s) Test is used to test whether a randomly obtained sample data fits a particular distribution (uniform, normal or poison). In principle, the (k-s) test is based on the comparison of the cumulative distribution function of the sample data with the expected cumulative distribution function (Öztuna, Elhan and Tüccar, 2006: 173). With the help of this test, it is possible to examine whether the data collected from a sample exhibit a normal distribution. HO Acceptance shows a normal distribution as the data is seen as HO > 0.5 at the 0.5 confidence level as shown above.

Table 7: Correlation Test

		What is your marital status? (2)	What is the number of working children in the household? (5)	What are the ages of working children in the household? (6)	I can work if childcare is provided (Q6)	I want to work but my family has the pressure (Q8)	What is the number of children living in the household? (4)	I'm working at a job right now (Q4)	It is compulsory to work because children earn family income (Q2)	Even if I have a job to work, I can't work (Q5)	What is the number of children living in the household? (4)	If I could work, I wouldn't send my little children to work (Q1)
2	Pearson Correlation	1	-,360	-,214	-,346	,022	,215	-,309	-,359	-,088	-,117	-,195
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,188	,444	,207	,938	,441	,262	,188	,755	,678	,487
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	7,333	-2,333	-4,667	-6,333	,333	2,667	-5,667	-5,000	-1,000	-1,333	-2,000
	Covariance	,524	-,167	-,333	-,452	,024	,190	-,405	-,357	-,071	-,095	-,143
	N	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Q6	Pearson Correlation	-,346	,848**	,823**	1	,209	,457	,421	,990**	,324	,840**	,717**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,207	,000	,000		,454	,087	,118	,000	,238	,000	,003
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-6,333	13,733	44,867	45,733	7,867	14,133	19,267	34,400	9,200	23,933	18,400
	Covariance	-,452	,981	3,205	3,267	,562	1,010	1,376	2,457	,657	1,710	1,314
	N	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Q4	Pearson Correlation	-,309	,140	,333	,421	,057	,384	1	,391	,169	,459	,218
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,262	,619	,226	,118	,841	,158		,149	,547	,085	,435
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-5,667	2,267	18,133	19,267	2,133	11,867	45,733	13,600	4,800	13,067	5,600
	Covariance	-,405	,162	1,295	1,376	,152	,848	3,267	,971	,343	,933	,400
	N	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Q2	Pearson Correlation	-,359	,845**	,850**	,990**	,182	,417	,391	1	,334	,813**	,739**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,188	,000	,000	,000	,516	,122	,149		,224	,000	,002
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-5,000	10,400	35,200	34,400	5,200	9,800	13,600	26,400	7,200	17,600	14,400
	Covariance	-,357	,743	2,514	2,457	,371	,700	,971	1,886	,514	1,257	1,029
	N	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Q1	Pearson Correlation	-,195	,704**	,628*	,717**	,246	,507	,218	,739**	,075	,726**	1

Sig. (2-tailed)	,487	,003	,012	,003	,376	,054	,435	,002	,789	,002	
Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-2,000	6,400	19,200	18,400	5,200	8,800	5,600	14,400	1,200	11,600	14,400
Covariance	-,143	,457	1,371	1,314	,371	,629	,400	1,029	,086	,829	1,029
N	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).											
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).											

It can be said that there is a correlation if the value of one variable changes and another variable changes linearly with this. The correlation coefficient takes a value between $-1 < r < 1$ and the correlation ratio strengthens as it approaches 1. If a few details of the correlation coefficient indicators are given in Table 7, there is a positive relationship between the women who want to work if child care is provided (S6) and the work of children (5). Likewise, there is a strong positive relationship between those who work in the family (5) and those who answer their work as compulsory because children meet family income (S2). There is a similar relationship between those who responded that I would not send my little children to work if I had the opportunity to work (S1), and those with working children (5). It is said that the existence of a relationship between Syrian child labor and female (mother) employment expressed from the beginning of the study was confirmed by the tests made above.

CONCLUSION

Even considering the percentage of the population of Syrian women and children in Turkey, the logical inference is that easy answers can be given as to what problems are encountered. It is known that economic reasons will also be based on these problems. Among the women who came from Syria to Turkey under different conditions, some live alone, those who are widowed, women who are separated from their wives and those who are married. The source of the problem is not migration. The situation in question is a problem rather than a border barrier. The limitations in Turkey as the host country, the language barriers and socio-cultural fears and concerns of women coming from Syria are important to reflect their employment-related problems. Child labor comes into play at this point. The research pointed out the consequences of missing arrangements and interventions that were not made to the required points at this point. Child labor increases the audience more and more quickly with a multiplier effect based on vulnerabilities and grievances. Thousands of school-aged Syrian children face the most difficult conditions of child labour at an early age while being deprived of basic rights. To contribute to the family budget, great harm is done to this audience, whose physical and physical development is damaged by giving family consent to their employment at a young age. Syrian child labor is seen as less secure and cheaper in current market relations. On the other hand, the lack of legislative regulations and the fact that obstacles and prohibitions have not been established by legislators can be considered as an indication that a strong policy should be developed for employing child labor in both the immigrant mass and the local population.

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