



Culturagram of the Development and Education Processes of Children in Seasonal Agricultural Worker Families*


Emine Saraç, Lecturer, Çağ University, Türkiye, eminesarac@cag.edu.tr

 0000-0002-4503-0217

Mustafa Kale, Assoc. Prof. Dr., Çağ University, Türkiye, mustafakale@gmail.com

 0000-0002-1764-2224

Nurgül Özpoyraz, Prof. Dr., Çağ University, Türkiye, nurgulozpoyraz@cag.edu.tr

 0000-0003-2007-4165

Keywords

Seasonal agricultural worker
Families and children
Culturagram
Disadvantaged children

Article Info:

Received : 29-10-2022
Accepted : 17-12-2022
Published : 22-04-2023

DOI: 10.52963/PERR_Biruni_V12.N1.05

Abstract

This study aimed to determine the Culturagram of Seasonal Agricultural Worker (SAW) families and their children through their daily life processes. In the study, the ethnography method was used to determine the physical and social factors affecting the daily life processes of SAW families and their children and to create a detailed culturagram. When the findings are evaluated in terms of culture, it was determined that the seasonal agricultural workers faced problems in terms of meeting basic needs, such as shelter, health and nutrition in the agricultural areas where the families migrated to. The family structure in such regions was different from the original place of residence, and the families used different languages in the public sphere and at home. The priority of these families was agricultural work because it was their livelihood. The migration of the families and their children from different regions that have different lifestyles also caused discrimination in their social lives.

To cite this article: Saraç, E., & Kale, M., & Özpoyraz, N. (2023). Culturagram of the development and education processes of children in seasonal agricultural worker families. *Psycho-Educational Research Reviews*, 12(1), 69-80. doi: 10.52963/PERR_Biruni_V12.N1.05

* The article was produced from the lead author's master's thesis, titled "Examining the development and education processes of children from agricultural worker families: a Culturagram example."

INTRODUCTION

The workforce's replacement by machines in the agricultural sector, changes in agriculture and soil policies, and agricultural practices related to these changes have directly affected the lifestyles of families whose primary source of income is agricultural work. These effects have led to fundamental changes, especially for families who do not own land but work as workers on agricultural land belonging to others. These families migrate seasonally from one region to another, live in different regions, and even go to different countries in order to work in the agriculture sector and to earn a living for their family. Such migration processes and unfavorable conditions in the region of migration force families, especially children, to live in unsuitable conditions (Walsh, 2016). The term Seasonal Agricultural Worker refers to people whose primary livelihood is agriculture and who make intercity and intercountry changes to work in agricultural areas in different regions due to seasonal transitions (Arcury & Quandt, 2007).

From a historical perspective, the origin of seasonal agricultural labor dates back to ancient times, both in Turkey and worldwide. However, while the phenomenon of seasonal agricultural work is frequently addressed in terms of the labor force in the field of agriculture and agricultural economy, families and children working in this field as the primary source of labor are often ignored (Baş, 2019). Recently, although there has been an increase in SAW families, these families and their children are considered to be disadvantaged groups with low social visibility. Seasonal agricultural workers are divided into two groups, local and mobile. In the relevant literature, local workers can be defined as local SAWs. In contrast, mobile workers can be defined as SAWs outside the region. Local SAWs work harvesting vegetables and fruits in their locations or their immediate surroundings, depending on wages determined hourly, daily, or by business unit. On the other hand, itinerant workers are agricultural workers who continue to live in villages and migrate to different cities and countries alone or with their families and who have lost or cannot own their own land due to expropriation (Özbekmezci & Sahil, 2004).

Today, seasonal agricultural work is typical in many countries where agricultural production is intense. However, the use of human labor is low in agriculture. In Turkey agriculture continues throughout almost all four seasons of the year, as a consequence of the different climatic conditions in different regions. The labor force working in agriculture in rural areas of Turkey has decreased gradually due to the effect of migration from rural areas to the cities, as in all parts of the world. This situation has made seasonal agricultural work a necessity as different regions depend on the agricultural sector workforce. Landless agricultural families, particularly those living in the eastern and southeastern regions of Turkey, are forced into migrating seasonally to the regions where agricultural production is intensive in order to work in agricultural areas for planting and harvesting (Semerci et al., 2014). In every region of intensive agricultural production it is possible to come across migrant and temporary agricultural labor groups or tents which are set up in vacant areas. When the literature on SAW families in Turkey and elsewhere in the world is examined, it is seen that the visibility of these families is too low socially and scientifically. Studies on SAW families are mainly focused on agriculture and the agricultural economy (Baş, 2019). However, studies on worker families and children as the most important agricultural sector actors are limited (Oto & Gündoğdu, 2022; Marshall, 2015). Studies on SAW families and children include the social conditions and welfare of SAW families and their children in social life (Henderson, 2004) and adaptation to the region they migrate to, the problems experienced by temporary agricultural workers (Marshall, 2015; Ziebarth, 2006), and the housing conditions and health and cultural adaptation problems of families (Hovey and Magana, 2002). When relevant current studies are evaluated, it can be seen that the living conditions of SAW families and children and their physical and social conditions in Turkey and the world need to be examined descriptively. For this purpose, in this study, the daily life processes of SAW families and children were examined through use of the culturagram as a family assessment tool.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

CULTURAGRAM

The culturagram, developed by Congress (1997), is a family assessment tool. It provides an in-depth description of the effects of the family's systems on the family in the context of culture and lifestyle. The culturagram presents a graphical view of the living conditions of particular families with low social visibility and minority families with different lifestyles affected by globalization in today's world (Congress, 1997;1994). The use of the culturagram in family research provides practitioners with the opportunity to examine families' living conditions in-depth and contributes to making necessary inferences about what early interventions families may need (Congress, 1997). The culturagram suggests that the family should be centered and examined in terms of ten specific areas. However, it emphasizes that the family is not a static system, and the culturagram may differ depending on each family's conditions, considering that each family is unique. While the culturagram examines the family, it considers all the factors affecting families. It discusses these in terms of ten dimensions (Congress, 1994). The dimensions include reasons for families to move or migrate, their legal status, the time spent in the community they live in, the language spoken in the community and at home, health beliefs and access to health services, the effects of situations of trauma and crises, cultural and religious institutions, holidays and special events, food and clothing, oppression and discrimination, values related to education and livelihoods, and family structure. In this study, the culturagram was chosen because it offers an in-depth examination of the life processes and conditions of SAW families and their children in the agricultural regions they migrate to. In this context, the aims of the present research are as follows:

- What is the family structure of SAW families?
- What is the legal status of SAW families in the country and what factors are affected by this status?
- What are the current national policies regarding SAW families and children?
- What are the sources of social support for SAW families and children?
- How do SAW families have access to health and education?

METHOD

This research was carried out as an ethnographic study, which is a qualitative research method. Ethnography refers to a research method that focuses on everyday life and culture and to a deep analysis of a cultural construct as a whole. In addition, ethnography enables to analyze, understand, interpret and describe situations, events and phenomena in a cultural community in a detailed and rich way by using cultural concepts and perspectives of the participants (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012). The focus of this research is to identify SAW families and their children along with all the systems that surround them.

For this purpose, the ethnography method was preferred in the research as it gives the opportunity to examine the daily routines and practices of families and children at home and in agricultural areas and other contexts together. Another reason why the ethnography method was preferred is that it offers researchers the opportunity to describe the factors affecting families and children in detail, using different data collection tools.

RESEARCH DESIGN

CONTEXT OF RESEARCH

This research was carried out in the agricultural areas where SAW families live intensively in Silifke district of Mersin province in Turkey. Silifke district is one of the important agricultural regions of the country, and because of its Mediterranean climate, there is continuity of agricultural production

throughout summer and winter seasons. The research context has a very homogeneous sociocultural structure in terms of local population, comprising families of Turkish origin.

The need for agricultural workers in a district is significant in the migration of agricultural workers from different regions to that region. Migrant SAW families, on the other hand, are of Kurdish origin and speak Kurdish. In addition, SAW families live with their children in tents in agricultural areas far from the living areas of the local population. Before the researchers entered the research context, information was obtained from the Arkum village headman of Silifke district in order to determine the number of SAW families, accommodation, and number of parents and children in the region. In addition, information was requested from the Mersin Directorate of Provincial Agriculture and Forestry for the official records of the families, and the SAW families were contacted and families were visited. The researchers informed the families about the purpose of the current study and how it would be conducted. In this process, four families who met the above criteria and agreed to participate were included in the study.

SELECTION OF PARTICIPANT SAW FAMILIES AND PARTICIPANTS

The families included in this study were determined by the criterion sampling method. The criteria determined for the families to be included in the study are as follows:

- Families working as seasonal agricultural workers,
- Having a child of preschool or school age in the family,
- Families living with their children.

The families included in the study were specified as SAW1, SAW2, SAW3, and SAW4, and the children were matched with their family numbers as Child1, Child2, Child3, and Child4.

Child1 is 7 years old, continues his education in primary school, and lives with his family in a house close to agricultural fields. Child1 didn't have access to pre-school education, he was enrolled in primary school because it was compulsory. Child1's mother is 38 years old and illiterate, and his father is 40 years old and a primary school graduate.

Child2 is 7 years old and continues his education in primary school. Similarly, Child 2 couldn't have access to pre-school education, since primary school is compulsory education in the Turkish education system, its participation was ensured. Child2 has two siblings, a boy and a girl. His mother is illiterate, and she is 42 years old, and his father is 45 years old and a secondary school graduate.

Child3 is 6 years old and does not attend school, although she is at pre-school education age. Her mother is 44 years old, and a primary school graduate, and her father is 47 years old and a secondary school graduate.

Child4 is 6 years old and does not attend school even though he is at pre-school education age. His mother is 33 years old, and his father is 42 years old, and both are primary school graduates.

DATA COLLECTION

DATA COLLECTION TOOLS AND DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

In the study, different data collection tools, such as researcher diary, observation, interviews, photographs, and documents, were used to describe the daily life routines of SAW families.

The interview form was designed by Tom Weisner, Professor of Anthropology, in order to gain knowledge about the daily routine. The content of the interview forms is that the researcher and participants travel together to the daily routines of a family for a day. The researcher arranged the interview questions as if following the participant through one day (Weisner, 1997). Interviews with parents were held in an environment where the participants felt comfortable, interviews with adults lasted an average of 30 minutes, and interviews with children took an average of 15 minutes. Observations were made at home and in the agricultural areas where the families and children spend

time together. During the research process, 36 descriptive observations were made, and a total of 80 pages of observation reports were kept. During the research process, 75 photographs of families and children's interaction processes and practices were taken. A researcher diary was kept by the researchers throughout the research. Also, existing policies and practices related to SAW families in Turkey were examined through official documents. During the data collection process, two of the researchers collected data in the field, while the other researcher scanned the existing documents related to SAW families. The findings obtained at the end of the data collection process were analyzed by all three researchers.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

During the analysis of the data, continuous comparison of situations was made based on the culturagram. In this way, the researchers compared the interaction situations experienced in the process in terms of participants and context through culturagram fields. These comparisons enabled the data to be re-evaluated during the coding process. While the researchers were doing the coding, they read the data obtained from the interviews, observations, and the researcher's diary, and marked notes on the text. Scattered or fragmented data were coded, similarities and differences between codes were grouped, and related codes were classified. The similarities and differences between the codes were classified, and the codes related to each other were grouped. The categories consisting of grouped codes were gathered under culturagram themes.

ETHICAL APPROVAL

Ethics Committee Approval for the present study, dated 17.11.2020 and numbered 2000004173, was obtained from the Ethics Committee of the Institute of Social Sciences of Cag University. In addition, the purpose of the research was explained to the participants of the current study, the participant consent document was presented to them, and those who volunteered were included in the study.

THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

In ethnographic research, it is important for the researcher to be within the context of the research him/herself and to participate in the daily life routines of those whom s/he interacts with and does research on (Shimahara, 1984). In this study, the researchers took a participatory role by participating in the daily routines of SAW families. For this purpose, the researchers tried to be a photographer in the ethnographic photographing process and a participant observer in the process of being involved in and observing activities throughout the research process. A participant observer is someone who participates directly in the research context in which family and children live, carefully watches what participants do, and participates in their activities and interactions (Weisner, 1997). Two researchers took part in the data collection process of the study, while the other researcher took part in the classification of the data. One of the researchers involved in the data collection process worked with disadvantaged groups (family, children, and the disabled) in the research region under the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services. This experience facilitated their access to and interactions with the research context. The roles of the researchers in the data collection process of the study were as follows:

- Data collector by spending time with SAW families in their daily routines and participating in their activities,
- Observer - observing the daily routines of families, and family and child interactions.

In addition to these roles, one of the researchers photographed the daily interaction processes of the families in the context of the research by participating in the daily life activities of the SAW families.

RESULTS

In this section, the findings obtained from the research are presented according to the culturagram dimensions.

FINDINGS REGARDING FAMILY STRUCTURE

The SAW families involved in the current research migrated from their villages, their primary residence in southeastern Turkey, to the Mediterranean region where the research was carried out. The families spend an average of 6 months of the year in their villages in seasons when they do not engage in seasonal agricultural work.

Child3's father says: *"We live where work is, so we spend most of the year in migration. Sometimes we migrate to the Aegean region from here, but we usually return to our village, our main residence, with our earnings"*.

The family structure of SAW families changes before and after the migration; while they live as nuclear families in the region where they work in agriculture, it is seen that they are extended families in the village where they live. The population of families may vary depending on the need for workers in the region migrated to. In times of high need for workers, some families can migrate with their grandparents, children, and grandchildren and demonstrate a labor division based on a shared economy. When the structure of the division of labor of the families is examined in this study, it is seen that all family members were engaged in agricultural work. However, it was observed that women undertook additional roles and responsibilities in terms of housework.

Similarly, it is noteworthy that families share roles and responsibilities in caring for children with other families staying in the agricultural areas. When families work in agricultural fields, a group of women who is responsible for protecting children look after them in turn. SAW families often migrate to agricultural areas with their relatives for agricultural work and spend time outside of work with relatives rather than locals.

It was observed that cooperation and solidarity among the SAW families were quite strong: *"At the end of the work, it was observed that the families came together, had dinner together, and chatted together in the evenings. Similarly, it was observed that children from different SAW families spent time together"* (01.12.2020, Researcher's Diary).

When we look at the decision-making mechanism and power center in the SAW families from a gender perspective, it was observed that the women had the same say as the men. The women had very active roles in providing daily routines. The men and women participated in similar practices in the division of labor. However, the men communicated with the person referred to as the coordinating sergeant in all agricultural work. It was observed that when outside guests came to their living area, men and women hosted the guests together without gender discrimination. *"During the research process, tables were set for family members and guests from other SAW families in the home environment, and women, men and children spent time together"* (04.02.2020, Researcher Diary).

The families received their working fees daily, and the parents collected the money earned by the family members. On the other hand, the parents met all the needs of the family with these wages and saved money for the periods when they could not work with the remaining money. Child1's father stated the following about the use of economic resources: *"We spend six months of the year working here, and the remaining six months, if there is work, we will not go. Consequently, we have to return from here by making savings. Sometimes we go to work in other cities in the remaining six months, and then we can feel comfortable financially"*. Also, the families stated that they used some of the wages they earned for investment purposes.

LANGUAGE AND LEGAL STATUS

The SAW families and children spoke Kurdish while communicating with other seasonal agricultural worker families like themselves. The majority of the families could speak Turkish and Kurdish. However, the families spoke Kurdish among themselves in the research context. However, in the region where the agricultural areas are located, they spoke Turkish in order to interact with the local people and to benefit from public services. However, as the elderly family members could speak only Kurdish, it was observed that the other adults and children interpreted in their communication with the local people.

All of the families defined themselves as Kurds in terms of ethnicity and stated their legal status as Turkish citizens. Child2's father stated their legal status: *"We have been in Turkey since the day we were born, and we are Turkish citizens, but we speak Kurdish in our region. Our ethnicity is Kurdish"*.

HEALTH AND HEALTH CARE ACCESS

It can create risks for children's health and safety when accommodation areas of SAW families are in agricultural areas. Use of pesticides and transmission of pests from agricultural areas to accommodation areas are among the potential risks. Regarding this issue, Child3's mother said, *"When we go to the field, the children play at home, short distance between the house and the farmland is good for us to see them and we can be together during breaks. However, we sometimes encounter snake and scorpion bites in agricultural areas"*.

The SAW families benefited from the state hospital in the district center in cases such as emergency health problems. However, the distance of the agricultural lands from the hospital and the families not having their own vehicles caused problems in transportation. The families often needed the help of employers in the case of medical emergencies. Also, although most SAW families stated that they did not have social security and encountered some problems related to this issue, some other families stated that they had social security. They had access to health services with the support of the State.

POLICIES FOR SAW FAMILIES AND THEIR CHILDREN

Another finding of the study is the legal regulations regarding the children of the SAW families' development and education processes. In 2006, in the Social Insurance and General Health Insurance Law No.5510, jobs in the field of agriculture were defined, but SAW was not included. In 2012, business lines and persons not included in the Occupational Health and Safety Law No. 6331 were specified. Since agricultural workers were not excluded, the work and employers of SAW can be evaluated within this scope.

In addition to these legal amendments, according to the Turkish Employment Agency Law No.4904, it was included in the legislation because of providing a basis for already existing working conditions of agricultural workers. According to "Service Contract" under the title of the Code of Obligations No. 816, Articles 313-354 are applied to agricultural workers in labor relations, excluding those listed in Article 113 under the title of the Articles of Labor Law No. 4857. According to Law No. 6356 on Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining Agreement and the Supreme Court, there is no regulation that SAW cannot be a union member and cannot participate in activities. On the contrary, according to the Supreme Court's decision, it is claimed that the union membership of SAW is possible. As mentioned above, there is no prohibition regarding the unionization of public, private, permanent, seasonal, and mobile agricultural workers. Although there is no such prohibition for agricultural workers, the lack of necessary legal regulations, the difficulty of working conditions in seasonal jobs, and the length of their periods do not make it possible to organize. Child 2's father stated the following on this issue: *"As if we are aware of our rights, nobody informs us, we cannot even retire, nobody facilitates us to retire, even if they facilitated us to retire, there would not be anyone to guide us. If we participate in a union, what will happen? What is the use of all that?"*. In this case, struggles to improve

agricultural workers' security, rights, and economic welfare cannot be carried out. Although there is no legal obligation to solve SAW problems, steps have been taken due to the regulations, circulars, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

SOCIAL SUPPORT RESOURCES IN TRAUMA AND CRISIS SITUATIONS

SAW families and their children receive social support from family and peers in case of trauma and crisis due to displacement. The families stated that they could easily talk to their relatives about their problems; they prefer spending time with them and solving their problems together. On the other hand, it was observed that children formed a social support mechanism with their siblings and peers. Families did not have information about the institutions they could apply to in order to get professional help. Child4's father stated the following on this issue: *"We want to get educational aid for children in Urfa city, it does not happen because we are not there all the time, and when we come here, we cannot get it because of residence. We do not know where to go anyway. Children of Syrian families are given aid every month, but not for our children"*. As can be understood from Child 3's father's statements, the social support mechanisms of SAW families and children constantly change or disappear due to the displacement.

DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE

In the study, it was observed that the children of the SAW families faced peer bullying in their schools. Also, in the interviews with their teachers, it was stated that some of the SAW children experienced discrimination by local children due to their late starting at school and use of different dialects of Turkish.

Child2 expressed this issue as follows: *"My friends at school do not play with me and do not let me join their groups because I started school after them. When my sister does not come, I do not want to go to school either because I am left alone. Sometimes they call me dirty when my clothes are dirty"*.

Besides, it was observed that the families only interacted socially with other SAW families due to their differences in lifestyles, culture, and language in their region. *"It is observed that SAW families are isolated in a homogeneous social structure in this respect, and that this situation is also effective when families are located in areas far from the areas where local families live."* Researcher's Diary dated 10.03.2020.

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Although seasonal agricultural work is a phenomenon encountered in many different parts of the world, information about the living conditions of these families and their children is quite limited (Henderson, 2004). In this study, which deals with SAW families and children, migration due to agricultural labor, which is the main source of livelihood, is an important factor in determining the welfare of families and children. In particular, migration has significant effects on the family structure of SAW families. The family structure differs according to the migrated region and the region lived in before the migration. There is an extended family structure and a collective structure in the regions where families lived before migrating to agricultural areas. However, in the regions where they come for agricultural work, the nuclear family structure is seen instead of the extended family structure. This change in the family structure causes young children to be alone, especially during the period when parents work in agricultural areas. This situation also disrupts the process of supporting the care and education of children. The fact that families have an extended family structure before migration enables them to receive support from other family members in child care. In addition, considering the working time of parents in agricultural areas, the time they spend with their children is limited. However, it is a vulnerable developmental period when preschool children need parental support the most. In this respect, considering the working hours and workload of SAW families, child care in families poses an important problem. When the relevant literature is examined, child care is one of

the common problems in SAW families in different parts of the world (Baş, 2019; Henderson, 2004; Oto & Gündoğdu, 2022). However, in different parts of the world, SAW and nomadic families and their children seem to be present in their programs for SAW Children's. For example, migrant and seasonal Head Start (MSHS) programs are implemented for families and children in some countries. Similarly, families from different cultures and different lifestyles, such as Alaska Native families in the United States, are supported by Head Start programs. However, the majority of SAW families and children living in other parts of the world do not receive support for the children's development (Fishman & Wille, 2014).

Another finding of the research is the legal status and language of SAW families in the country. In the present study, all the SAW families state that they are Turkish citizens, but classify themselves as Kurds in terms of ethnicity. When other studies conducted with SAW families in Turkey are examined in general, it is seen that these families mostly come from the eastern and southeastern Anatolian regions of the country (Uzun, 2015). In this region of the country, people of Kurdish, Arab and Turkish ethnic origin live together, and Kurdish is spoken extensively. The SAW families, which is the focus of the current study, use Kurdish at home and Turkish in social life in the region they migrated to. The use of the two different languages at home and in social life negatively affects the daily lives of some family members because they cannot speak Turkish. In addition, it causes problems for parents who do not speak Turkish in supporting their children's education, and can limit their social interactions. This finding of the present study is supported by the research conducted to analyze SAW families in different regions of Turkey. In fact, it is seen that two different languages, Turkish/Arabic or Turkish/Kurdish, are used in SAW communities in different regions of the country (Semerci et al., 2014). Differences in languages spoken at home and in the community can limit the social interaction of families and children with local people in agricultural areas and in some cases cause them to be exposed to prejudiced behavior. In addition, the different languages spoken at home and in the community can cause problems for family members in accessing health, education and other services, as they cannot express themselves in Turkish. Considering the families participating in the current research in terms of health conditions and access to health services, the places where families live in agricultural areas are very risky in terms of health. The fact that the living areas of families and children are intertwined with agricultural areas can leave them vulnerable to risks and dangers. A different study conducted with SAW families who work in hazelnut harvesting, Uzundere (2015) similarly stated that families faced similar housing problems and that the housing areas were not suitable for families and children in terms of health.

In this respect, there is a need to improve the housing conditions of families in seasonal agricultural areas. On the other hand, it was seen that the families participating in the research did not have any problems in accessing health services other than the language barrier. Studies on the health status and access to health services of SAW families in different regions of Turkey reveal that they have problems in accessing health services (Özbekmezci & Sahil, 2004; Uzun 2015). However, the difference in the findings of the current study can be considered to be related to the fact that the region where the families worked in the current study is close to the city or district center.

The current study show that the social support mechanisms of the SAW families were limited to their families, relatives, and other families engaged in seasonal agricultural work. It was seen that the children were affected by the migration process because of being dependent on families in the growth and development stages of children and feeling inadequate in self-protection. The displacement of the families due to migration caused them to be separated from family members, who are their primary social support sources. The children were deprived of support provided by their grandparents, who take care of young children while the parents work in the field. However, the SAW families solved this situation by supporting each other thanks to providing supervision and care to all children in turn. It was observed that the children had difficulties adapting to the new school environment because of the migration process. Similar studies may indicate that the migration and new social environment of

migrants in SAW families have adverse emotional and social effects on family members and children (Hovey & Magaña, 2002; Oto & Gündoğdu, 2022). Anxiety/depression, hyperactivity symptoms, low self-esteem, post-traumatic stress disorder, low life satisfaction, and neurotic problems due to school failure are the most common problems of children from migrant and SAW families (Özbekmezci & Sahil, 2004). Each family may deteriorate in specific periods, depending on social, economic, cultural, political and health factors. It is unclear when crises and traumas will occur in the family life cycle, and it is a normal part of family life. However, it is crucial for families to re-balance and develop resistance from trauma and crises (Walsh, 2016). When the SAW families were examined in terms of their situation regarding trauma and crisis in their families, they had to migrate regularly every year from the regions they live in. It was observed that the families tried to maintain their cultural values in their pre-migration places of residence in the regions they came to for agricultural work and attempted to balance the two different sociocultural structures.

SAW families are in constant displacement due to migration. While extended family structures are an essential source of social support for them because they are the family structures they have in their original residential areas, some problems may arise in terms of social support networks if some family members do not come to the regions they migrated to. It is thought that the solution for having access to services, such as education, security, and health, for seasonal agricultural worker families and their children is to provide settled life (Oto & Gündoğdu, 2022). Similarly, in different areas of the world, it has been suggested that families should be settled in many intervention programs and practices for access to education (Henderson, 2004), health, and other services for culturally nomadic communities that are dependent on animal husbandry (Dyer, 2010; Wlsh, 2017). On the other hand, SAW families' semi-nomadic life, whose primary source of income is agriculture, has to continue in terms of economic inadequacy.

The SAW families have a homogeneous peer group consisting of their siblings and cousins, as their agricultural lands are far from their settlements. For children, homogeneous peer groups in agricultural areas are very active in their relations and spend time together all day long. However, when SAW children participate in school life, their peer groups are heterogeneous and consist of intensely local children who differ from their own cultures. Changing peer groups at home and school cause SAW children to be exposed to social exclusion due to reasons such as lifestyle and language differences. As it is known, life style, culture and language differences can be an important reference for the initiation and continuation of peer relations for peers. When studies on SAW families are examined, it is seen that families are generally exposed to social exclusion in the regions where they work in agricultural work due to cultural and language differences and lifestyles (Beydili Gürbüz 2017; Jackson, 2019). When this finding is evaluated in terms of discrimination, prejudice and racism, it is seen that families and children experience marginalization due to different ethnicities, lifestyles, and language differences. This finding of the study is similar to the findings of other studies. In a study by Baş (2019) on SAW families in Turkey, it was seen that the exclusion of SAW families was a reason for marginalization in the regions where they worked. Similarly, it was seen that workers working in agricultural areas in Canada were exposed to racial and economic exclusion (Jackson, 2019).

In this respect, SAW families and their children need to be supported psychosocially, economic and related educational deficiencies should be eliminated, and their living conditions, which are among the main factors in their marginalization and discrimination, should be improved.

The present study provided information on SAW families as a disadvantaged group in terms of the lives of families and children and the factors affecting their lives. It was observed that the extended family structure in local settlements turned into a nuclear family structure in agricultural areas due to the migration of the SAW family structure to agricultural areas. This change in the family structure caused the families to be separated from their family members, who are a source of social support. In addition, the absence of family members who take care of children in the large family structure in agricultural areas left the children alone and vulnerable during the working time of their parents. This

situation created a big problem, especially in terms of ensuring the safety of children. The majority of the SAW families stated that they were ethnically Kurdish and that their legal status was Turkish citizenship. The families spoke Kurdish at home and Turkish in social life. This situation partially caused problems in the education of children, especially in supporting the education of the children of the parents who could not speak Turkish, and in the process of access to health. In the SAW families, most of the family members worked without social security and rights. In addition, it was determined that the families generally faced economic problems, which created a disadvantage in terms of shelter, health and hygiene, and nutritional conditions as the basic life needs of the families and children. SAW children have problems with access to education, access and participation. In case of access to education, continuity in education cannot be ensured depending on factors such as migration, culture and language. Furthermore, the SAW families and their children were seen to be marginalized in the regions where they worked as workers due to factors such as ethnicity, lifestyle, economic status, and language differences. On the other hand, the families and children led an isolated social life in agricultural areas and therefore needed psychosocial support. In addition to all these, the illiteracy of mothers in SAW families constitutes an important obstacle in supporting their children's development and education. For this reason, it is recommended to support SAW with literacy education and parent education programs for parents.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The first author made significant contributions to the planning of the research, data collection, data analysis, findings, and discussion.

The second author contributed to the data analysis and discussion section and undertook the tasks of editing and translation into English.

The third author contributed to the presentation of the findings and preparation for publication.

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