VOICES OF CHILDREN AT WORKPLACES:

CHILDREN'S PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR LIVES AT SCHOOL AND WORK

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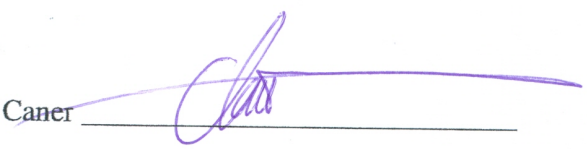
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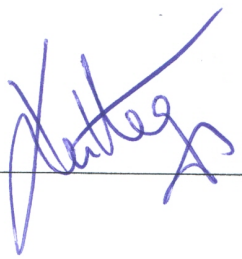
Children's Perspectives on their Lives at School and Work

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August 2015

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Tümay Algan Ferrara, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

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Date 15.08.2015

ABSTRACT

Voices of Children at Workplaces:

Children's Perspectives on Their Lives at School and Work

This study aimed to understand children's perspectives on their school and work experiences. These children were interviewed about their experiences, aspirations, school and work relationships. The study focused on 17 secondary school students who work while enrolled in school. Working children aged 11 to 14 who attended "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" courses were chosen as participants using the convenience sampling method. After the children were individually interviewed, the data gathered was analyzed. All of the children discussed aspirations to occupations which necessitate high school or university graduation. Fifteen of the 17 children said they prefer school to work. Overall, feelings were positive towards friends and teachers despite mentions of difficulties at school. They emphasized that their relationships with teachers determined their attitudes towards education. They liked school when the teacher was warm and entertaining. When they felt emotionally rejected or punished by their teachers, their success and attitudes were negatively influenced, thus creating negative attitudes towards education. The data indicated that the children spend substantial amounts of their lives working. They have no time for relaxation, study, or play. Despite exhausting work conditions, the children felt positive about contributing to their family's budget for household or school expenses. Moreover, the children stated social acceptance was the factor for them to be positive towards a school or work environment. Analysis shows, if children find social acceptance at school, then it is favored; if they find it at work, work is preferred.

ÖZET

İş Yerlerindeki Çocukların Sesleri:

Çocukların Okul ve İş Hayatlarına Bakışları

Bu çalışma, çocukların okuldaki ve iş hayatındaki deneyimlerini anlamayı amaçlamıştır. Çocukların deneyimleri, okul ve iş hayatındaki ilişkileri ve gelecekle ilgili hayalleri hakkında onlarla görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Çalışma, ortaokula giden ve aynı zamanda çalışan 17 öğrenciye odaklanmıştır. Kolay ulaşılabilir durum örneklemesi yöntemi kullanılmış, okullarındaki "İşimiz Okumak" kurslarına katılan ve çalışan 11-14 yaşları arasındaki ortaokul öğrencileri katılımcı olarak seçilmiştir. Çocuklarla yüz yüze görüşmeler yapılmış, görüşmelerden elde edilen bulgular analiz edilmiştir. Araştırma sonucunda, bütün çocukların ileride, en azından liseyi ya da üniversiteyi bitirmelerini gerektirecek bir iş sahibi olma arzuları olduğu görülmüştür. On yedi çocuktan 15'i iştense okulu tercih ettiğini belirtmiştir. Zaman zaman derslerde zorlandıklarını, öğretmenlerle çatıştıklarını, arkadaşları ile problem yaşadıklarını dile getirmelerine rağmen, çoğunlukla, arkadaş ve öğretmenlerine karşı olumlu duygularını ifade etmişlerdir. Çocuklar öğretmenlerinin, dersleri ve okulu sevip sevmemelerinde temel etken olduğunu, öğretmenleri sıcak bir tutumla ve eğlenceli yöntemlerle dersleri anlattığında okulu daha çok sevdiklerini söylemişlerdir. Duygusal olarak öğretmenleri tarafından reddedildiklerinde ve cazalandırıldıklarında, çocukların başarıları ve okula dair duyguları da olumsuz olarak etkilenmektedir. Analizler, çocukların günlerinin önemli bir bölümünü işte geçirdiklerini, dinlenme, oynama ve ders çalışmaya yeterli zamanı ayıramadıklarını göstermiştir. İş yerlerindeki şartlar yorucu olmasına rağmen, kazançları ile ev bütçesine ve okul harcamalarına katkı sağlamaktan dolayı olumlu hissetmektedirler.

Analizler, çocukların sosyal kabulu deneyimledikleri ortamın onlar için önemli olduğunu, sosyal kabulu okulda bulduklarında okulun, işte bulduklarında işin önem kazandığını göstermiştir.

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contributed, not only editing my work, but also through his valuable support, inspiration, wise insight, and his admiring personality. He always motivates me to continue, makes me laugh when I really feel discouraged, and keeps my hope alive for the future. I am lucky to share my life with you, my beloved husband.

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Last but not least, I would like to offer my deepest gratitude to the children who participated in this study and shared their stories with me in the interviews. Without their cooperation, it would not have been possible to carry out this study. I hope the future will bring a better Turkey for them.

Thank you, one and all.

To the children who might not be as lucky as their peers;
children whose development is at risk;
children who don't have access to quality education;
children who live through war; and
children whose labor robs them of their childhood.

I hope one day all children will have a wonderful childhood,
equal rights, and a fair chance in life.

This thesis is dedicated to all children
and
to my precious dad, who gave me a very special childhood.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A.Y. was a 13-year-old student who at the same time was a child worker in a plastic factory. On March 14, 2013, A.Y. left his house for work but never returned. A.Y. was killed in a machine press. At an age when he should have been playing, learning, and growing, A.Y. was exploited and thrown aside (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey [DISK], 2013). This is a typical example drawn from a newspaper about a situation in which children under 14 are forced to work by their families. A.Y. had left Urfa for Adana (from a Southeastern city to a Mediterranean city in Turkey) with his large family to start a new life. When his father lost all of his money, nobody prevented A.Y. from working, although it was known that it is illegal for a 13-year-old child to work. His parents made him work to contribute to the family budget so that his brothers and sisters could have enough food. At school his teachers did not recognize his fatigue was due to his working every day after school hours. Even though this neighborhood was well known for supplying illegal jobs, which include those involving child labor, the authorities did not really take precautions to stop them. The employer, too, was aware that it was illegal to hire a 13-year-old child but hired A.Y. and other children as well. After a short time, the employer gave A.Y. and one of his friends a heavier workload and moved the children from the packing section to the machines. Despite the machine work being more demanding, neither A.Y.'s nor his 13-year-old co-worker's pay increased. Caring only about his own profits, the employer allowed these children to work on the machines where security sensors were disabled so that the production would be faster but consequently more dangerous.

This typical example stated above is among many documented work-related accidents each year in which children were injured or died in Turkey. In a study done by Semerci, Müderrisoğlu, Çakar, Karatay, and Akkan (2012), there are children working illegally in industry, agriculture, on the street, and in their homes taking care of their siblings or housework, and 8.2% of these child laborers have had an accident in their workplace. Each one of the millions of working children in Turkey and in the world has a story somewhat similar to A.Y.'s. There were several factors preventing A.Y. from having a proper childhood, from his micro-system, consisting of his family, peers, educators, and neighbors to his macro-system, including beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies of his broader culture. Unfortunately, the protective factors for the benefit of his childhood and his life were dwarfed by the risk factors. Before A.Y. lost his life, he had lost his childhood. For the benefit of other children at work, we should understand the reasons why these children have an adult-like life rather than a child-like life. This study aimed to understand the conditions of children who work and attend school, and how their child-like life turned into an adult-like life, from their perspectives.

A "child" is defined internationally as someone under the age of 18. "Child labor" refers to the employment of children in any work that interferes with a child's ability to attend school regularly and that is mentally, physically, socially, or morally harmful, that therefore deprives them of a regular childhood (International Labor Organization [ILO], 2012). In addition, child labor also interferes with their spare time to play, to relax, or to study for those who combine school enrollment with their work. Child labor existed before globalization, even as early as the Industrial Revolution. However, today it becomes a very serious problem especially for underdeveloped countries in which child labor is most common (Elçi, 2012; Akın,

2009). These countries are faced with both social and economic problems as well as unemployment. For instance in Turkey, 15% of the population live below the poverty line and 13% of the population suffer from chronic poverty (TUIK, 2014). Very recent statistics show that 16 million 706 thousand people live in poverty and among those people 44.3% are children (TUIK, 2015). Under these circumstances, children from poor socioeconomic family backgrounds are obliged to enter the workforce. Due to the economic problems of their families, children are forced to or choose to work in unhealthy working conditions (Akın, 2009; Elçi, 2012). Children make important economic contributions to their families (Liebel, 2004; Elçi, 2012). While making their contributions to their families, they are faced with many problems, including school absenteeism. Working leads to the increased likelihood that the children will drop out of school.

Child labor is a complex issue of human rights and social justice. The complexity of the problem also causes complex difficulties for the solution. There are actions taken to fight against child labor. However, there are also strong obstacles to these actions because of the short-term gains from child labor for families and for employers. Child labor provides additional salary for the family or cheap workforce for the employers (Elçi, 2012). Due to these obstacles, laws regarding child labor and the degree to which they are seldom enforced result in a great number of child labor issues. In order to keep children out of the workforce, we need restrictions and laws for workplaces and also social policies to fight poverty, unemployment, and the lack of a social welfare system (Çağlar, 2010). Durgun (2011) also suggests that there should be a fight against unemployment and income inequalities. Otherwise, because child labor results in more gains in the markets and income for the families,

especially when family income is low due to economic crises, unemployment, and health problems, children will continue to be forced to work (Durgun, 2011).

1.1 Purpose of the study

Child labor affects school enrollment, attendance, grade repetition, and literacy rates (ILO, 2014). As children are involved in workforce for longer periods, they are at risk of dropping out of school. School dropouts cause more problems in the future for the society. However, working is not the only reason for school dropout. In their study, Cemalcılar and Gökşen (2014) tried to find out the impact of social risk factors on dropout rates in compulsory education and if school-related social capital helps students stay at school even though they are exposed to social risk factors. They found if students who are at risk (family social capital is low) lack social and academic support, they leave school before graduation. But even if there are social inequalities, a supportive and stimulating social environment creates powerful incentives to stay in school (Cemalcılar & Gökşen, 2014). So, school-related social capital and the way school environment makes the children feel are important for us to investigate the reasons for school dropout.

Jordan, McPartland, and Lara (1999) categorized the reasons for school dropout into "push" or "pull" effects. Push effects include reasons that cause feelings of alienation, failure, and dropout inside the school environment, whereas pull effects include reasons external to the school environment that weaken the students and distract them from school completion (Jordan, McPartland, & Lara, 1999). Therefore, it is also possible to prevent school dropouts by changing the reasons related with school even if children continue to work. In order to prevent school dropouts, schools, communities, and families should work together. Also, prevention

programs should effectively reduce dropping out by taking into account particular needs of students.

Thus, an effective prevention method encompasses three stages of prevention:

> The primary stage—District- and school-wide reforms aimed at providing high-quality instruction that promotes engaged learning and successful high school completion for every student,
> The secondary stage—Targeted interventions for small groups of students who need additional supports to address attendance, behavior, or academic struggles,
> The tertiary stage—Intensive intervention, often delivered one-on-one by specialists, for students who need more clinical support. (Mac Iver & Mac Iver, 2009, p. 2)

Student disengagement in school and school dropout can be understood by observing the early warning signs such as high absenteeism, behavior problems, and course failure (failure to complete assignments and to pass courses) even as early as the middle school years. These predictors are named "the ABCs" of the school dropout early warning system. Timely interventions can significantly reduce a student's dropout risk (Mac Iver & Mac Iver, 2009).

While passing applicable legislation and developing effective measures to keep these children in school, it is also important to understand the children's point of view and how they perceive their world. The guiding principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child suggest in Article 12 due "respect for the views of the child" (Child Rights International Network, 2012):

> When adults are making decisions that affect children, children have the right to say what they think should happen and have their opinions taken into account. This does not mean that children can now tell their parents what to do. This Convention encourages adults to listen to the opinions of children and involve them in decision-making – not give children authority over adults. (Guiding principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 12)

Woodhead (1999) agrees and believes that this includes the child labor debate in that "working boys and girls are quite capable of forming rational and sensible opinions that are worth hearing." (p. 30). He underlines the children's important roles by stating these words: "As the major stakeholder, children's perspectives should be especially influential in the 'child labor debate'" (Woodhead, 1999, p. 46).

Also, learning about why some children who have similar conditions are more prone to stay at school while others have the tendency to drop out is important. Just like knowing the causes of school dropout for working children, learning what keeps some of them at school can give us clues for contributing to the solution of the problem (Erktin, Okçabol, & Ural, 2010).

Thus, if we can see the children's world from their perspective, listen to their feelings and perceptions, understand their needs and how work or school affects their lives, state the pull and push effects properly and plan interventions accordingly, then they will likely be eager to benefit from the interventions and stay in school. Yet, there is a limited number of studies published mentioning the children's own thoughts about their lives at school and work from a psychological counseling point of view. School counselors and teachers are among the individuals at school who can achieve a real understanding of children's lives, so that they can be more helpful to them while the children are still enrolled. These children adapt to school more easily and smoothly when there are people in place who understand their problems and can make school-wide interventions.

1.2 Significance of the study

This study is a unique example in terms of building a course of action to understand children's lives at work and at the same time at school, and also their feelings and their core relationships in these settings, from a counseling perspective. The

significance of this study is to light the way for further research about children's own reasons for continuing to stay at school so that we may plan more effective interventions. Also, there is a limited number of qualitative studies that are conducted in Turkey about child labor, particularly about working children who are still enrolled in school. However, qualitative studies bring a deeper form of understanding to life experiences, perceptions, or such problems as school dropout.

With these aims, working children were interviewed at Istanbul middle schools in 2013. The children came from schools which were involved in "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study," a project which has aimed to reduce the number of working children in poor school districts and redirect them to full-time education since 2010. That project took place in 10 schools in eight districts in the 2012-2013 school year and continued with seven schools in four districts in the 2014-2015 school year.

1.3 Research questions

This study addresses the following questions:

Among the working children under 15 years old who attend "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" courses at their own middle schools,

1. What are the students' perspectives on school life: their school environment, studies, teachers, and friendships?
2. What are the students' perspectives on work life: their work environment, work, and co-workers?

1.4 Organization of the study

This study consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 introduced the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, and the research questions. Chapter 2 introduces a review of literature on child labor, which covers the definition of child labor, reasons

for child labor, consequences of child labor, combatting child labor in the world, and child labor in Turkey. Chapter 3 describes the research methodology. Chapter 4 includes the findings, which are derived from the data analysis. Chapter 5 presents the discussion of the findings, limitations, conclusions, and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter contains a review of literature on child labor. First of all, the concept of child labor will be defined. Later, reasons for child labor will be discussed. After that, the consequences of child labor will be mentioned. Some examples of the practices to combat child labor from all over the world will be introduced. Finally, child labor in Turkey will be explained through the statistics, reasons, and interventions.

2.1 Definition of child labor

Child labor differs from the activities children participate in such as earning pocket money, helping the family business, or assisting their parents around the house. Those activities contribute to children's development, provide them with skills and experience, and help prepare them to be productive members of society during their adult life.

What is child labor then? The International Labor Organization (ILO) defines child labor as:

> work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. Child labor refers to work that:
> - is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and
> - interferes with their schooling by:
> - depriving them of the opportunity to attend school;
> - obliging them to leave school prematurely; or
> - requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.
>
> In its most extreme forms, child labor involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities – often at a very early age. (ILO, 2015)

According to the research conducted by the International Labor Organization (ILO, 2014), the number of children between the ages of five and 14 who are working worldwide decreased by one third from 186 million to 120 million between years 2000 and 2012. The numbers decreased even more dramatically, from 111 million to 38 million, for the children in hazardous work. According to the report by ILO, most of the child labor incidences (59%) are found in agriculture (ILO, 2014). ILO's earlier estimations were that 283 million children between the ages of 12 and 17 cannot go to school because they are working (ILO, 2010).

The situation is not better for children in Turkey. In Turkey, there are 893,000 working children. About 292,000 of those children are between the ages of six and 14 and 601,000 of them are 15 to 17 (Turkish Statistical Institute [TUIK], 2013). Problems about this situation will be mentioned after the reasons for the employment of child labor are discussed.

2.2 Reasons for child labor

Reasons for child labor can be categorized into three headings: economic factors, cultural factors, and family factors.

2.2.1 Economic factors

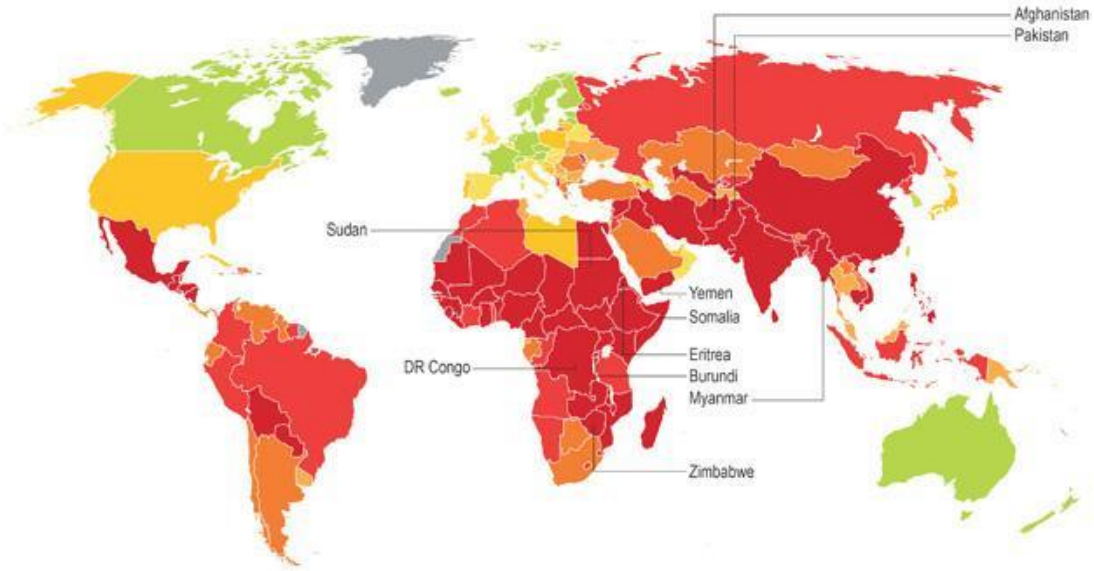
Child labor started in large numbers with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the 1800s. Before the second half of the 20th century, numerous children aged 5-14 years old were working in agriculture, factories, mining, or small services like newspaper delivery. Even though the numbers decreased through years with some legislation, child labor is still a problem, especially in underdeveloped and developing countries with high poverty and poor schooling opportunities. Sunal (2011) also found a significant relationship between average national income and child labor rates in 148 countries (Sunal, 2011). ILO (2014) progress report shows

that the highest percentages of working children (23%) are in low-income countries (ILO, 2014). According to existing United Nations Children's Fund data (2012), over 50% of children in sub-Saharan Africa aged between five and 14 years old are working. Today, the serious incidents of children working in cocoa production, mining, meat packing, silk weaving, or manufacturing for big corporations are hot topics for discussions regarding child labor. Poverty and a lack of schools across the world as a result of neoliberal policies and global income inequality, which are considered the primary causes of child labor (The United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2012).

According to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development report (OECD, 2003), even though there is a fight to eliminate child labor all around the world, it is not that easy to eliminate. As poverty and limited access to good education in the poor areas continue, and as families see no benefit from sending their children to school, the families will put their children to work for economic benefit. These families make a choice between suffering from poverty and sending their children to school and usually they prefer putting their children to work due to the poverty and desperation (Uzundere, 2015). So, it is important to understand the factors related to economic development and also values of the families that lead to child labor (OECD, 2003). In the same report, child labor is mentioned as a reason to undervalue human capital because children cannot attend school as they should. As children cannot have proper education, they cannot have more qualified jobs and contribute to economic growth and, in turn, cannot provide high-quality education for future generations (OECD, 2003).

Similarly, according to the Maplecroft 2014 Child Labor Index, worsening global security and the economic crisis increased the risk of child labor violations in

10% of 197 countries. Nearly 83 countries of the 197 countries are classified as "extreme risk" in the index. Over 50% of the extreme risk countries in the Child Labor Index are in Sub-Saharan Africa. Eritrea and Somalia are ranked joint first while Democratic Republic of Congo, Myanmar, Sudan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Zimbabwe, Yemen and Burundi are the other worst performers as shown in Figure 1.



		Rank	Country	Rating	Rank	Country	Rating
Extreme risk		1	Eritrea	Extreme	6	Afghanistan	Extreme
High risk		1	Somalia	Extreme	6	Pakistan	Extreme
Medium risk		3	DR Congo	Extreme	8	Zimbabwe	Extreme
Low risk		3	Myanmar	Extreme	9	Yemen	Extreme
No Data		3	Sudan	Extreme	10	Burundi	Extreme

Fig.1. Child labour index 2014
Source: Maplecroft, 2013

The reason is shown as the link between household poverty and child labor. When children from poor families are kept out of school to work, they are under risk of future unemployment so they have limited prospects for upward social mobility, which creates a cycle of poverty for generations.

That is why, according to many authorities, child labor cannot be eliminated all of a sudden, as it has a strong relationship with poverty. For this reason, they suggest to start reformation with the worst forms of child labor as a more realistic approach. In the long run, fighting poverty helps eliminate child labor (Avşar, 2012; Woodhead, 1999).

2.2.2 Cultural factors

In some cultures, cultural practices inhibit especially girls from pursuing their education (Durgun, 2011). In these cultures, children are believed to be the most beneficial to their families if they are equipped with skills necessary for having an occupation and income as early in life as possible. In these cultures, children's economical values have priority for families (Günöz, 2007). Often education is not valued. Free time and play time are seen as a waste of time. For girls particularly, any time spent outside of home is thought to invite danger and corruption. Work is seen as an opportunity to both build character and improve skills and discipline. Also, in order to struggle with poverty, children should learn some of the same low-paid occupations their parents practice and they should follow their parents' footsteps early in life, just to continue the current family conditions. Sometimes girls are considered not valuable enough to have formal education in the eyes of their families. These cultural beliefs rationalize child labor in the eyes of families (Tunç, 2009).

2.2.3 Family factors

According to an OECD report, children engage in economic activities as a result of family circumstances and pressures (2003). Webbink et al. (2013) investigated child labor in 18 developing countries for 239,120 children and they found that the resources and characteristics of family structure have an effect on child labor. If

parents have a lower educational level, have occupations in farming, live in poor or rural areas, and have larger families, then children work more.

Similarly, Wadgave and Lata (2013) through research in India found that 5.2% of children aged 5-14 work more than four hours a day for their family and they also found poverty, poor parental support, lack of education, and family problems (chronic illness in the family, death of parents, broken families, violence in the family) to be the most common reasons for child labor. They also found the fear of repeated failure as another reason to avoid school (Wadgave & Lata, 2013).

2.3 Consequences of child labor

Child labor has short- and long-term negative effects on children's lives, on their health and overall development, and does irrevocable harm to their education. Heyman, Raub, and Cassola (2013) mention several empirical study results, which show that children who are forced to work attend school less frequently and become less successful academically compared to those who are not forced to work. One of these studies is Boozer and Suri's study on seven- to 18-year-olds in Ghana. They found each hour of work that a child performed decreased his or her school attendance by 0.38 h (as cited in Heyman et al., 2001). In another study of Beegle et al., having seven working hours per week has been found to lead to a 30% decrease in a child's likelihood of attending school and a 6% reduction in the average years of schooling completed (as cited in Heyman et al., 2004). Similarly, according to Assaad, Levison, and Zibani, working 14 or more hours per week is found to have a significant negative effect on girls' school attendance in Egypt (as cited in Heyman et al., 2010). Even though children's education is clearly hindered by work, Basu and Tzannatos state that the earnings of these children may increase the probability that their siblings will attend to school (as cited in Heyman et al., 2003).

When children are forced to work due to poverty, this results in future unemployment and poverty for their lives and is also a barrier against development for the society. Economic disadvantages are not the only drawbacks for the development of children in poverty. Children in poverty have also sociological disadvantages. UNICEF describes children who live in poverty as the individuals who cannot benefit from their rights, reach their full potential to their highest level or cannot contribute to society as an equal member because they are deprived from the economical and emotional resources necessary for them to live, grow, and develop (UNICEF, 2005). Families in poverty not only are insufficient to meet the physical, cognitive, and everyday needs of their children but also cause their children to be abused, violated, and discriminated against while working (Durgun, 2011).

According to Avşar and Öğütoğulları (2012), there are physical, psychological, social, and moral drawbacks of child labor. Heavy physical work harms physical development of children during an important period of their lives, when they are still growing. Working in deprecating conditions at the workplace may harm their psychological development. Children who are required to work in such deprecating conditions usually have an unsuccessful school life and will not be able to find the economic stability necessary to pull themselves or the next generation out of this vicious cycle. Also, because most working children are away from their families' protection, their safety is at risk and they are more likely to be exploited, become addicted to substances, or engage in crime (Avşar & Öğütoğulları, 2012).

Regarding the consequences of child labor in Turkey, the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK) reports children in the workforce in Turkey are abused in terms of their rights and being an underpaid workforce (DISK, 2015). Öncu, Kurt, Esenay and Özer (2013) studied abusive conditions at work for

children in Turkey and found out that 62.5% of them are exposed to abuse or neglect where they work, including: physical abuse (21.8%), emotional abuse (53.6%), emotional neglect (28.7%), even sexual abuse (25.2%), and all of them were exposed to physical neglect or abuse.

2.4 Combating child labor in the world

Attempts to combat child labor on a global scale began early in the 20th century. In the 1919 International Labor Conference, the first Convention on Child Labor was accepted. This convention's aim was "Fixing the Minimum Age for Admission of Children to Industrial Employment" (Entry into force: 13 June 1921).

2.4.1 ILO Minimum Age Convention

In 1973, a more comprehensive Minimum Age Convention, Number 138, was adopted. It remains the fundamental standard. According to the ILO Labor Standards Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment, Article 1 suggests that as a national policy, each member that accepts this convention should ensure effective abolition of child labor and also raise the minimum age for admission to be employed. Article 2 states that minimum age shall not be less than 15 and also this should be consistent with the age of completion of compulsory schooling. Meanwhile, Article 3-1 states that for any type of work which is likely to imperil the health, safety or moral well-being of children, the minimum age for admission to employment shall not be less than 18 (ILO, 2012, "Minimum Age Convention, 1973").

2.4.2 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

On November 20th, 1989, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted. According to Article 28, children should have access to education as a right and primary education should be compulsory and free to all. With different forms

like general and vocational education, secondary education should be available for every child freely. Also information, guidance, and financial support should be accessible to families. School attendance and enrollment should be encouraged. Application of school discipline should keep children in school rather than pushing them away from school in accordance with the conventions. Parties to this convention should fight against illiteracy, especially in developing countries.

Child labor can be a barrier against Article 28 by causing children to drop out of school. However, Article 32 states:

> Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development (UN Convention on the rights of the child, Article 32).

This article also states that all legal implementations should be consistent with this article. All legislations and administrations should take this article into account and States Parties shall in particular:

> (a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;
> (b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;
> (c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article (UN Convention on the rights of the child, article 32).

Article 31 mentions the right of children to relaxation, leisure and play. So parties to this convention should respect and promote the right of children to attend many cultural, artistic, recreational, and leisure activities.

2.4.3 IPEC (International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labor)

The IPEC of ILO was established in 1992 to give international support to national programs to reach the standards and conventions of ILO and to develop policies and programs to fight child labor (OECD, 2003).

2.4.4 UNDP Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development

In 1995, the United Nations invited heads of State and Government to gather in Copenhagen for the United Nations Development Programme in order to recognize the significance of social development and human wellbeing. Through the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development, respect for relevant International Labor Organization conventions, including those on the prohibition of child labor, was promoted (United Nations, 1995).

2.4.5 ILO Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention

The Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, 1999 (No. 182), a convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor, was accepted by countries and they agreed to "take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor as a matter of urgency as it is indicated in Article 1." According to Article 2, "for the purposes of this Convention, the term child shall apply to all persons under the age of 18." Article 3(d) states: "For the purposes of this Convention, the term the worst forms of child labor comprises: … (d) work, which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children." According to Article 4:

> The types of work referred to under Article 3(d) shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards, in particular Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Worst Forms of Child Labor Recommendation (ILO, 1999).

2.4.6 Interventions for elimination of child labor from the world

All over the world, there are some good examples of the practices for the elimination of child labor. In this part, some of these examples will be shared.

2.4.6.1 Facilitating from Street to School through Mobile Schools

In Romania, parallel with the IPEC action program, a project for street children, called “Facilitating from Street to School through Mobile Schools”, was implemented by the organization called Save the Children. The Mobile Schools Project served between 2005 and 2006 and 45 children benefited from the project. The children were involved in educational activities to help them cover their educational gaps, and they also benefitted from services like counseling, health care, nutrition, and provision of clothing and hygiene products. The project aimed to support children’s integration into school and society, to improve various life skills, and to make them aware of both their rights and the dangers of street life (Save the Children, “Child Labor Dialogues”, 2006).

2.4.6.2 Combating Child Labor through Non-Formal Education among Pastoral Communities

Another example of practices for the elimination of child labor is a project from Kenya, which has been implemented since 2009.

In Kenya, due to the seasonal migratory work, children cannot attend school regularly and often have to drop out at an early age. In collaboration with ILO/IPEC Tackling Child Labor through Education (TACKLE), the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Labor, the Nanyoiye Community Development Organization developed a program to initiate an alternative, flexible education for children in the rural communities of Kenya to have access to basic education. Children in the Samburu Community attend the classes of a non-formal learning program from mid-afternoon to late evening. The local NGO mobilized over 200 children to attend what the local community calls Lchekuti (shepherd) classes. The government made a policy on the Alternative Provision of Basic Education and Training to support funds

for teaching, learning materials, teachers' salaries, and a meal per pupil per day, and alternative forms of delivering basic education (Nanyoiye Community Development Organization and Ministry of Education, "Child Labor Dialogues", 2009).

2.4.6.3 ABK2 Initiative: Take Every Action for Children Now (TEACh Now)

With the purpose of reducing child labor by 75% by 2015, the ABK2 Initiative in the Philippines facilitated a new Memorandum of Agreements, which focused on collaborative and effective work on the strategic direction of the Philippine Program against Child Labor (PPACL). The organization implemented a project with the Department of Education and the Department of Labor and Employment. The ABK2 project provided more than 30,000 children in 40 cities, who had absences and the inability to study due to work demands, with direct education assistance, including school supplies, help with school fees, and catch-up programs for struggling learners. The project supported the organization's capacity building and mobilization for protection of working children. Also, the project aimed to raise awareness for children, parents, teachers, and peer advocates, by using mass media campaigns, direct trainings, school lessons, and special events such as the "Anti Child Labor Award for Teachers" and the World Day Against Child Labor events. Monitoring and evaluation steps were also included in the project. Monitoring, as well as the implementation steps, helped encourage children and parents to stay in school. Thirty-six policies and 101 ordinances, including the Children's Welfare Code, were facilitated during the project years, 2007 to 2011 (World Vision Philippines, "Child Labor Dialogues", 2011).

2.4.6.4 Junior Farmer Field and Life Schools (JFFLS)

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has an approach called Junior Farmer Field and Life School (JFFLS), which has been

adopted in 16 countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East since 2003, to respond to the needs of vulnerable children and youth working in agriculture for their livelihoods in the vicious cycle of poverty.

JFFLS aims to empower children who live in rural communities and have low literacy levels by equipping them with coping strategies for gender-sensitive skills, providing them with useful information about how to be self-efficient and self-sufficient, and helping them sustain food security.

The JFFLS learning methodology and curriculum introduces children to knowledge about agriculture and life skills in an experiential way, which includes active learning components. The learning approach is adopted for their needs and level of understanding and includes agricultural, life, and entrepreneurship skills. Their learning approach is uniquely suited to rural communities and low literacy levels (FAO, "Child Labor Dialogues", 2013).

The projects mentioned above are some examples of the practices employed to struggle against child labor, which are implemented by various stakeholders from different regions and countries, including governments, non-government organizations, private sector initiatives, and international organizations.

2.5 Child labor in Turkey

Under the International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), Child Labor Research conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK, 2013) and ILO showed that in 2012, 5.9% of 15,247,000 children aged 6-17 were working.

After years of struggling against child labor and achieving gradually decreasing numbers from 1994 to 2006, between the years 2006-2012 there was an increase in the number of working children in Turkey. In 2012, 893,000 children were reported to be involved in child labor; in 2006, there were 890,000 (DISK,

2015). As shown in Table 1, while the number of working girls decreased from 194,000 to 171,000 for 15- to 17-year-olds, the number of working girls increased from 95,000 to 108,000 for six- to 14-year-olds. For boys, the situation is different. While the number of working boys decreased from 190,000 to 185,000 for six- to 14-year-olds, the number of working boys increased from 411,000 to 430,000 for 15- to 17-year-olds.

Table 1. Numbers on Child Labor in Turkey (Comparison in 2006 and 2012) (Thousand)

Age group		Engaged in Economic Activity in years	
		2006	2012
6-17 year olds	Total	890	893
	Boy	601	614
	Girl	289	279
6-14 year olds	Total	285	292
	Boy	190	185
	Girl	95	108
15-17 year olds	Total	605	601
	Boy	411	430
	Girl	194	171
Total Proportion (%)	Total	5.9	5.9
	Boy	7.8	7.9
	Girl	3.9	3.7

Source: TurkStat, Child Labor Force Statistics 2012, (2013).

As shown in Table 2, there are 292,000 children aged 6-14 and 601,000 aged 15-17. Some 50.2% of these children are not continuing their education. About 81.8% of working children between six and 14 years of age go to school, whereas 34.3% of working children between the ages of 15 and 17 go to school (TUIK, 2013).

Table 2. Number of Working Children Who Attend School by Age.

Working children	Number of working children attending school (Thousand)	Percentage of working children attending school (%)
6-17 year olds	893	49.8
6-14 year olds	292	81.80
15- 17 year olds	601	34.30

Source: TUIK, Child Labor Force Statistics 2012, (2013).

According to TUIK 2012 results, the number of children working in the worst forms of child labor increased from 362,000 (41%) to 413,000 (46%) compared to the 2006 results. Similarly, the number of children working in agriculture increased from 326,000 (37%) to 399,000 (45%). The increase of 66% in agriculture employment is due to the greater number of children between the ages of 6 and 14 entering the workforce (DISK, 2015).

Between 2006 and 2012, the number of children who work and study at the same time increased 64%, from 272,000 to 445,000, as shown in Table 3 (see Appendix A for the Table of Children Attending School by Age Group, Sex and Type of Activity, 2006-2012). Among those, the number of children in rural areas who are engaged in a work activity increased from 135,000 to 248,000 (83%), whereas in urban areas the increase is 137,000 to 197,000 (43%) (TUIK, 2013). The reasons for this increase in numbers will be mentioned in the following section.

2.6 Reasons for child labor in Turkey

As stated earlier, reasons for child labor are categorized under the headings of macroeconomic factors, family factors, and cultural factors. In her study, Bahar (2012) defined risk factors that contribute to child labor in Turkey under the headings of individual factors (including gender and the child birth order, school related factors, age), family factors (household income, household size, low parental education, or parental beliefs about education), and structural factors (economic development, migration, urban poverty, societal norms, legal context, and geographical area) claiming that with the help of the ecological perspective, the dynamics and contributing factors to the child labor issue can be better understood and, in turn, appropriate policies and interventions can be developed. Protective factors, which minimize the occurrence of child labor in high-risk populations, should be identified and then integrated into the preventive and intervention efforts for the risk group (Bahar, 2012).

2.6.1 Structural factors (macro-level obstacles)

Structural factors include many aspects and they are related with each other:

2.6.1.1 Economic factors

In Turkey, the employment rate is 49%. The average household net-adjusted disposable income per capita is 13,794 USD, which is lower than the OECD average of 23,938 USD, and the average household net financial wealth (the total value of a household's financial worth) per capita is 3,317 USD, which is much lower than the OECD average of 42,903 USD (OECD, 2014). As a result, children are put to work in order to increase family income for their survival. Değirmencioğlu, Acar, and Acar (2008) examined parents' practice of "hiring" children to better-off farmers and children being trafficked to urban areas to be forced to join criminal rings and

retained that both forms of child labor are consequences of poverty (Değirmencioğlu et al., 2008). Durgun (2011) conducted a study to understand child poverty in Turkey with the assumption that children are the ones who feel and are affected by the poverty the most. Children are among the most disadvantaged ones in terms of being exposed to poverty and their development is affected negatively by it. People who are exposed to poverty when they are young are the ones who are under the risk of future poverty in their lives. Furthermore, among the children there is also discrimination between girls and boys. Girls are mostly under the risk of poverty because they are not sent to have education (Durgun, 2011).

2.6.1.2 Migration and urban poverty

The migration movement started in Turkey in the 1950s, with surges in the 1980s and 1990s. However, migration led to a new urban underclass in big cities such as Istanbul. Levels of poverty in the city forced children to contribute to their family's income. In Altuntas's study (2003) conducted with working children on the street, it was shown that they were the children from families who had migrated from the southeastern part of Turkey due to forced migration (as cited in Bahar, 2003).

2.6.1.3 Societal norms

Kağıtçıbaşı states that socioeconomic development changes the value attributed to children. In the households in which the level of development and socioeconomic status is not as high and in which parents emphasize the importance of their children's contribution to the household economy, this is described as the "economic value of children." When the level of development and individual socioeconomic status increase, such as if there is an increase in education level, occupation level, income, urbanism, etc., the psychological value of children gains importance while the economic value of children loses importance (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982). Durgun (2011)

also mentions that families in poverty consider their children as a source of income so they prefer to have many children. Even though their salary is low, children are expected to contribute to the family budget. Waiting for them to complete their education is a very long waiting time for the families. However, when children are forced to work due to poverty, as stated before, this results in future poverty for their lives and also in a barrier against development for the society (Durgun, 2011). Also, due to culturally prescribed gender roles, a woman must stay at home to take care of the house and the children. Despite the potential income a wife may earn, traditional low-income families would rather put the husband and children to work.

2.6.1.4 Legal context

According to the Turkish Labor Act, the minimum age for working is 15. However, children who are 14 years old and who have completed eight years of primary education are allowed to perform only "light work" unless it inhibits their physical, cognitive development and their schooling (Bahar, 2012; The Official Gazette, 2004).

After the regulations in education changed in 1997, the increase in the number of years of compulsory education from five to eight years caused a drastic decrease in the number of children in the workforce. While the numbers of children in economic activities were approximately one million in 1994, that figure decreased to nearly five hundred thousand in 1999. According to the Child Workforce Survey in 1994, 8.5% of children in the 6-14 age groups were working, whereas in 1999 this number dropped to 4.2% (ILO, 2010). The 2001-2005 Development Plan identified poverty as the main reason for child labor and aimed to provide schooling opportunities for all children. However, between the years 2006 and 2012 the number of children in workforce increased again to over one million. Furthermore,

with the new “4+4+4” education policy (law no. 6287), with no compulsory preschool education (pre-K or Kindergarten), the government decreased the first grade starting age to five and a half years and divided the eight-year uninterrupted primary education into two stages, each lasting four years. According to the new law no. 6287, starting from the third stage, children can enter an open education high school or apprenticeship training at the age of 13 (MEB, 2012). Even though the government claims that they increased the duration of compulsory education from eight to 12 years, the fact that school starting age is one year earlier for children with the new regulation and also that open education school and vocational training can start at the age of 13 means children can be out of formal education one year earlier. This change in the law increases the risk of children starting to work at a younger age.

2.6.1.5 Geographical area

Children work both in urban and rural areas in Turkey. However, because the cost of living in urban areas is much higher and it is harder to cover expenditures, more children have to engage in economic activity in urban areas. Some 44.8% of working children in the age group 6-17 live in urban areas (TUIK, 2013).

2.6.1.6 Difficulties to enroll in good education

Even though public schools are free, there are some expenditures families have to cover to send their children to school. Instead, children start to contribute to family budget earlier in their lives. Additionally, in some neighborhoods especially in poor areas, families do not want to send their children to school for safety reasons because the neighborhoods are full of dangers. Also, most such families do not believe their children could complete or be successful at all levels in education so there will be no gains from spending time in education. For some families, on the other hand, the

education system they have access to is not producing the people with necessary qualifications for the workforce (for example, vocational schools with poor qualifications) and also unemployment is a problem for the people who complete education, so starting work earlier in life seems a more appropriate choice for their children rather than being at exactly the same starting point after years of enrollment in education (Karabulut, 1996).

In some cases, even the children explain alternative ideas to their families. According to a study, even though children are aware of the merits of education for the building of knowledge and self-respect and know the importance of acquiring literacy and numeracy, some children see education as being inadequate to prepare them for the labor market (Leonard, 2004). According to another study, only half of children see school as beneficial for improving job prospects (Woodhead, 1999).

2.6.2 Family factors

Household income, household size, parental education, and parental beliefs are among the reasons for child labor related with family factors.

In some families, child labor is the factor that keeps them above the poverty line. In these families, 13% of the family's total income is earned through children who work. Bahar's link between child labor and the household income level is supported in Dayıoğlu's study. Dayıoğlu (2006) mentions the link between the hourly wages of an adult male and the probability of his children's employment. According to the study, a 10% increase in adult male hourly wages causes a 2% decline in male and a 0.5% decline in female children's employment probability (Dayıoğlu, 2006).

According to the TUIK 2009 report, the poverty rate is higher in families with seven or more children than in families with three or four children (TUIK, 2009). There is a higher risk of poverty in families with more children.

Both illiteracy and the duration of schooling of the parents have an effect on the working status of children. Parents of working children are often undereducated. Bahar (2012) claims that whether or not mothers with low education allow their child to work might be related to how they value education. Additionally, parents' understanding of childhood, their beliefs about education, and children's gender roles affect the prevalence of child labor (Bahar, 2012).

2.6.3 Individual factors

Individual factors as reasons for child labor include children's age, gender, childbirth order, and school success.

2.6.3.1 Children's age

Being the oldest child in the family increases the probability of working in childhood. Acar conducted a comparative study about children who work on the street and in the service sector and found that children start working on the street earlier (at or before age of eight) than they start working in the service sector (between age 13 and 15). Acar also suggests that children who start working on the street might continue to work in the service sector later in life (Acar, 2010).

2.6.3.2 Gender

Boys are more likely to work in Turkey than girls, especially when they get older (TUIK, 2013). Gender also affects what kind of work children do and how many hours a day they work. Children spend long hours at work, with a mean rate per week of 51.1 hours. Boys work approximately six hours more than girls on average

in a week and one month more than girls in a year. While boys work for an average of 10.1 months, girls work 8.9 months (Dayıoğlu & Assaad, 2003).

2.6.3.3 Child birth order

Child birth order determines which children are more likely to work. Families might prefer not to send their children to school or they have to choose which child would attend school to minimize their expenses. So, in order to send younger children to school, older children are sometimes sent to work (Yükseker, 2007).

2.6.3.4 School related factors

According to Bahar (2012), school success might be an important factor for low-income families in Turkey in determining which child will be sent to work. Orazem and Gunnarsson's study (2004) suggests that parents have the tendency to keep their older children at school if they are successful; in that case, they prefer to put their younger, less academically promising children to work (cited in Bahar, 2004).

School drop out is another important factor related with child labor. According to Lehr et al. (2005), the conditions affecting school dropouts are classified into one of two categories: push effects and pull effects.

Some factors push students out of school, such as a dislike for the school, negative relations with teachers, and failing grades, which make the students feel discouraged. These factors are called "push effects" and make children feel they do not belong at school whereas the term "pull effects" is used for the outside factors that cause children to drop out of school such as a feeling of obligation to work towards contributing to the family budget, taking care of younger or elder members of the family, marriage, having babies at a young age, etc. The factors contributing to school completion, on the other hand, can include feeling of belonging to school, having a reason to graduate, having good relationships with and getting support from

friends and teachers, and joining extracurricular activities at school. When children feel successful and identify with the school, they attend more. When children are asked about their lives at school and at work, they give important clues about the pull effects, push effects and the signs of possible future dropout (Lehr et al., 2005).

2.7 Combating child labor in Turkey

Even though international organizations such as ILO, IPEC, UNICEF, and World Bank supported the Turkish government with funds and technical assistance to improve basic education for all children, it is necessary to take the problems of working children in Turkey into account in order to succeed at the level of basic international standards (Ertürk & Dayıoğlu, 2004).

These are some of the international partners who supported the improvements in Turkey in the new millennium:

Turkey signed the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child on September 14, 1990 and ratified it on December 9, 1994. Turkey ratified ILO Labor Standards C138 - Minimum Age Convention on October 30, 1998 and ILO Worst Forms of Child Labor on 1999 (No. 182). Turkey ratified C182 - Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor on August 2, 2001 and agreed "to take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor as a matter of urgency" as it is indicated in Article 1.

Other than signing the United Nations Convention and Memorandum of Understanding with the ILO, Turkey is also one of 92 countries in the International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC) that supports reaching the standards and following the conventions of ILO and developing policies and

programs to defeat the problem of child labor (OECD, 2003). With the agreement of IPEC, the Turkish Board of Labor Inspection has implemented several programs on child labor, including "Upgrading the skills of Labor Inspectors on Child Labor" in 1994, "Implementation of Labor Inspection Policy on Child Labor in Turkey" in 1995, and "Training Work Inspectors on Child Labor" in 1997. These programs are aimed at analyzing the sectors and sub-sectors of children who are working, their working conditions, and the risks they encounter in order to determine action plans and strategies to develop an awareness about the problem and mobilization at various levels, such as local governors, associations of employers and employees, private companies, NGOs, etc., while raising awareness through campaigns and trainings for related people at each level. From 1997 to 1999, a decrease occurred in the number of children working under the age of 15 (OECD, 2003).

However, according to a decision made by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor on February 21, 2013, the description "hazardous and harmful" is removed from the rules and regulations, which define and permit the jobs where children and young people might work (*The Official Gazette*, 2013). So now in Turkey, children as young as 16 can work in dangerous conditions like producing cellulose or construction materials such as tile, brick, and plastics that were forbidden in the previous regulation in 2004. In fact, just one week before these new regulations, A.Y., who was described in the introduction of this paper, died in a plastic factory. He was working in this factory illegally to earn around 100 TL/$40 per month for his school pocket money (LaborWorld, 2013).

Each year in Turkey, there are some documented cases of children dying due to workplace injury. In 2013, 59 children died in work-related accidents; 18 of these children were under 14 years old and 41 of these children were between 15 and 17

years old (Norman, 2014). In 2014, 54 children died in work-related accidents and 19 of these children were under 14 years old (İşçi Sağlığı ve İş Güvenliği Meclisi-ISIG, 2015). This reality shows us the seriousness of the problem and the need for intervention programs in Turkey.

2.7.1 Some examples of practices to eliminate child labor in Turkey

Between 2005 and 2008, the Child Labor Department of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security implemented two projects:

2.7.1.1 The EU Project for Eliminating Worst Forms of Child Labor in Turkey

This project was implemented in collaboration with the ILO in seven cities—Çankırı, Kastamonu, Sinop, Ordu, Elazığ, Erzurum, and Van—between 2005 and 2007, and information on children between six and 17 years of age was gathered. Working lives, education, health problems, reasons for employment, economic, psychosocial, and educational characteristics of children were gathered. In the project, 4,858 children were assessed and 4,362 of them were supported by education and nutrition and were provided with hygienic materials and clothing. Seminars to raise awareness were planned for them, their families, teachers, and school administrators. As a result, 183 children who could not go to school due to their jobs were directed to educational programs and 180 family members were included in vocational training. Twenty of the family members found jobs. Local seminars were organized to create awareness and increase social dialogues. Topics were mentioned in local and national media; flyers and brochures were printed and given to all parties. Web-based monitoring systems were established to detect, follow up with, and direct working children (IPEC Turkey, “Ending Child Labor”, p. 22, para. 2).

2.7.1.2 Project for Combating Child Labor via Education, from Agriculture to School

This project was implemented in six cities—Ankara, Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, Elazığ, Ağrı, and Mardin—between 2004 and 2008 in coordination with the Ministry of National Education and Department of Child Labor, supported by the Ministry of Labor in the USA and ILO. The project targeted 10,000 children who were working or at risk of working in seasonal agriculture. During the project, 8,365 children were detected and were directed to education programs or provided with school materials and clothing. Trainings and job opportunities for the families were provided, access to social help and services was increased, and seminars were organized for 838 teachers and school administrators (Avşar & Öğütoğulları, 2012).

2.7.1.3 Increasing Enrollment Rates via the Formal Authorities in Turkey

A protocol named "Increasing Enrollment Rates via the Formal Authorities in Turkey" was signed by the MEB, such ministries as those of Primary Education, Justice, Health, Labor and Social Security, National Media, Social Services, etc. This protocol provided coordination for and monitoring of the access to and enrollment in primary education. Roles were assigned in terms of fighting child labor (MEB, 2011). In this protocol, the working areas of children are categorized as housework, industrial work, street work, and mobile and seasonal agricultural work. Families not able to pay school expenditures due to economic reasons are mentioned as one of the reasons for students' dropout rates in primary school. For this reason, the obligations of different ministries were designated as:

- social and economic support to those families from the Ministry of Family and Social Policies
- messages about the importance of attending school for girls, enrollment of all children, and about the struggle with child labor in audiovisual publications by the Religion Head
- investigations should be made by Social Services and Child Protection to determine which families are struggling with poverty, cannot send their children to school, and require social and economic support. Trainings should be given to families to create awareness about the risks of letting their children work on the street, and also to increase sensitivity to the topic in the community.
- cooperation of the military police with the Ministry of Education to find the children who are not registered in primary schools even though they are of the compulsory education age and help them to enroll in school.
- informing, cooperating with the other related institutions about child labor and organizing trainings about the negative influences of working at early ages for the employers, trade unions, and vocational associations (MEB, 2011).

2.7.1.4 Vocational Training for Rural Child Labor

The program was implemented by the Development Foundation of Turkey (DFT) in 2003, with a strategy of improving the overall income of poor and disadvantaged families. Other countries that have adopted the same strategy are Bangladesh, India, the Philippines, and Tanzania. Together with a government-initiated education campaign, DFT provided agriculture-related vocational training for over 210 children (79 seasonal shepherds and 145 primary school children), skills training, and income-generating activities for their families who live in Erzurum, rural parts of Turkey. For the girls who are not sent to schools, DFT designed non-formal education classes and

skills training as well as income-generating activities. The programs were free for families and led to an increase in the families' income. It includes such topics as vegetable and fruit production, beekeeping, environmental protection to help the sustainability, etc. As a result, boy shepherds could stay in their villages and did not have to travel for seasonal work in other towns (ILO, 2007, "Consolidated Good Practices in Education and Child Labor", p. 154, para. 1).

2.7.1.5 An Integrated Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labor in Furniture Sector

The Ministry of Labor and Social Security - Labor Inspection Board conducted this program in Ankara, İzmir, and Bursa between 2004 and 2006. The aim of the program is:

> to contribute to the elimination of child labor in hazardous industries in Turkey through withdrawing all working children under the age of 15 from furniture sectors in Izmir, Ankara and Bursa, and improve working conditions for all children between the age 15-18 working in hazardous conditions in these sectors (ILO, 2004, "An Integrated Programme", p.2, para.4).

Through the program, 2,000 children attended non-formal remedial courses and basic literacy education, vocational, pre-vocational, or skills training. In other instances they were referred to the formal education system. Children could get counseling in the social support unit if necessary. Families of those children received income generation services, information and orientation on child labor, medical checkups and skills training. The project also aimed to increase the awareness level of employers. The project promoted a multi-sector approach with a committee consisting of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, employer and workers' associations, the Ministry of Education, the State Ministry, the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection, the Foundation of Small Industries and Vocational Training (NGO), and a researcher from a selected university. Also, a unit

was established to monitor workplaces. Meanwhile the present monitoring capacity was enhanced (ILO, 2004, “An Integrated Programme”, p.2, para.4).

2.7.1.6 Conditional cash transfer

In the poorest areas where people cannot send their children to school, the government pays for a “conditional cash transfer”. Parents receive conditional based some amount of money each month to send their children to school but only if they send their children to school. The assistance stipend for families with girls is higher than for those with boys (35 TL vs. 40 TL ($16) for primary school students, 45 vs. 55 TL ($22) for secondary school students). By December 2012, a total of 501.49 million TL was spent for 2,017,810 children (SYDGM, “Conditional Cash Transfer Assistance”, December 2014). Conditional Cash Transfer does not directly prevent child labor. However, it helps children stay at school by encouraging parents to send their children to school as well.

2.7.1.7 Collaboration Protocol between the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and the Ministry of Family and Social Policy

In February 2012, a protocol between the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security was signed to collaborate against child labor. In order to prevent child labor, they agreed to:

a) Find non-working family members of the children working in the streets and divert them to the Institution of Providing Jobs and Employees (ISKUR).

b) Divert the children who have completed compulsory education to the apprenticeship and vocational education centers or ISKUR according to their interest.

c) Give personnel support for the practices of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security serving seasonal workers and the children they brought with them to work.

d) Support monitoring practices by including child and youth centers.

e) Share data about child labor.

f) Relate the families to social assistance after an investigation about their appropriateness.

g) Give support to the "Activation of Local Resources to Prevent Child Labor Project", which was implemented in 2011-2013 (Ministry of Labor and Social Security and Ministry of Family and Social Policy, "Collaboration Protocol", 2012).

2.7.1.8 Model Action Plan for Children Working in Seasonal Agricultural Labor in the Çukurova Region of Turkey

Seasonal and migrational agricultural labor is a problem which causes children to move with their families to earn money to places in another part of Turkey where they can do seasonal work, sometimes as hard as cotton and low tunnel vegetable or citrus fruit cultivation, anchoring land, and harvesting. These children are not only away from their homes and schools so that their education is stunted, but they work in these seasonal jobs as early as age five. Also, they have to live in conditions unhealthy for their development such as in tents that are close to waste water systems. According to ILO Convention 182, the Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor, working in seasonal and migratory production is among the worst forms of child labor for children. The Development Workshop with the support of Human Rights Program of the Embassy of the Netherlands in Turkey prepares a model action plan for children (in the 6-14 age group) who are affected by seasonal agricultural migration in the Çukurova Region. The children who participate in seasonal agricultural labor (but not migratory labor) and live in the Çukurova region are also the target of the field study and action plans as well as the children who do not work but came to live in the same conditions with their families. In 2011 and

2012, the Development Workshop interviewed 354 children, 175 parents who are involved in seasonal agricultural labor, 75 professionals, and over 100 decision makers and managers. The outcomes are a baseline field study; model action plans for product-based interventions; a policy paper for central level state institutions, private sector and non-governmental organizations; and visual materials which display child labor in seasonal and migratory vegetable production for awareness and advocacy (Beleli, 2012).

2.7.1.9 Activation of Local Resources to Prevent Child Labor Project

This project is being implemented between June 2012 and July 2015. It aims to diminish poverty as a reason for child labor, increase the quality and accessibility of education, and increase awareness for children who work in hazardous jobs, on the streets and in seasonal agriculture. For monitoring, a needs assessment was made in collaboration with UNICEF. The pilot cities are Ankara, Adana, Gaziantep, Kocaeli, Ordu, and Şanlıurfa. Materials were prepared and distributed in order to create awareness about child labor. A meeting was organized in order to keep children away from working in agricultural areas where nuts are harvested. On June 12, 2012 on Child Labor Struggle Day, a festival was organized (UNICEF, "Activation of Local Resources", 2012).

2.7.1.10 Project for the elimination of child labor in hazelnut farming in Ordu province

The aim of this project is to eliminate hazardous work in child labor for harvesting hazelnuts in Ordu, to improve the seasonal workers' and their children's living standards, and to provide their access to educational, social, and cultural activities. The ultimate goal is to remove children from work and to refer them to education. Children of seasonal agriculture workers are vulnerable due to the itinerancy, living

in low-quality environments, and working in inappropriately heavy jobs. The project was conducted between April 2013 and April 2014 by ILO Turkey, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, with the local partners of the Ordu Governorate, the Ordu Metropolitan Municipality, and the Ordu Provincial Directorate of ISKUR. A total of 310 children from seasonal migrant worker families were reached. Children who stay in tents located in METİP (Project for Improving Working and Living Conditions of Seasonal Agricultural Workers) camping areas in Ordu Uzunisa, Perşembe Efirli, Fatsa and Ünye attended school. Furthermore, surveys conducted with families, awareness-raising and institutional capacity-building activities were implemented. Parents, employers, and local directors were trained about the harms of child labor. Families were interviewed, got information and individual and group counseling services in education and child labor issues. Some capacity-building activities for the related institutions and awareness-increasing activities were conducted in the project. Also extracurricular activities were planned such as football and swimming classes, discussions about news, picnics, kite festivals, etc. (Gülcan, 2014).

2.7.1.11 "This is no kid's toy" project

"This is no kid's toy" (*Bu iş çocuk oyuncağı değil*) is a project conducted by the Support to Life Organization in 2014 and it basically aims to retain information about families who work in seasonal agriculture with their children and find out the conditions and problems they have such as transportation, accommodation, heating, access to sanitized water, etc. Also, based on the data which is collected, the aim is to advocate for the rights of children. The data was collected in Adana, Afyon, Düzce, İzmir, Konya-Aksaray, Ordu, Samsun, Urfa, and Yozgat-Nevşehir from families, farmers, and local authorities. Other than in-depth interviews with families, farmers, and local authorities, focus group studies were made with eight women and three

children. A total of 1,353 people were reached in the end through the interviews and questionnaires, including 701 children under 18. According to the data, a lack of inspection in workplaces, dropout of school, and serious levels of insufficiency in the living conditions, such as living in tents, not having electricity, sanitized water, and hygiene, were discovered. The organization challenges the policy makers and advocates for the establishing of a research committee in Turkish Republic Assembly to create better policies about the growing problems in the area (Hayata Destek Dernegi, 2014).

2.7.1.12 "Our job is to study" project

"*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" is a project that takes place in seven different schools in four districts of Istanbul, in collaboration with Bogazici University, Istanbul Province National Education Directorate, and the private sector corporate social responsibility project. The project started in March 2010 and continues in the educational year 2014-2015 with 535 children and their parents, in areas that have low socioeconomic status and a high number of working children, especially those working on the streets. The project's aim is to improve children's attitudes toward school, to increase their attendance, and to decrease the number of working children in each school year, which makes it a secondary prevention program. The project reached 64% of the working children (535 out of 876 children identified as working) in these schools during the 2014-2015 school year.

In order to reach this aim, from the start the project provides educational support in basic courses with the help of approximately 225 teachers including school counselors who were assigned to develop the study skills of students and help them acquire a sense of belonging. Besides studying by the curriculum, the children are also exposed to extracurricular activities such as watching films and

documentaries, playing chess, attending drama workshops, visiting museums, and playing football, basketball, etc. There are also guests and speakers who join the activities regularly to inspire and motivate children. Moreover, psycho-social activities run by counselors such as knowing yourself better, empathizing, and developing the harmony of togetherness.

The children continue to attend courses within the project each week during the school year for four hours at their own schools as well as sessions with their guidance counselors not only to discuss their future but also the dangers of early working lives, particularly on the streets. Furthermore, the parents are invited to meetings to address the importance of their children's education and the benefits of schooling as well as the dangers of their children working. Since March 2010, in a total of 13 districts and 38 schools, approximately 4,550 children were included in the project. Among the participants of the project, the numbers are as shown in Figure 2. Since the beginning, 663 children have stopped working and have continued to attend school full time. This project is a unique example of preventing dropouts related with child labor by empowering school's role in children's lives.

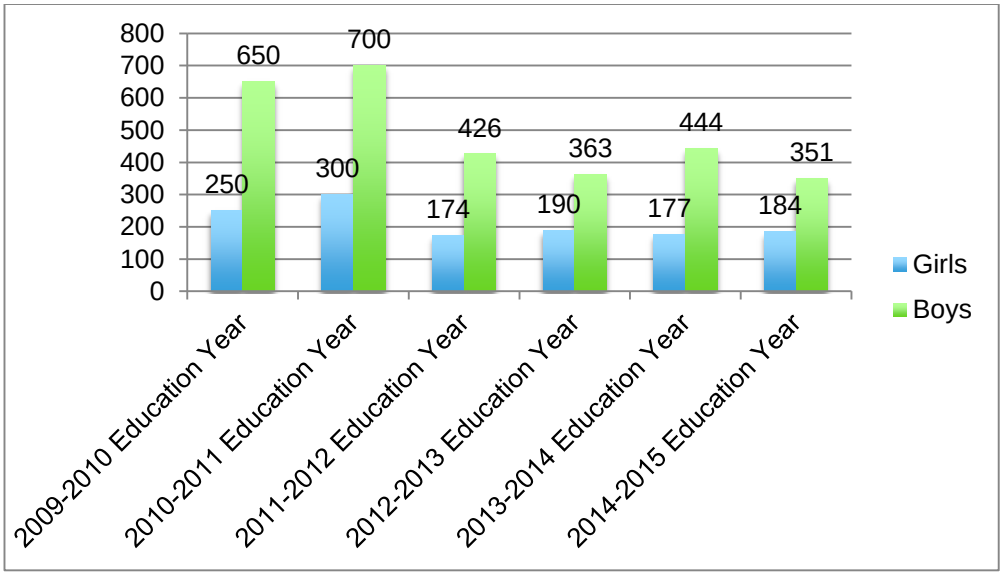


Fig.2. Number of girls and boys who attended the project by year
Source: İşimiz Okumak Project evaluation meeting ppt (2015).

All of these programs show us that there are serious problems with children working in Turkey. Taking a macro-level system approach into consideration, even though there are several programs to increase sensitivity among people regarding children's rights, to train parents and authorities against child labor, and to decrease incidents of child labor, the problem continues in Turkey involving all levels including micro systems and macro systems. Some preventive measures can be taken at all of these levels. For the purpose of this study, the focus is on school factors which are related to individual factors, also children at school, and on what can be done at schools for prevention. In the next section, some preventive actions to be taken at schools will be discussed.

2.8 School's role to prevent or to contribute to dropouts related with child labor

Studies show that when children's enrollment in school increases, the likelihood they stop working also increases (Ertürk & Dayıoğlu, 2004). So, in order to combat child labor, a major concern should be to keep the working children at school.

On the other hand, Rosati and de Hoop (2014) claim that education programs should be combined with different interventions that effectively reduce child work (Rosati & de Hoop, 2014). Rosati and de Hoop (2014) made a study on a program called BRIGHT, which is conducted in Burkina Faso (ranked among countries with the lowest school participation rate in the world, with high engagement of children in economic activities) and aims to improve school participation in rural communities. Results show that BRIGHT improved school participation and increased learning outcomes for both working and non-working children but it also increased children's participation in economic activities and chores (Rosati& de Hoop, 2014, p. 29).

> Consistent with a theoretical model of children's time use, instead of preventing children from participating in work and chores, the interventions slightly increased children's participation in productive activities, possibly to finance their participation in education. The increased school attendance then mainly comes from reduced leisure. (Rosati& de Hoop, 2014, p. 29)

So Rosati and de Hoop (2014) conclude that education programs should combine interventions with the aim of increasing school participation and reducing child work by tuning more carefully to the incentives and constraints the child laborer faces (Rosati & de Hoop, 2014, p. 29).

For the interventions to be successful, first of all, the conditions affecting school dropout should be analyzed and prevented. Lehr et al. (2005) suggest that knowing the reasons why students complete their education and why they quit will help us prevent dropouts. Dropping out is actually a process that gives its signs with basic failures experienced in the early years of schooling (e.g. third grade); later dropouts can be predicted through risk analysis. Interventions then should be done as early as possible and continue over time. Interventions should also engage the students in the process and cooperate with the families to be effective (Lehr, Clapper & Thurlow, 2005). In the following sections of this study, the reasons why the children work, evaluations of their work lives, and the evaluations of their school lives are discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research design

Qualitative studies bring a deeper form of understanding of the life experiences and problems. I chose to use a qualitative approach for data collection and analysis since this study aims to understand the lives of children from their own perspectives.

The methodology utilized in the fieldwork has been called 'child-centered' (Myers and Boyden, 1998; Woodhead, 1999) and 'subject-oriented' as stated in Okoli and Cree (2012). The aim of the child-centered qualitative method is to organize inquiry around children's interpretations, experiences, and worldviews (Clark, 2010). According to the child-centered mode of inquiry, children's voices should be integral to research and interpretations about children. Since children are an active part of social dynamics, we need to know their conceptions and give voice to their affairs (Clark, 2010). Just like the child-centered qualitative method, the subject-oriented perspective accepts that children are competent individuals and they should be respected as individuals and also for their contributions and capacity to shape their lives as well as their community. Child-centered qualitative methods provide child-relevant input for theorizing and understanding children's experiences. Participant observation, individual interview, focus groups, and visual methods of inquiry (such as children's drawings) are among the means of fielding child-centered qualitative studies (Clark, 2010). Since I was working with a special group of children, "working children", it was important for me to help them comfortably and spontaneously share their opinions and also to get as much information as possible; in this study I preferred to conduct face-to-face interviews with children as a means of child-centered research.

3.2 Participants

For this qualitative research, I collected data through interviews with 11- to 14-year-old secondary school students who were involved in the project "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study".

The participants of this study were working children who were both project attendees and students in their schools. A total of 20 children were included in the study from six of the project schools in Esenler, Bağcılar, and Avcılar districts of İstanbul, to which many migrants move from rural parts of Turkey. After the transcriptions, three of the children were eliminated from the study because two of them were not representing the target group (one of them was not working at the time of the interview and the other one's parents were the owners of the workplace, and one of them gave irrelevant answers to the questions). A total of 17 children were included in data analysis.

The method to choose the participants was convenience sample. Either the contact people working at these schools directed the children in "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" project to the study or I introduced myself inside the classrooms and asked the children in "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" project to participate in the study.

In this part, the demographic information of the participants is explained in detail. Table 4 (Appendix B) also shows the demographic information of the participants in greater detail including sex of the child, age, birthplace, number of siblings, birth order of the child, job, age of starting work, working hours, and salary. All of the children were given pseudo names to ensure confidentiality.

Table 5 shows the summary of the demographic characteristics of the children. Seventeen children who were interviewed were from six different schools

in Bagcılar, Esenler, and Avcılar provinces of Istanbul. Three of them were from N.S primary school, two of them were from Y.E. primary school, four of them were from O. primary school, three of them were from N.T. primary school, one of them from A. primary school and four of them were from M. primary school, as shown in Table 5. Eight out of the 17 children were girls and nine of them were boys. The mean of age for the 17 children is 12.9.

Table 5. Demographic Characteristics of the Children

Characteristics	Frequency
SCHOOL	
N.S.	3
Y.E.	2
O.	4
N.T.	3
A.	1
M.	4
AGE	
11 years old	2
12 years old	3
13 years old	6
14 years old	6
SEX	
Girls	8
Boys	9

Twelve of the 17 children were born in Istanbul even though their families migrated to Istanbul from different regions of Turkey many years ago. Two of the children were born in the Black Sea region (Tokat and Sinop), two of them were born in the Southeastern Anatolia region (Urfa, Malatya), and one was born in the Eastern Anatolia Region (Igdir) of Turkey.

Six of the 17 families live in their own houses. Eight of them do not own their houses; they live as tenants. Three of them live in a relative's house such as a grandfather's or uncle's, and sometimes they pay to this relative. In crowded families, children sleep in the same room and sometimes children sleep in their parent's room. Twelve of the 17 of children live with their nuclear family with a

range of family size of 5 to 9. Two children from divorced families live near their relatives with their mom, in their grandfather's or uncle's house. Three of the children live with their large family including uncles, aunts, or married siblings and their families. Children barely understand the question related to the social aid given to their families. Maybe they do not know if their families get any help or maybe it is kept a secret among the family members. However, five children said they either get or had gotten a kind of help in the past.

According to the children, eight of the mothers have only a primary school education. Two of these eight were dropouts in primary school. Other eight mothers have never attended primary school at all. One child is told that his mother had attended secondary school for at least a while (he is not sure how long). Two of the mothers learned to read and write very recently in the adult education courses at their school. On the other hand, 15 out of 17 fathers had primary school education and among them, two were dropouts in primary school. One child was told that his father had attended secondary school for at least a while (he is not sure how long). One child had no idea for how many years his father attended school.

Eleven of the 17 mothers are not working, one of them works in a full-time job in textile, two of them work at home (doing textile work), and three of them work sometimes or in a part-time job, such as Eda's mom who only does cleaning of the stairs of a building on Mondays, Thursdays, and Fridays. Non-working mothers were defined as "housewives" by children. One child (Yiğit) of a non-working mother talks about his mom this way: "Mom and my older sister stay at home, they do not work, and they prepare food for us."

Two children, who are from divorced families, were unable to say something clear about their father's occupation. One child (Bertan) says, "*Babam çalışmıyor*

galiba, arada sırada görüyorum (I guess my dad doesn't work, I see him rarely)." Another child (Ferda) says, *"Babam arada yardım ediyor. Arada ama, fazla da eve gelmiyor. Haftada bir, ya da 1 hafta boyunca gelmeyebiliyor. Ben çalışıyorum tekstilde. Maaşım 350 TL alıyorum. Anneme yardım ediyorum.* (My father sometimes helps us. From time to time, and he doesn't come home very often. Once a week or there are times he doesn't come for a week. I work in textiles. I earn 350 TL per month. I help my mom.)" One of the fathers works seasonally, in a construction job during the summers; he does not work during the winters.

Among the 17 children, the average number of siblings is four. The maximum number of siblings is 10. Only two children are the only children in their families. Five of the 15 children with siblings are the first-born children in their families. Five of them are the youngest children in their families. Five of them are among the middle children, according to the birth order. Ten out of the 15 children have permanently working siblings. Three of them do not have working siblings or the siblings do not contribute to the family budget, and two of them have siblings who contribute to the family budget from time to time. Usually, older brothers work.

Fourteen out of the 17 children have permanent full-time jobs (jobs such as workers in construction or textile, street cleaner, hairdresser, etc.). For five out of the 17 children, the current one is their first job. For seven of them, it is their second job. For three of them, it is their third job. For one of them, it is the fourth job, and one of them, Zeynep, changed her job five times. The average age to start working is 10.8. There are some children who started working as early as eight years old.

Twelve out of the 17 children work in permanent jobs and they go to work regularly. Five of them work only at weekends or when there is a necessity at the workplace. Nine out of the 17 children work in textile. Six of them work in small

businesses, such as a hair salon, pide house, teahouse or jewellery store with mostly one business owner. Two of them work in very informal jobs; one child (Ozan) works in a market place with his uncle and the other child (Mevlüde) makes beads with her friends and they sell them.

Twelve out of the 17 children say that it was their own wish to start working (but as the interviews go on, we recognize that this might not be always the case). Most of them say they do not want to be a burden for their families and want to earn their pocket money or the money to spend for their school expenditures. One child (Mehmet Can) says he wants to buy a bicycle, so he wanted to work. Some of them were asked for approval when their relatives asked them to work and these children had the chance to accept or reject the offer. One child (Ozan) says his uncle asked help from him via his dad and he accepted to help his uncle. Another child (Bayram) says his aunt offered his parents to take him to work and they asked about his idea. He accepted this offer; otherwise, he would not be working. Another child (Mehlika) says it was hard to convince her parents for her to work. They did not want her to work, but she wanted to work because she was bored at home. Other than work, she cannot go out because she is a teenager and outside is full of "bad stuff".

Two of them say that their father wanted them to work. One child (Eda) says her mom did not want her to work; she wanted her to study, but her dad asked for it. She adds, "My father also wants me to study but economically we are in difficulty so I have to work." One child says mom and dad, and one says his brother wanted him to work; another child (Ferda), whose parents are divorced and who stays with her mom in her uncle's house, says that her uncle was the one who wanted her to work.

Most of the children work at least five days a week. Only three children (Reyhan, Mevlüde, and Ozan) work less. Reyhan works with her uncle and she

works one day for four to five hours. Mevlüde says she works a few hours during the weekends, and Ozan works for a whole day at the market with his uncle. His day at work starts at 09:00 and finishes at 19:00. For the rest, most of them (11 out of 14) work 20 and more hours a week. Three of them work around 10-15 hours a week.

Children are paid daily, weekly, or monthly. İsmail and Ozan earn 5 TL per day for around 10 hours of work, whereas Musa can earn 15 TL a day and 475 TL per month in teahouse. This is the maximum salary that the 17 children interviewed could earn for a month. The rest of the children can earn around 60-200 TL per month. Only Mevlüde, who works as a hobby, earns around 5-6 TL per week, which means 25-30 TL per month.

All the children said they give the money to mom/ dad to be used for house expenditures. Their parents sometimes give them around 5 TL per week for pocket money or school expenditures. Only two children, Mehlika and Reyhan, said they use all the money for themselves. Mevlüde, who is out of this category, said she and her friends use the money to buy more beads or they spend it together.

In this part, brief information for each participant will be given. Children are identified by their age, gender, grade, and where they are from. If they are not from Istanbul, they have identified where they are from and at what age they moved to Istanbul. Children also identify their views of school and work. They give their opinions of school, work, and their hobbies, if any. Specific attention is paid to how they started working; what they do at work, for how long and what compensation; and what they believe would have to happen in order for them to quit work. Additional notes are provided on anything I observed regarding that individual child's character.

Bahar: Bahar is 14 years old and an eighth grade student. She is a very tiny, fragile girl with strong Turkish expression. She gives importance to her lessons, is success-oriented, and is interested in art classes. She was born in Iğdır and studied the first and second grade in Igdir, and then they moved to Istanbul six years ago. She is the youngest of four siblings. She works in a textile factory on Thursdays and Fridays after school (between 13:00 and 18:30). She started working at the age of eight by her own choice, and this is her third job. She first started working at her mother's workplace. Her mother's boss liked her a lot and started giving her small duties. According to how often she is asked to work, she earns 70-100TL per month. After she takes around 20 TL for school expenditures, she gives the rest of her money to her mom to save for her. Bahar says that she likes school more than work. She says, "If I am admitted to a good high school, then I'll quit working." She is interested in drawing, singing, and acting. Bahar wants to be a music teacher or a singer in the future.

Remziye: Remziye is 13 years old and a seventh grade student. She is very talkative and clear with her answers. She talked about her job openly and did not hide any details. She was born in Istanbul, the middle child of three siblings. She works in a textile factory, putting the socks into bags. This is her second job since she began working last year by her own choice. She was bored during the summer and asked her mother's permission to work. She does not go to work when there is a course to take at school. She works on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday from 13:00 to 18:00; Wednesday from 14:00 to 18:00; and Saturday until 16:00. She earns 40 TL per week. She uses half of what she earns as her pocket money and gives the other half to her mom to save for her. When there is a wedding or holiday, they buy her dresses with this money. Remziye wants to continue her education and be a cook in

the future. She says that she likes school more than work. “If my grades decrease, I’ll quit working” and also when she goes to high school and university, she says she will not be working.

Bertan: Bertan is a 13-year-old seventh grade student. He is calm, timid, and a little introverted. He is also well-mannered; he waited for one hour just to give the priority to the girls who were to be interviewed. He usually answers the questions about himself using “we” instead of “I”. He says, “We go, we work, we wake up,” but means only himself. He was born in Istanbul. His parents got divorced and he has no other siblings. He and his mother live with his grandparents. When he is asked about his father’s contribution to the family budget, he says, “I guess he does not work. I see him rarely.” Bertan works as an apprentice in a hairdresser’s salon. He started working this year by his choice because he wants to be helpful to his family, and this is his second job. He first started working with a relative in a textile factory; then he saw the announcement for his current job and he started working there. He works from 13:00 to 20:00 during weekdays and on Saturdays. He earns around 20 to 25 TL per week. He puts the money in a piggybank, and his mother and grandmother take the money out when they need it. Bertan wants to continue his education, be a policeman in the future, and have his own family. He says that he likes school more than work. He prefers to work because of their economic situation. He has a broken home. That is why he puts lots of emphasis on the family; he said a family is very important many times during the interview.

Yiğit: He is 11 years old and a fifth grade student. Yiğit is one of the youngest children interviewed; he is also the most gentle. From the interview, it is seen that gender roles in his traditional family are obvious. When he was asked how many siblings he has, he only stated the number of boys. Later in the interview, I

realized he has a sister, too. He says, “We [the males] work and my mother and my sister cook for us.” His family has been living in Istanbul since he was born. He is the youngest of five siblings. He works in a textile factory. He started working at the age of nine, and this is his third job. His brother was the one who pulled him into work. When he went to his brother’s workplace together with his brother, the boss saw him and asked him to come to work. His brother encouraged him to work there. This is how he started to work. He says this first job was a big workplace, so he started working in a smaller place with more responsibilities. He even works on the machine (something most of the kids working in this sector mention as a promotion or step up by saying, “They even ask me to work on the machine”, or “Soon, I’ll be working on the machine!”). He works from 8:00 to 12:00 during weekdays and he earns 50 TL per week. When the schools are on holiday, he earns 400 TL per month, working a full-time schedule. He gives all the money he earns to his father, and his father gives him 15 TL per week as pocket money. His father uses the money for house expenditures. Yiğit says his father buys “whatever finishes in the house, tomato paste, oil, etc.”, whereas Yiğit spends his money to buy clothes for himself. Yiğit wants to be a policeman in the future and earn better for his family. He says that he likes school more than work. If their economic situation were better, he would quit working.

Mehmet Can: Mehmet Can is 11 years old, a fifth grade student, and one of the youngest and more childlike interviewees in terms of attitudes and his dreams related with play. He was born in Istanbul. He is the youngest of four siblings. He works at a hairdresser’s as an apprentice. He cleans the floor and helps the hairdressers. This is his third job. He started working at the age of 10. He, himself, wanted to work and asked his father to find a job for him because he wants to buy a

bicycle. He wants to work in a textile factory if he can find a job there. He works before school and also after school between 18:00 and 22:00. He says his boss gives him permission to come to the courses on Saturdays. He earns 15 TL per week and sometimes he gets some additional tips. He takes 5TL as pocket money and gives 10TL to his mom to buy food for the house. Mehmet Can wants to be a computer engineer. He says that he likes school more than work. If his parents asked him to quit, he would happily quit his job. But his father wants him to earn more than he earns now. Mehmet Can, on the other hand, wants more free time. Sometimes he asks for permission from work to be able to play with his friends.

Reyhan: Reyhan is 12 years old and a sixth grade student. She is very fragile. She was born in Istanbul. She is the oldest of three siblings. Her father works as a shoemaker in his brother's workplace. Sometimes Reyhan and her mother go to work for them, too. She started working for her uncle last year by her own choice, with the aim of helping her family economically and also purchasing her school supplies. She starts on Saturdays between 8:00 and 10:00 and finishes at 12:30. She said her father and her uncle are business partners. Her father pays her 50 TL per week as pocket money, and she is free to use this money to buy what she likes for herself in the marketplace, books, and also to print out her homework. Reyhan wants to have higher education and be a doctor or a teacher in the future. She says that she likes school more than work. If their economic situation were better, she would quit working. But at the same time, because she is working with her relatives, aunts, etc., she likes going to work, too. If she had to work at any other place, she would not like it. The only reason she likes working is because she likes spending time with her aunts.

Zeynep: Zeynep is 14 years old and an eighth grade student. She was born in Sinop, but then came to Istanbul when she was two years old. She is the youngest of five siblings. Her family lives with her brother's wife and three children. She has been working in a textile factory since she was 10, and this is her sixth workplace. As a matter of fact, all of her siblings started working around the age of eight or nine. Her mother put her to work. Both of her parents agreed that she should work. During weekdays, she works between 14:00 and 20:30 and on Saturdays she works from 14:00 until 17:00. She does not work on Saturday mornings because she goes to the courses. She earns 50 TL a week. She gives all of her money to her mom for house expenditures. Sometimes she asks to use 5 TL for her school supplies. Zeynep wants to have a higher education and be a lawyer in the future. She says that she likes school more than work. If their economic situation were better, she would not be working. However, her mother is sick and she needs to support the family economically. Her brother quit school for that reason. She likes to go out, spend time outside; however, her parents say, "You have grown up, you are a teenager now, do not go out anymore."

Eda: Eda is 13 years old and a seventh grade student. She is very silent, her voice is barely heard when she is talking. She was born in Malatya and came to Istanbul eight years ago with her family. She is the firstborn of three siblings. She has been working in a textile factory as an apprentice for four years. Her father wanted her to work. She saw an advertisement for work in the factory and started working. Her mother did not want her to work; she told her to study. She says her father also wants her to study, but at the same time due to their economic difficulties, he wants her to work. She works between 13:00 and 18:30 during the week. She does not work on Saturdays anymore because she comes to the courses. She compensates

for these hours by working on Sunday. She earns 20 TL per month. She gives all of the money to her father. Eda wants to be a doctor in the future. She says that she likes school more than work.

Rahman: Rahman is 12 years old and a sixth grade student. He is very talkative and sociable. Rahman has a twin brother who works at the same workplace but works different hours because one of them goes to school in the morning and the other goes in the afternoon. They were born in Urfa but then moved to Istanbul. Rahman and Hasan are the fifth and sixth siblings of seven. He works in textile. He started working last year, but this is his fourth job. He started helping the people at a doner restaurant, and then he found himself working there. All of his friends were working, so he thought it is the time, and when he asked his dad, his father said this is his own decision. He works between 08:00 and 12:00 during weekdays and also on Saturday, whereas his twin brother works between 12:00 and 20:00 during weekdays. He earns 60 TL and also a 10 TL tip for cleaning the very dirty floors. His twin earns the same amount but he actually works more hours. Rahman gives the money he earns to his mother. Rahman wants to be a doctor or a football player in the future. He says that he likes school more than work. He wants to continue his education "until high school, then university", he says. He works a full-time shift together with his twin brother (they share the hours). He is a very social child. He gave a little conflicting answers such as, "If our economic situation were better, I'd not be working." And then, "I wouldn't quit working, because I like it." Also, he says he will be quitting because he wants to be accepted in BJK football club's young players team.

Mevlüde: Mevlüde is 13 years old and an eighth grade student. She is very silent and shy. She gives very short answers. She was born in Istanbul. She is the

youngest of 10 children. She is the only child who does not work in a proper workplace. What she does sounds more like a hobby. With her friends, they string beads, make necklaces, bracelets, and sell them. She has not worked in any other place before. She is a little scared that her father might hear what she does. So she prefers to keep it a secret. She just spends a few hours doing this each week and earns 5 to 6 TL. They work as a group. She does not like to be in the group that sells the jewelry. She likes to be the designer in the group. Sometimes they use their money to buy new materials, and sometimes they buy food and drinks, which they consume together. They are little entrepreneurs. Mevlüde wants to teach in İmam Hatip Schools in the future. She says that she wants to quit school; she wants to attend the Quran Course instead and take open education school courses, which is a possible way of continuing education according to the new education regulations. She is having fun while working, so she says she would not quit (because she finds herself successful in doing it and she mentioned she finds herself unsuccessful at school). She is a silent child who usually does not answer more than I ask.

Bayram: Bayram is 13 years old and a seventh grade student. He was born in Istanbul. He is the elder of two siblings. He works in a pide restaurant, and he serves and makes deliveries. He started working last year, and this is his second workplace. He first started working when his aunt started to work in a factory. She came and asked his parents if he could work. His parents asked if he wanted to and he said yes because he wanted to earn his pocket money, but he had the option to say no. He did not like the factory because the environment was dusty and it exhausted him. Now he works between 12:00 or 13:00 and 18:00 or 19:00 during weekdays and between 8:00 and 17:00 on Sundays. He earns between 70 and 80 TL, including tips. The money he earned when he was working in the factory was around 50 TL. He gives

the money to his mom and takes only 5 or 10 TL as pocket money. His parents pay their bills with the money he earns. Bayram wants to be a football player or a doctor in the future. (But his mother does not want him to be either; she finds these two jobs dangerous and she wants him by her side.) He says that he likes school more than work. He says he would not work if his family got some kind of help/ economical help. Or he would not work if he were chosen for the young players football team.

Yağız: Yağız is 13 years old and a seventh grade student. He was born in Istanbul. He is the only child in his family. He works in a teahouse. Before that, he did ventilation work where his father also works. He went there with his father and started working to help. His father wanted him to work there. His mother does not oppose this because he is with his father. He goes to work after 16:00 every weekday and earns 100 TL per month. His father is paid instead of him and his father gives him between 10 and 20 TL as pocket money. They use the rest of the money for house expenditures. Yağız wants to be a big businessman. He mentions he wakes up for the morning pray each morning. He says that he likes school more than work. But he also says that, even if his family's economic situation were good, he would still go to work. Because just before the interview his teacher threatened him to send to the disciplinary committee, he was almost in tears.

Mehlika: Mehlika is 14 years old and an eighth grade student. She was born in Istanbul. She is the first born of six siblings. She started working in a factory last year. First she started where her friend worked and then moved to her uncle's workplace. This is also where her father works. When she first wanted to work, her parents got angry and did not want her to work, but she convinced them. She wanted to work due to being bored at home. Her parents find it dangerous for a girl to go out. She was not allowed to go out with her friends. So, going to work is the only way for

her to socialize. She works from 14:00 to 17:00 during weekdays and earns 15 TL per day. She spends her money as she likes (on school supplies or clothing). Mehlika wants to be a doctor in a foreign country, such as in the United States of America. She says that she likes school more than work. She would not work there if her father were not working at the same place. She wants to continue her education as a boarding student in an İImam Hatip High School. She says she would never quit school; she wants to go on until she has a profession.

Ferda: Ferda is a 14-year-old eighth grade student. Her Turkish expression was weak. She gave inconsistent answers, which made me think that she might not be telling the truth all the time. She seems like she tries to show pity for herself. She was born in Istanbul. She is the second of four siblings. Her parents fought often, her mother was abused, and they eventually got divorced. She lives in her uncle's apartment with her mother and siblings. When she is talking about her siblings, she mentions that she has stepbrothers and sisters, "*diğer kadından da iki tane var* (I have two more from the other woman)." She says her father visits rarely, in some cases less than once a week. He only helps them from time to time. She works in a factory, which is also her uncle's workplace. She was curious about her uncle's workplace and visited him; then they asked her to work. Her uncle tells her not to study but to work. She works between 14:00 and 20:00 during weekdays and until 13:00 on Saturdays. She earns 350 TL per month and claims that all the burden of the house is on her. She says, "I paid 3000 for my mother's teeth, she did not have teeth. There were no curtains at home so I gave 1000 for curtains. Then I gave for the carpet. I still give money. Now I'm gonna start buying things to use when I'm married" (she smiles). However, she cannot really use her money as she likes. In order for her to be able to spend some money as she likes, she needs to secretly take

from the money she earned. Ferda wants to go to university and study fine arts to be a photographer. She has a dream of going abroad, to the United States of America. She says that she likes school more than work. Whatever happens she insists on going to school. She says if her father did not leave them, she would not be working.

Musa: Musa is a 14-year-old eighth grade student. He is very friendly; he has a nice smiling face and shiny eyes. He was born in Tokat and came to Istanbul 10 years ago with his family. He is the fourth of five siblings. He works in a teahouse. This is his first job since last year when he started working. He was collecting plastic with his father, who is a street cleaner. The teahouse owner saw them and asked him to work for him. He works during weekdays and weekends from 17:30 to 23:00 or 23:30. He says he got used to working until late hours. He earns 15 TL during weekdays and 20 TL during weekends, which is approximately 475 TL per month. He gives all of the money to his parents for them to spend on house supplies. Musa wants to be a policeman or a doctor in the future. It is important for him to study for his lessons and continue his education. However, he only talks about graduating from high school. He says that he likes school more than work. He says, "If our economic situation were better, I'd not be working." And also, "If my grades were bad, I'd not be working," but his grades are already bad and he feels unsuccessful at school. Still, he goes to *dershane* (private courses that used to prepare students for exams) for support and to improve his grades.

İsmail: İsmail is a 14-year-old eighth grade student. He was born in Istanbul. He is the middle child among three siblings. He works in a jewelry shop, which is his second workplace. First, he started to work at a bakery. When he went there to buy bread, the bakery owner asked for his help and this is how he started working for the first time at the age of 10. He works from 13:00 to 20:00 during weekdays and from

9:30 to 20:00 on Saturdays. He earns 5 TL per day and spends this money to buy the house supplies. İsmail wants to be a policeman in the future. However, he also talks about his current position as a dream and adds, “I want to be working in the jewelry shop with my uncle.” He says that he does not like school; he likes working more than school. He only talks about going to high school. He says he would still work, even if his parents did not want him to, he would not quit working. He is so happy to be at work with his uncle, he does not even want to be with his friends and play. He has lots of negative feelings about his school.

Ozan: Ozan is a 12-year-old sixth grade student. He is a very talkative and friendly child. He was born in Istanbul as the first of three siblings. His uncle, who works in an open marketplace, asked his father for Ozan’s help. Ozan’s father asked for his opinion and he says he accepted the offer. He had the chance to say no because his parents value his ideas. His mother asked for a promise from his uncle not to make Ozan exhausted. He works just one day at weekends from 09:00 to 19:00 and earns 5 TL. He gives this money to his mom to buy the house supplies. Ozan wants to have a university degree and be a doctor in the future. He wants to study in the university. He says that he likes school more than work. He works on the weekends with his uncle in the open market area. It is more like a safe environment for him and his working sounds to me like accompanying his uncle in the open market (He is the only child I interviewed who has a cell phone.).

3.3 Instrumentation

Interview was used as the data collection method. While interviewing the children, I filled out also a demographic information form. For each child, both the interview form and demographic form, prepared by me, were used.

Most of the interview questions were inspired by Woodhead's study as a starting point (Woodhead, 1999). The instrument employed here could be considered a replica of the one that is used in Woodhead's study. However, after the pilot study, the interview questions were extended.

The original instrument consists of seven questions in addition to the demographic questions. The revised form of the instrument consists of 27 questions (see Appendix C for demographic questions and Appendix D for interview questions).

3.4 Procedure

3.4.1 Formal approvals

The project "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" is approved by the Istanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education; permissions were taken from the families and consent forms were filled out to interview the children.

This study, with all the instruments and consent forms, had an approval from the Institutional Review Board for Research with Human Subjects of Ethics Committee (INAREK) in Bogazici University on 15.04.2013.

Also, "Our Job is to Study" project assistants and teachers were informed about the study. In addition to this, before the interview day, each school's "Our Job is to Study" project teachers who were on duty were informed about the my visit so that the setting could be arranged for the interview. Each child was given both oral and written information about the study, and they signed consent forms before the interview. Consent forms include information about the purpose of the study and participant's rights. Permission to use audio recording during the interview was also taken.

3.4.2 Pilot study

First, I conducted a pilot study in order to validate the interview questions on January 24, 2013 in one of the project schools in Avcılar district. Three students, also attending the project, were included in the pilot study. They all were 12-year-old girls. Two of them were sixth grade students and one of them was a seventh grade student. The data was transcribed and checked to see if there was any confusion or any need to clarify the statements so that participants can understand better. Afterwards, the interview questions were discussed with the thesis committee members, rewritten, and reorganized per their feedback, culminating in the final version of the interview form.

The research questions were also revised according to the pilot study in order to ensure clarity of the questions and prevent ambiguities in the statements. Pilot study participants were not put into analyses and were not involved in the main study.

3.4.3 Data collection

In order to collect data, between April 20, 2013 and June 11, 2013, I conducted 20 interviews with working children who attend "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" courses in their middle school.

I picked six among the 10 schools involved in the "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" project, which were in the most economically disadvantaged areas and had a higher number of working children. I attended one project meeting to introduce myself to the project team and informed them about the study. Following up, I got in touch with the project assistants to give more information about the study and learned about the best time to visit schools and how to get there, and requested introductions to the course teachers.

I met with the children mostly at weekends at their schools and interviewed them after their courses; all the while, I was conscious to build confidence-based relationships with them. I identified the children in two ways, depending on the conditions and permissions of the schools; in some cases, their course teachers sent students who meet the standards of my study, and at other times, I went to the classrooms, introduced myself, and asked for volunteers. In order to construct a confidence-based relation with students, I introduced myself first and explained why I was there. I explained to them that I am a student just like them, although at a university, and I had to complete homework about children, which is why I needed their help to learn about their lives. I dressed casually and simply to seem less authoritarian and more accessible.

Before the courses began ("*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" courses), consent forms were sent to parents and filled out by them. So, before the interviews for this study started, informed consent forms were given only to the children. In this way, each child was informed about the confidential nature of the interviews from the very start. Their consent was requested before any voice recordings were made. Permission for voice recording during the interview was also mentioned in the informed consent form. Of those who consented to be interviewed, none thought it was a problem and they allowed their voices to be recorded.

The locations of the interviews were in the most silent and undisturbed spaces available in the school buildings. Sometimes the contact teachers, who were usually the psychological counselors, offered the teachers' room and sometimes an empty classroom was provided. Occasionally a student or teacher would enter the room accidentally. When a teacher had to enter to take something from the room or another

student interrupted to ask a question, the student being interviewed would pause momentarily and resume answering the questions once we were alone again.

Since I was following the child-centered mode of inquiry, it was important to me to hear children's voices and interpretations about their lives as much as possible. In order to create a comfortable and safe atmosphere for them to be ready to share, I began the interview by offering the children healthy snacks and juice/milk and made informal small talk. Also, a gift was given to each child after the interview for her/his contribution to the study. The gift was a book about a child who worked in construction areas during his childhood and then he quit working, went back to school, became an engineer, and worked in construction areas as an engineer. Most of the children were given that book; only some of them preferred to get a book from Children's World Classic Book Collection, such as *Two Years' Vacation* by Jules Verne, or *Heart* by Edmondo De Amicis, etc. When it was time to begin, I did a final test of my recording device to ensure a quality recording. Each child was interviewed once and each session took around 20 to 40 minutes. The questions were designed to be brief and clear; the children were given ample time to answer, and additional questions were offered if the children went off topic. These considerations resulted in the gathering of very useful data. Probing questions were asked based on what the children were willing to reveal about their lives and perspectives.

The majority of the children were keen to be interviewed, particularly after a friend had gone in first. When I finished the day, there were often extra children who wanted to talk to me. The only exception I had encountered was at one school. The first child I had intended to interview wanted to go back to his class beforehand; however, when he returned he brought a group of his friends (four of them) who collectively refused any interviews. Despite explaining my intentions and telling

them it is perfectly fine to be involved or not to be involved if they chose to, they insisted not to be involved. I respected their decision and found other children instead to include in the study. My assumption is that either their teacher forced them to be interviewed and they, as willful teenagers, rebelled or they were concerned that they would be in danger if they had talked to anyone due to the illegality of their working status.

The interviews were held in the project schools mostly during weekends after the courses. At one of the project schools, the interviews were conducted on a weekday (June, 11, 2013, Tuesday). Due to the interview dates being held after the end of the "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" courses and being so close to a holiday break, we had to deviate from our normal schedule to complete the interviews. There was the added difficulty of frequent police attacks in the neighborhood where I live during the Gezi protests. In June 2013, frequent police violence and the subsequent halts in transportation in the city resulted in a risk that I might not be able to go to any of the project schools, even if they were able to leave their homes.

3.4.4 Data analysis

Data analysis focused on understanding children's stories and experiences from their perspectives in order to appreciate their views on the meanings of work as well as their respective childhoods as it is described in Okoli and Cree (2012). For data analysis, a thematic analysis method was used (Roulston, 2001).

The data were collected in June 2013 and transcribed between October 2013 and March 2014, one by one. According to Talmy (2011), during the systematic processes the data goes through while it is being transcribed, coded, grouped, and summarized, the themes naturally emerge. Similarly, during transcriptions, I was also

thinking about the children's responses and their reoccurring themes. After all of the data had been transcribed, the names of the children were changed to protect anonymity and confidentiality and the children's demographics were categorized. The demographics as a table in Appendix B were written during summer 2014. Between the dates September-December 2014, I categorized all the answers given by each child into themes of push and pull factors at school and at work. I gave color codes to all the sentences of the children around those themes. I cut all these sentences, grouped them together and before analyzing them deeper, I summarized the common ideas evolved from these sentences. As the analysis went on, under one theme, according to the children's sentences, I realized there are closer ideas than the others so these ideas came together to make the subthemes, and I wrote the findings accordingly. The information in the findings section was supported by verbatim quotations of the children. Afterwards, I did further analysis about the two contexts in which these children are, if there is a relation so that one context pulls when the other pushes. So, comparisons of school and work experiences were written according to the described drawbacks of one and benefits of the other.

In the findings section, the interviewed students are quoted. The original text of their quotations can be found in Appendix E. Parentheses follow the interviewed students' quotes. Within these parentheses you will find the name of the interviewed students followed by the relevant section in Appendix E where their original quotation is written.

3.5 Identity of the researcher

As a former ACEV employer (Mother Child Education Foundation) who has worked for the benefit of children's development in the most disadvantaged parts of Turkey, and Boğaziçi University Guidance and Psychological Counseling graduate program

student, I am interested in understanding and improving the conditions of the disadvantaged children in Turkey. Children who have to work at early ages in their lives are vulnerable to a number of risks in addition to the existing disadvantages they have such as living in poverty. As a school counselor, I wanted to listen to the children who both attend school and work in order to find out the reasons why they work, understand their conditions and the meaning of school and work for them, basically their lives. I did not know any of the participants and am not going to have a relationship with them later in life, nor am I involved in the "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" project, so there was no conflict of interest in this research.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

In this chapter, findings derived from the data analysis are presented. I transcribed all the data derived from the interviews word by word from the records. Later, I translated the data, which were collected in Turkish into English. The participants' statements are quoted under the relevant themes. The participants' original statements can be found in Appendix E. All of the children who are involved in the study, as stated earlier, are given pseudo names in Turkish, in order to ensure confidentiality.

The findings are grouped into two parts. a) Themes that are derived from the first part of the findings are: children's positive perception of school, children's negative perception of school, children's positive perception of work, children's negative perception of work, and children's perception of childhood. Also, additional analyses were made in the last part of the findings, as a comparison of school and work experiences that are derived from the themes: b) What drawbacks of school/ benefits of work do the children mention? and What drawbacks of work/ benefits of school do the children mention?

4.1 Themes

4.1.1 Theme 1: Children's positive perception of school (Pull factors of school)

Under this theme, the children are asked about their positive experiences at school. This theme enables me to understand the reasons why school is appealing to the children and pulls them in. Sub-themes under the heading of this theme are: positive thoughts about studying, positive thoughts about teachers, and positive thoughts about friends at school.

4.1.1.1 Positive thoughts about studying

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they like about the studying and their future aspirations related to studying. The children talk about many positive things about school. Six of them mention how seriously they take school and they give priority to study their lessons. Zeynep mentions the school's priority in her life with those words: "Beyond everything, the most important thing for me is my lessons and my school" (Zeynep, Appendix E.1). Rahman explains the importance of school that improves his cognitive skills as, "*Ders anlıyorum, beynim çalışıyor okulda* (I learn things, my brain is functioning more at school)" (Rahman, Appendix E.2).

Some of the children say they are successful and the lessons are fun for them. They talk about how they like their lessons. Remziye says, "I answer all the time. My lessons are good, and I'm the most hardworking student in my classroom. Being in the school, answering the questions that my teachers ask, make me happy" (Remziye, Appendix E.3).

Success is usually determined by the exams at school. Exams are important for these children, and they study to be successful. When the children feel successful, they are more motivated to study, just like Ferda who says, "I realized my

improvement is what makes me encouraged. I want to be successful" (Ferda, Appendix E.4).

Some children mention especially how much importance they give to study and it seems like they figured out studying skills for their better understanding. Ferda says, "When our teachers introduce a topic, I need to review it a few times and study to understand better if I cannot get it well at first. Then, I understand better and respond accordingly" (Ferda, Appendix E.5).

The children follow their teacher's recommendations and emphases while studying. Bahar says she really cares about what the teachers teach, pays attention and studies to learn best:

> Teachers lecture and I take notes. It helps for university preparation, as well. Teachers talk, sometimes tell us to take notes or underline the paragraphs. I write them, I write them once again when I come home. I do reviews. I write it with nice pens and sometimes I make mistakes so I have to rewrite. I try hard for my performance homework. After I finish my homework, I study for specific lessons each day. Let's say we had mathematics that day, I do tests for two hours and then review, then two hours science. (Bahar, Appendix E.6)

Contrary to Bahar, for some children it is not easy to ensure the optimum studying conditions at home. They still try to do their best with what they have. Remziye tries to study even though the conditions at home are not very appropriate:

> You come home after work. Especially, during the winter, because it is cold, you cannot study a lot. They watch TV in the same room. Because my brother comes home earlier, he finishes his homework. There is a stove at home; I can study for two hours at most. Otherwise it increases the electric bill. I put it for two hours at most in another room. The room gets warmer, only for a few hours. I do a review for the topics we covered in the classroom. When there is an exam I study for the exam." (Remziye, Appendix E.7)

These children know how important it is to study for their future. Fifteen out of the 17 children say that they like school more than work, and some of them emphasize they like school more than work because they learn and what they learn now will give them better job opportunities in the future. They think that school is an

investment in someone's future. Bertan says, "I like school because, even though a hairdresser is also an important job and you learn, school contributes for your future and your future job. I feel better at school. You understand lots of topics and invest in your future. And you can say, I'll have that profession in the future. But it is not the same in the hairdresser' salon. Once you start working there, you have to be a hairdresser and that is it." (Bertan, Appendix E.8)

The children want to continue their education and have an occupation. They mostly dream to be either a doctor or a policeman in the future. They all want to have a profession. Other than policeman or doctor, teacher, photographer, singer, computer engineer, lawyer, businessman, and football player are among the answers the children mention for future professions. Eight of them talk about going to university. Three of them talk about finishing high school and being a police officer. Even though two children do not want to continue their education, they want to have jobs in the future that necessitate education. Mehlika says she wants to continue her education until she has a proper profession. "I want to study till the end, until I have a profession" (Mehlika, Appendix E.9). Ferda, despite her family, wants to go on with her education, "I will push in order to be able to study. Sometimes I even think about escaping from home. I'm fed up with that family, they are pressuring me" (Ferda, Appendix E.10).

Rahman, İsmail, and Musa, on the other hand, only dream about continuing until the end of high school. Rahman gives some contradictory answers, "I'll study until the high school. I'll not quit; I'll go on to the high school, and then the university. And then I'll go on to play football" (Rahman, Appendix E.11). İsmail says he wants to be a policeman and continue until senior high school. Musa also wants to be a police officer and finish high school.

On the other hand, there are some children who are not passionate to continue their education at all, and they mention they do not want to bother themselves with school, as Bayram says, “I want to study as far as it goes” (Bayram, Appendix E.12). Mevlüde wants to quit formal education to continue with Quran courses and finish open education high school. She wants to be an Imam Hatip teacher.

4.1.1.2 Positive thoughts about teachers

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they like about their teachers. Ten of the children say they like their teachers. One of the reasons some teachers are differentiated as the more favorite teacher is the way they present the lesson. Four of the children mention they like the teachers who teach in a fun way. Remziye and Bertan both mention their Turkish teacher as an example:

> B.T. - He is a very laidback Turkish teacher. He is funny while presenting the topic. For example, when he is talking about composition: introduction, body and conclusion, right then a student comes to the classroom and he connects his entrance to the introduction part and makes jokes about it and then he tells us to take it as a reminder. He visualizes the topic in a way we can remember, he pictures it for us to remember. (Remziye, Appendix E.13)

Bahar, on the other hand, mentions she likes teachers when the teachers allow them to contribute with their own thoughts and/or creativity:

> As I told before, I like my Religion teacher. He is actually an art teacher but teaches Religion classes. He teaches well. For example, he teaches about different religions. He asks us which religion is interesting to us. He asks us to write about it. Also, I like citizenship classes. (She explains, smiling:) The vice principle teaches that lesson. S.A. Everyone is frightened of him but he is a very nice person, and at the same time, our classroom teacher. Actually everybody in the classroom likes him. We do great things; he helps us to explain our own thoughts in various ways. For example, we do drama and prepare plays. (Bahar, Appendix E.14)

Six of the children say that they have a positive relationship with teachers and they give some examples of how some teachers are more approachable to the children. Especially some teachers are defined as being friendlier, more supportive to the students. Yiğit mentions that his favorite teacher is clearly explains the topic again in

case he cannot understand, “Our math teacher teaches very well. He is not fast. When I have a question, he explains from the beginning. And when there is someone who does not understand, he calls them to explain one to one” (Yiğit, Appendix E.15). Mevlüde says she feels free to ask questions to the teachers who she feels are more approachable, “I can ask questions to my social sciences and religion teachers, I’m not so close to the other ones. N.Y. is our social sciences teacher. She is friendlier, she talks with me, and I like the way she teaches the lesson” (Mevlüde, Appendix E.16).

Mehlika and Ferda say teachers listen to them and they try to be helpful. Mehlika says:

> My mathematics teacher is very helpful to me both for the lessons and also for private topics. If I have some private issues, I can talk with her. She is helpful to me and also to my friends. And in her class, I am never bored, she is funny, she makes jokes and we have lots of fun in her class. (Mehlika, Appendix E.17)

Ferda says, “My teachers are like my friends. Sometimes I ask help from them. Especially, my classroom teacher, I got lots of help from her. We are like friends. She says you can come and tell me when you have a problem and we do this. It is good to be able to share your worries” (Ferda, Appendix E.18).

Usually, it is their “*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study” course teachers who are friendlier and more fun. When there are support classes, it helps the children understand the topics better. Just as Zeynep says, “I like my course teacher a lot. She is close to me; she is just like my mom. My course teachers are more supportive, for instance when there is a topic, they do not give the lecture and pass the topic at once. They explain it two, three times” (Zeynep, Appendix E.19). Again, during the courses, the teachers use different methods while giving the lesson, show them practical ways to work on things, and sometimes include games as some children explained earlier. “Mr. M teaches our math classes. He gives us books; he makes us

play fun games. We do nice things. I solve the test problems in the books he gives us and I can ask questions to him if I have any" (Bahar, Appendix E.20).

Some of them like some lessons more than the others, mostly because of the teachers. Even for mathematics, a lesson that is generally accepted as more difficult than the others, the teacher can be the factor for the children to love the lesson. Mehlika says, "We do lessons; we share ideas in the classroom. We talk a lot in Miss G's class, so in English class, too. Our music teacher plays instruments, we sing together. I like mathematics the most, due to the teacher" (Mehlika, Appendix E.21).

For children, feeling loved and appreciated by their teachers is very important and a reason to love the lesson. Ozan says he gets along well with the teachers:

> I get along with my teachers. (Tümay: Is there a teacher you like a lot?) Miss E.O., our course teacher, from "Our Job is to Study" project. Sometimes she teaches mathematics when we have an exam. Pardon, not Miss E.O., another teacher who left the school, Miss D., I used to like her a lot. I asked for her mobile phone number when she was leaving, she said no. Then she gave her number. (Tümay: Why do you like that teacher?) She liked me back; she gave me the responsibilities of the classroom president. I liked her more. And I got good grades, five out of five all the time. (Ozan, Appendix E.22)

Bahar says, "We had a music teacher at school whom everybody is frightened of, but I liked him a lot. He was nice to me" (Bahar, Appendix E.23). Bahar and Rahman say that their teachers, due to their beautiful voices, appreciate them. Bahar: "My teachers like my voice. They ask me to sing, sometimes" (Bahar, Appendix E.24).

Four of the children mention they like the teachers who do not punish/ hit/beat the children and who are not angry. Remziye says, "Our social sciences teacher, I like him a lot. He does not punish us. S.G., our English teacher, he does not get angry with you whether you do homework or not. He does not scold people just because they make mistakes" (Remziye, Appendix E.25). İsmail says he only has one teacher (the science teacher) he has positive feelings about because the teacher does not beat them. İsmail: "Only the science teacher did not do anything. He came to

school this year, and he does not beat us, Mr. E., our science teacher. He is nice right now. He does not do anything bad when you cannot answer the question he asks" (İsmail, Appendix E.26).

4.1.1.3 Positive thoughts about friends at school

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they like about their friends at school. For the children, their friendships are important, and it is one of the most important factors that bond them to school. The children like spending time with their friends: the time they can spend freely, in age-appropriate activities such as playing or spending time outside, that they can never have freedom to do at work or out of school. Mehmet Can says the reason he likes school is because of the friends he has there. "It is fun at school; I spend time with my friends. My best friends are at my school, that is why" (Mehmet Can, Appendix E.27).

Some children have known their friends since the first grade. They like to play at school with their friends. Sometimes they play games such as volleyball, football, basketball, run and catch, water fight and sometimes they only spend time outside. Mehlika has a group of best friends. She is having lots of fun with her friends. She does not want the school year to come to an end. "For example, we got some bottles the other day, we had water fights with them. I have lots of fun. This semester is great, not previous semester but in this one we have great friendships. We like each other a lot; I do not want the semester to be over. I wish we had one or two more years, like that" (Mehlika, Appendix E.28). Ferda has some friends that she likes a lot. They spend time together also out of school and they do field trips by themselves (such as to İstanbul Atatürk Museum): "I have three good friends, real friends, the others are also my friends but I cannot tell my secrets like I could with these friends. All three are so good. They help me. Sometimes we do things together,

both at school and outside. Sometimes, we go to museums together" (Ferda, Appendix E.29).

Except two children, all the children mentioned how much they like their friends and enjoy spending time with their friends at school. Two of the children talk about only one friend they have rather than many friends at school. These children feel lonely or are treated differently at school. Bahar says she has a very good friend with whom they share everything together: "There is Remziye, but she is not in my class. We share everything" (Bahar, Appendix E.30). Eda says, "She is more friendly, Şule. She is also hardworking just like me. She does not treat me differently" (Eda, Appendix E.31).

Some children mentioned, other than spending time together, their friends are important because they give support to each other, especially with their lessons. Yiğit says he studies for science classes with his friends. Bertan says they help while doing homework together. Remziye's friends explain to her if she does not understand a topic in math.

Three of the children talk about how sharing with their friends is meaningful for them. Bayram has many friends and he likes them. Friendship and sharing with friends are important for him. They share and they support each other while studying for some exams (English, social sciences etc.). He talks about his relations with his friends using these words: "We get along very well, best with them. (He looks pleased when he says that:) Yağız, Cem, Kerem, Oğuzhan… I get along well with them; I share my secrets, my worries. We combine our money together and buy things to share" (Bayram, Appendix E.32).

Mehlika has a project group with her friends. They meet at school to study together. They spend time doing many beneficial things at school such as taking care

of younger children: “We have a group of six friends and I like all of them. We meet at school. We do group projects together. Also, there is a second grade that we get along with their teachers. She invites us to the classroom and we spend time with the kids. We usually go on Tuesdays and we spend time together in the physical education class” (Mehlika, Appendix E.33). Remziye says:

> Arzu and others help in mathematics. Ennur asks me to come and join her and her friends during break time. Ennur has to be eating regularly but she goes to volleyball games. She forgets about drinking water and eating. I remind her. She also reminds me to drink water. I like her. We have family visits to Sultan’s house. They live close to our place. We get along well. When we ask each other for something, we do it. We are sharing together. (Remziye, Appendix E.34)

Yiğit says, “Me and my friends combine our money during the break. Not everyday, only when there is the physical education class. And when the day comes, we buy anything everyone asks, lemonade, chocolate, etc. Whatever we want to get. We do it after the class. Also, we play football” (Yiğit, Appendix E.35).

İsmail, who put into words several times during the interview how his teachers beat him, says his friends protect him from the teachers: “My friends are good, they are the ones who try to protect me while the teachers were beating me. My friends like me a lot” (İsmail, Appendix E.36).

4.1.2 Theme 2: Children’s negative perception of school (Push factors of school)

Under this theme, the children are asked about their negative experiences at school. This theme enables me to understand the reasons why children are pushed out of school. Sub-themes under the heading of this theme are: negative thoughts about studying, negative thoughts about teachers, negative thoughts about friends, and negative thoughts about school in general.

4.1.2.1 Negative thoughts about studying

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they do not like about the school and their lessons. Three of the children find themselves unsuccessful at school. For example, Mevlüde says she is not very successful at school, so she has an idea in mind to take open education school classes and attend the Quran courses rather than coming to school. She says, "Because I'm not very good at school this year and also because I like the Quran course more, I'll be enrolling in a Quran course. …I went to the Quran classes during breaks and stayed boarded before… also, continue my open high school education" (Mevlüde, Appendix E.37). Mevlüde, on the other hand, would continue her education if she felt successful at school. When she is asked about what would make her happy, she says being better in her lessons would make her happy. According to her, some lessons are hard to understand. For example, she says she does not understand anything in English classes.

Musa thinks he is not successful at school but he is at work. He says some of his lessons are weak, not good. For example, he does not understand the topics in mathematics. İsmail also finds himself unsuccessful; he even says, "I do not like school." He used to like his previous school. But now he is not successful in his lessons.

The situation is not as bad for some other children, but the majority of the children say they have difficulties in English. Bertan, Yağız, Yiğit, and Mehlika mention their problems with English. Bertan says he sometimes has difficulties in the English lessons. The only lesson he is not successful in is English, he says. Because his English is not good, he cannot understand and he cannot do his homework. Yağız also finds the English lessons boring. He says he has failed in three exams and he

does not like English; he finds it boring. Yiğit, it seems, cannot understand when the teacher speaks English. “When my English teacher starts talking in English I do not know what to do, I am frozen. Then I tell my teacher, he gives some examples. I try to do according to what he says” (Yiğit, Appendix E.38). Mehlika finds building vocabulary difficult. That is why English is the least favorite lesson for her.

For the other children, also, there are some specific lessons in which they have difficulties. For example, Musa and Bayram cannot understand and do not like math topics or lessons. Bayram says he is not very good at mathematics. Mathematics is boring; all the topics are boring, too. He gets sleepy during the class. Rahman says he does not like science very much. “I do not understand science. The teacher asks one thing, but then you need to figure out a hundred things in one thing.” He got a high grade in an exam, but the exam was one in which many of the students copied, so the teacher canceled it; Rahman did not like this. His teacher also told him, “Stand up Rahman, I know all about you, you cannot get a grade more than 75 or 65” (Rahman, Appendix E.39).

Bahar cannot find many negative things to say about school or her lessons. She hesitated for a moment when she was asked what lesson she does not like and then said history of the Turkish Revolution is the lesson she cannot cope with because she does not understand very well and the exams are difficult. “It is not related with liking or not liking the lesson, but I do not understand much in the class. I check with the book occasionally but she asks difficult questions in the exam” (Bahar, Appendix E.40).

For Ferda, the reason for her failure is related with work. When she started working, her grades decreased. But she is still trying. “When I started working, I realized my grades failed right after that. I started working and working affected my

life. For example, my mathematics grade decreased from four-five to three, even two. My Turkish grade was five and now it is around three-four" (Ferda, Appendix E.41).

4.1.2.2 Negative thoughts about teachers

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they do not like about their teachers. Three of the children claim that some teachers are not fair. Mehlika hesitantly says her science teacher treats her and her friends differently from the hardworking children:

> I do not like my science teacher. I do not know, I do not like, and he won't hear what I say about him, right? He is not likable for us. Sometimes we talk with the other kids and agree on the thought that he is treating us differently. During the exams, during the lessons, he seats the students he sees studying at the front and seats us at the back of the classroom. That is the reason why I do not like him. (Mehlika, Appendix E.42)

According to İsmail, teachers discriminate against students on the basis of ethnic identity. Once, a teacher beat a friend of his because he sang a Kurdish song. The teacher told them to pick a song but when it was a Kurdish song, the teacher got angry. "He told us to pick the song that we like. A friend of mine, he searched on the Internet and chose a Kurdish song. The teacher told us whatever you want. When my friend sang that song, the teacher beat him. He is our Turkish teacher and he is discriminating" (İsmail, Appendix E.43).

For Zeynep, the situation is a little more complicated. She complains about many teachers for a variety of reasons. She claims that teachers do not like the students who cannot afford to pay school payments, like her.

> Zeynep is very rich; she brings something new to school everyday. She is seated one desk behind me. She drops her pencil and if I do not pick it to give her…. ("I'm in trouble" silence) because she pays the school fee[1], teachers like her more. Her grades are good. Her lessons are good and the teachers… she gives money for schoolbooks. Maybe I am not able to pay, maybe I am working. Teacher does not accept the money weekly, they ask for monthly. (Zeynep, Appendix E.44)

Other than this, she does not like the vice principal and her English teacher. She thinks that the vice principal was not fair; he got angry with her and shouted at her. "I do not like the vice principle a lot. He is unfair; I cannot stand unfairness, which is why I do not like him. I have complains about Mr. R., the vice principle." According to her, her English teacher and the vice principle are against her and cruel to her. She feels not understood and her reaction is rebelling against them.

> I have problems with my English teacher and it is because of the exam. I got 63 and went to her to increase my grade to 70. She is stubborn. She did not want to increase it. I did not go to her class a few times. That's why she is angry with me. She went to Mr. R. I explained the situation to him. However, he does not understand. I'd just asked her to increase my grade. And because she shouted at me, I do not go to her class. That's it. (Zeynep, Appendix E.44)

Other than facilitating the children's problem solving skills, there are some little things for which the teachers scare the children with disciplinary committee. Yağız has an example for this while talking about how he does not like fights and being falsely accused.

> I cannot get along with a girl, S.S. That girl wrote a letter to someone. One of my friends also wrote a letter to someone else. They thought I wrote that letter. That is why I had a warning. They blamed me. Also, just a while ago today, a kid was with another kid and we had a quarrel. Probably I'll get another warning. (Yağız, Appendix E.45)

And he goes on to tell about the quarrel more:

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[1] Under the Primary Education Law, article 222/2, (MEB, 1961) State schools are free for all children. However, sometimes school management illegally asks a fee for parents to pay. (http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/html/24.html)

> We were playing football in the garden, when a boy came nearby. We were having fun, kicking the ball. The ball rolled over and he kicked it very hard. He asked why he kicked so hard. My friend swore at him and he swore back. He went to complain to his teacher and he also accused me of saying, "If you tell anyone, I'll kill you." I said sorry to the teacher but the teacher told me that he is going to send us to the disciplinary committee on Monday. Maybe they'll kick me out of school. (His eyes are in tears.) (Yağız, Appendix E.46)

Three of the children mentioned physical punishments from the teachers. Rahman explains how the music teacher punished him by hitting his hand.

> The teacher said that he would beat the ones who talk in the lesson. He said all right. I did nothing in the class; I was listening to the girl and doing the signs in the music class. Teacher called me, he said Rahman, why are you talking, come here. He hit my hand. It hurt a lot. I said all right, I am not going to do it again. He said OK, go and sit down. (Rahman, Appendix E.47)

Remziye also mentions the teachers' punishments, especially the music teacher's punishments as tough. He punishes the whole class because of some spoiled friends and the punishment hurts them physically.

> Sometimes, my classroom friends are too spoiled, so the teachers punish us all. Especially, our music teacher gives heavy punishments. This part of our legs hurts a lot. (She shows her thighs and knees.) We sit like that during the class duration for 40 minutes. (She bends as if she were sitting on a chair.)… We especially hate Tuesdays. Because we bend like that, we cannot move and we are in pain after that. (Remziye, Appendix E.48)

İsmail says the teachers beat him, hit him, and shout at him. His relationship with the teachers got tense when he had an argument with his teachers and told them he will never do his homework if they beat him. However, they did, so he does not do his homework anymore. İsmail openly says he does not like school.

> When something happens, they hit us. Even when we were younger, like fourth, fifth grade, teachers called us to solve a problem on the blackboard; if you couldn't solve it, then they'd beat [you].
> I used to do all of my homework in the past. Then new teachers came to school. They all beat me and I started not doing my homework anymore.
> I told them, if you hit me, I am not going to do my homework again. They hit me and I did not do it anymore. I got 70, the other day. Actually, I got 80 and the teacher decreased it to 70. I asked him why he did that. He said, any objection and he ripped my exam paper. (İsmail, Appendix E.49)

Ferda thinks she could not find the expected support from her teachers. When she is seated at the back of the classroom, she cannot learn well. Her friends at the back seats distract her. She wants to sit in the front, but when she tried to communicate her need, the teachers did not try to understand her.

> When you are seated at the back after you are seated in the front, there is a difference. I cannot understand when I'm seated at the back of the classroom. Also, my friends at the back… I like them; however, they are annoying when you are very close. They influenced my lessons negatively. I tried to get help from my teacher; however, I got nothing. I wanted to be seated in the front, but he did not do it. (Ferda, Appendix E.50)

Ferda also complains her religion teacher is pushing them with lots of homework. She says G.D., the religion teacher, puts pressure on them. She says she likes the class; however, he makes them memorize too many prayers and also gives lots of homework. She cannot do all of them at once, and this is annoying.

Ozan gets along very well with the teachers. The only thing he does not like is when a teacher takes the break time away as a milder punishment. "When we are writing, then the bell rings. When we are about to go out for break, teacher tells us to sit down, do more writing and he does not allow us to go out for break time" (Ozan, Appendix E.51).

Mehmet Can gets upset when some teachers ask for them to buy unnecessary things. He does not like it. He thinks they cause unnecessary expenditures. He says the teacher asks them to buy a flute, melodica so he sees it as wasting his money.

4.1.2.3 Negative thoughts about friends at school

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they do not like about their friends at school. The children feel unsafe when there are some other children, mostly bullies, around them. Bayram says there are some bullies and fighters at school. He was beaten by some of them in the past. He tried to solve the problem by talking to them, and it looks like this helped a bit.

> There are lots of vagrants at school. My complaints are about them. I want to get along also with them, but because they are vagrants, they become aggressive and bully. They were beating me, and then I talked to them. Now they do not beat anymore. They were asking me to give things, such as my pencil, my food or eraser. I was shouting at them, that is why they were angry with me and they were beating me. Now we do not have problems anymore. (Bayram, Appendix E.52)

Yiğit also mentions there are some classmates bothering him at school. They are cruel to some of his friends or disrupt their games:

> Sometimes some kids are annoying and cruel; the teacher takes them seriously and hits my friend. When somebody pushes me or other kids from the fifth, sixth grade kick our ball when we are playing, I do not like them. When they kick the ball, the ball blows up. Then we have to stay inside during the break time. If you play volleyball inside, the classroom gets dusty and then the teacher gets angry with us. (Yiğit, Appendix E.53)

Mevlüde says that her classroom has the most troublemaker students at school, which she does not like. She explains it with these words:

> The kids in our classroom… Our classroom is the worst in whole school. They are the most misbehaving ones, for instance, cigarettes and knives are found in our classroom. The classroom door was broken four-five times. Too many bad things happened in our classroom. Sometimes they bring make-up equipment and they wear make-up. We had many inspections in the class, usually during the social sciences class. (Mevlüde, Appendix E.54)

Ozan and Ferda complain about their classmates who prevent their learning by their misbehaviors. Ferda explains how it is unfair to the ones who take school seriously: "When some of my friends are too loud, I get uncomfortable and they prevent us from doing our lessons. They are loud and noisy; they come to school without notebooks and books. I feel like it is unfair to us to be with them in the same classroom" (Ferda, Appendix E.55).

The children do not like it when there are fights around them, even if they are not actively involved in these fights. To witness in itself is disturbing for peace. Musa does not like the students who fight or cause damage to school.

> Sometimes, some kids give damage to the school. I do not like those kids. Many of them are in our classroom. They have quarrels everyday. They are bad and they beat one another. They do not listen to the teachers. They annoy

> the teachers. Even though the teachers beat them, they are still not behaving wisely. (Musa, Appendix E.56)

Bahar also does not like it when there are fights at school (when some students have fights), and she does not like the students who, according to her, are not behaving appropriately at school.

> There are some in the classroom who act in a childish way. They are annoying. For example, a friend of mine gave me a flower. I put it on my desk, and I like the smell. A kid came and took the flower away. He took it and gave it to someone else. I asked why he gave it to someone else and told him it was mine. He said, "You do not get the jokes." And the second time, he did it again, also the third time. That is when I got angry. I told him he is childish. He did not do it again. However, it is annoying me. There are more kids like him in the classroom…
> …There are quarrels at school that I do not like very bad ones. Also, I do not like the bad things girls do at school. I mean I do not like the girls who come to school to look for boyfriends. They shouldn't come. I do not like those girls. Some put make-up on and they are asked to go to the disciplinary committee. Teachers write warnings. (Bahar, Appendix E.57)

Remziye, as mentioned earlier, complains that, because of some "spoiled friends", they are all exposed to the punishments.

> Sometimes, my classroom friends are too spoiled so that we are all punished by the teachers. Especially, our music teacher gives heavy punishments. This part of our legs hurt a lot. (She shows her thighs and knees.) We sit like that during the class duration for 40 minutes. (She bends as if she were sitting on a chair.) We especially hate Tuesdays. Because we bend like that, we cannot move and we are in pain after that. (Remziye, Appendix E.48)

Three of the girls complain about the children of the opposite sex who disturb them. Remziye talks about instances when some male students disturbed her and her girl friends.

> We have other friends in the classroom, geniuses. (She calls them 'geniuses' in a sarcastic way.) Let's say they do not sit still during lesson time. I sit in the very front and they pull these desks. While I'm reading the book, they take it, they say: "Let's see, what is written inside, for sure it has swear words" and they take the book or pull the desk. When you are focused, they pull the desk so that you fall. We cannot read. And then we go to an exam without studying. They are really annoying. For other lessons, there are friends who do not care. Girls study for the exam at the very back. They come and say, "You cry whether you get one or five in the exam, you cry anyway". We, as girls, are not used to get lower grades, we cry and the boys say, "Why do you study, you cry anyway." They want to argue all the time. (And she goes on:)

> Unfortunately, boys are another case. They disturb us, run around, hit or pull our hair. If you ask why they did that, they say, "I did not do it, my friend did it." "Did not you hit?" "No I did not hit, I pushed my friend so he hit you." Then he says, "You talk a lot, let's have a quarrel." I ask, "Why do we need to argue? I did not say anything to you, why are you so wiseacre, why are you so tense, I did not say anything to you! I just told you not to hit, not to touch me." He says, "What if I touch, are you going to explode?" They come by, pull my hair, they push their friends on us, they hit us. When they push a lot… A friend of ours from the classroom warns us to keep distance from boys. She says they know bad things. (Remziye, Appendix E.58)

Mehlika is disturbed by some of the boys at school who bother them.

> Boys try to interfere with our privacy. For example, we are writing a book with my friends, we have finished the first one and now we are writing the second one. It is a private book, a book we do not want them to read, they try to steal it and read it. The book has very private information about us, but they read it. My friend and I cried because these were top-secret things. (Mehlika, Appendix E.59.)

Zeynep has trouble with boys. They asked to go out with her. And when she refused, they falsely accused her. That affected her relations with her other friends.

> I have problems with other boys; they are usually from the eighth grade. For instance, after school on Thursday, one of them asked me to go out with him. I'm not used to this, I do not like this like the other girls. When I refuse, some people gossip about me. I do not like this. They break my relationship with some of my girl friends. (Zeynep, Appendix E.60)

Not only the girls but also İsmail complains about his friends of the opposite sex. Some girls at school bother him, they hit him and when he hits back to stop them, the teacher beats him but does not do anything to the girls. "When girls hit me, I tell my teacher and he does not do anything. When I hit them, then the teacher beats me. When İsmail is asked why he hit his friends he says: I hit them because they hit me, if I do not do anything, then they hit harder" (İsmail, Appendix E.61).

On the other hand, Eda and Bahar feel a little lonely at school. Bahar says she has a few good friends, but this is all. She has some negative feelings toward some of her classmates, and she has difficulties making many friends. They make her feel uncomfortable. "I cannot build a relationship with some of my friends; I cannot get

along with them very well. Some of them are too shy; I cannot do anything about it. So I become upset" (Bahar, Appendix E.62).

Eda has some problems with friendship issues. She has a small number of friends and she thinks that at school there is a kind of differential treatment.

> I cannot get along well with my friends at school. They treat hardworking and lazy ones differently.
>
> K.G. is my least liked classmate. She is hardworking and arrogant. She flatters and tries to attract teachers. When there is an announcement in the classroom about working children, they tell me to go and then they make fun of me. (Eda, Appendix E.63)

After the problem with her English teacher, the school administration changed Zeynep's class and she cannot get along well with her new classmates.

4.1.2.4 Negative thoughts about school in general

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they do not like about the school in general. For Mehmet Can, one of the negative things about school is about its size and population. The school is overcrowded and when he is playing football in the school garden, he does not like crashing into people. Zeynep, on the other hand, mentions about the payments to the school. School payments are difficult to pay. And according to her, teachers are treating better the kids who can pay it but worse the kids who cannot pay it. For Yağız, the discipline procedures are harsh. He is not happy about his being sent to the disciplinary committee. (He is scared of being punished.) "I said sorry to the teacher but the teacher told me that he is going to refer us to the disciplinary committee on Monday." In tears he adds, "Maybe they'll kick me out of school" (Yağız, Appendix E.46). Ferda mentioned the problem of class hours that cannot be filled by any of the teachers. There are no teachers for some lessons (computer), but she does not see it as a problem; on the contrary, she uses this time to solve tests. "I like computer classes the least, because there is no teacher.

Sometimes I take a test book with me, rather than doing nothing, studying is much better" (Ferda, Appendix E.64).

On the other hand, some children can barely find anything negative about school. For example, for Reyhan, the only thing she could tell is that she does not like physical education (PE) classes because she prefers to solve tests instead of going out. What she says also gives a clue about the physical conditions of the school. They do not have an inside area to do PE classes. "For instance, I do not like to waste my time for PE classes. Sometimes it is too hot, sometimes too cold. Rather than going out, it is better to stay inside and do some practice questions" (Reyhan, Appendix E.65).

Rahman also could not find anything negative to say, but then said: "I do not like science very much." He got a high grade in an exam, but the exam was one in that many of the students copied, so the teacher canceled it; he did not like this.

4.1.3 Theme 3: Children's positive perception of work (Pull factors of work)

Under this theme, the children are asked about their positive experiences at work. This theme enables me to understand the reasons at work that pull the children in. Sub-themes under the heading of this theme are: positive thoughts about the people at work, positive thoughts about the work itself, contributing to family budget, and an alternative to boredom at home.

4.1.3.1 Positive thoughts about the people at work

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they like about the people at their workplaces. Eight of the children consider the people they work with positive, likable, and trustworthy. They also feel they are liked in return. Rahman and Ferda have friends at work. They like it there because their friends are also there. Bahar likes to work and the people at the work love her, too. She says, "I'm the apprentice,

my older sisters there like me, so do my master and my boss. There are my sisters whom I like" (Bahar, Appendix E.66). Her boss likes Remziye, and they trust each other. He is also aware of her needs and sometimes helps her.

> My boss informs us and he says, "This week I'll pay you this way." Sometimes he asks me, "Remziye, I know you're going to the course, do you need any money?" I say, "No, thank you." Today (Saturday), I went to ask if there is any work. He said there is no work but he said, "Wait, you have the course today, spend that money," then he gave me money (5 TL). But I'm sure he wouldn't give if his wife were also there. He gives pocket money separately from my salary. They trust me; I trust them. If you work as he likes, then he gives socks as gifts. (Remziye, Appendix E.67)

Yiğit, Mehmet Can, and Musa say they like their bosses. Yiğit calls him "Brother Metin". Mehmet Can gets along well with his boss; his boss never gets angry with him. Musa likes his boss, and his boss is nice to him. İsmail is working with his uncle and his uncle is nice to him, too. He does not get tired or upset. "It is better than school, it is more comfortable. Sometimes there is no work. You do not carry anything heavy. It is my uncle's goldsmith store. They are nice to me and do whatever I ask for" (İsmail, Appendix E.68). Ozan is also working with his uncle. He feels respected and protected; for instance, he does not carry anything heavy, his uncle buys the food he likes, and they take turns while eating.

> I get along well with my uncle. We lift the products from car. I do not carry anything heavy. I carry the lighter ones. Afterwards, my uncle puts together the counter. Then he prepares the stands by stabilizing it with 6-7 plates. Later, he puts a cloth on it. We organize all the clothes. My Uncle puts the tracksuits this side, I put the hair-clips to the other side. He tells me where to put [them]. We organize everything. Once the stand is ready, we shout, "Ladies, come and see what we have. We sell this." When it is later in the day, a man selling rice comes by. My uncle asks if I want any. I say, "Yes I want to eat." He buys two plates of rice. We sit on the side and eat together. If there is any customer, we take turns to take care of, one by one. (Ozan, Appendix E.69)

Three of the children mention that the people at work are a source of social support for them. For Bertan, whose parents are divorced, his work environment is like a family environment to him. "It is good. Haha. You start to know each other better.

He is like one from my family and we're like one in his family" (Bertan, Appendix E.70). Bahar finds emotional support at work.

> Yes, I am happy at work. As I said, I can share my secrets also with them, with my sisters at work. My brothers at work are… Sometimes I'm upset because I had a bad exam. When I go to work, they realize immediately and ask why I'm upset. I can share with them. They try to motivate me saying that I can study harder and get a better grade in the next exam. (Bahar, Appendix E.71)

Mehlika works in a family business. She says they are all relatives. There is no one from outside; they work with relatives. She says, "They are all my relatives and I get along well with all" (Mehlika, Appendix E.72).

For the children, work environment can also be a socializing place. Six of them especially talk about how they like to spend time at work. They have fun, they chat with their colleagues. Bertan is one of the children who talk about how they socialize and chat at work. "I like it there. You get along well with the people; you socialize. Sometimes acquaintances come. I like to chat with the customers and my master. I like to socialize with them" (Bertan, Appendix E.73).

Bayram gets along with the people at work; he likes to spend time there. "Sometimes I like to spend my time at work. It is better than spending time running outside. I like to work, do the delivery, I get along with them well, and we make jokes. I am so happy there, because I share everything with them" (Bayram, Appendix E.74).

Reyhan likes to chat with her aunts. She likes to be in a workplace that is owned by her relatives. She says, "It is so much fun for me because I have my aunts and uncles working there. I like to chat with them after work" (Reyhan, Appendix E.75).

Four of the children also talk about how much fun they have at work. Yiğit says he has a good time at work. He has fun. He talks to people. "I have a good time

at work, I chat with people… The people whom I have the best time with are the kid who came from Syria, Ilknur's sister Binnur, and Brother Metin (his boss)" (Yiğit, Appendix E.76).

Mehmet Can has fun at work. Sometimes he is treated to the foods he likes. "I have fun, sometimes he asks me to buy food. Usually I go to get food. Sometimes I get çiğköfte or döner (Turkish food); sometimes he lets me go out. My master has a child and I took him for walk" (Mehmet Can, Appendix E.77).

Mehlika gets along with the people well. Most of them are her relatives. They have fun. They chat all day. "They are my uncle's children; they do not go to school. They are all very good people and I get along with them very well; we chat, we make jokes. I also get along well with my uncle. Sometimes if I'm bored, I go to see him, we talk" (Mehlika, Appendix E.78).

Remziye also talks about how much fun they have at work. "I'm happy with everyone other than the head master. They talk about fun stories, we have fun" (Remziye, Appendix E.79).

4.1.3.2 Positive thoughts about work

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they like about the work they do. Six of the children talk about how they like working and what they do at work. Remziye likes the job she does, especially the oversewing because it gives a predictable income. "I like my job. My favorite thing is oversewing. You sew a specific number of pieces. When you sew 50, you get 5 TL. Because it depends on the number you sew, you can go out and come back whenever you want. You do not have to work a shift. If you are working on oversewing, you can go home, you can do your homework, come back, you can do it fast or less, then you are paid accordingly" (Remziye, Appendix E.80).

Yiğit likes working. He says, “I like to work on the machine. I do whatever they ask for” (Yiğit, Appendix E.81). Musa likes to serve tea to people. Yağız also likes his job and thinks it is an easy job to do. “Yes, I like it because it is an easier job. There are more difficult jobs, but this one is only serving tea. It is very easy to do” (Yağız, Appendix E.82). Bertan likes to go on working in the hairdresser’ salon; he expects more responsibilities in the future. “I’m not taking any customers yet. But I want to take some in the future. That is why I observe how he does it” (Bertan, Appendix E.83).

Just like Bertan, Rahman also likes to work, and he wants to learn more. “I like to carry the extra clothes. I talk with the workers. I like the machine work the most. I want to be able to work on it, I want to learn how to do it” (Rahman, Appendix E.84). İsmail is a fan of working, says he likes his workplace; he is comfortable there. He likes to be spending his time there. “It is better (than school), comfortable. Sometimes there is no work. You do not carry anything heavy. It is my uncle’s goldsmith store. They are nice to me and do whatever I ask for” (İsmail, Appendix E.68).

Furthermore, İsmail likes and prefers working in the goldsmith store to playing outside. He says he does not want to hang out with bad boys outside; they smoke cigarettes, so he likes to go to work more. Bayram also says working is more meaningful than spending his time playing.

Mehlika thinks it is a clean workplace. “I get used to the work, and I like to work. It is not a hard work. We only pick the clothes. We fold and put them together. It is a large place and it is not dusty. We do clean work” (Mehlika, Appendix E.85).

Mehlika and Ozan say they like to go to work; otherwise, they would spend time at home and it is boring. For them, working is a way of spending their time in a

more fun way. Mehlika says, “I do not know, I got bored at home and I cannot go out easily. I got used to work and I actually like working” (Mehlika, Appendix E.86).

Ozan has fun; otherwise, he would spend time at home doing nothing, he says. “I like it. It is fun. Actually I do not work for money, I got bored at home. That is why I accepted to work” (Ozan, Appendix E.87).

For Mevlüde, what she does is also a way of spending her time in a fun way. What Mevlüde does as a work is more like a hobby. She has fun while making bracelets: “Yes, mostly we have fun with my friends.” This also gives her a feeling she does not get at school. Mevlüde finds herself successful in making bracelets. “I find myself successful in making bracelets, whatever I do. For instance, when we first started, my friends had an argument with Kader because they all want to work with me” (Mevlüde, Appendix E.88).

Musa also thinks he is successful at the workplace (but not at school). Yiğit says he did not know anything in the beginning, but he improved in time. “They told me what to do, how to do and I improved in time, I started doing it better” (Yiğit, Appendix E.89).

4.1.3.3 Contributing to family budget

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about how they are happy about contributing to their family budget. Three of the children talk about how important their contribution is for their family budget.

Remziye’s family does not want her to work, but she wanted to because she knows her family economically needs her assistance. “My family does not want me to work. I work by my own wish. I feel sorry for them; I cannot rest aside while they’re trying so hard to contribute to the family budget. I cannot let that happen. So

I work by my own wish. I could not ask for money from them anymore" (Remziye, Appendix E.90).

Being useful to his family makes also Bayram happy. "Earning for my family and contributing to their budget makes me happy" (Bayram, Appendix E.91). Yağız is also happy to be able to help his dad and contribute to his family.

4.1.3.4 An alternative to boredom at home

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about how work is an escape from staying at home. For three children, working gives them a kind of freedom. In Bayram's situation, the owner of the restaurant, his boss, gives them (children) the freedom to come and go whenever they want. "Sometimes we go out and take a walk. We ask for permission and sometimes we ask for money to buy something. I can go out at around 6:30-7:00 PM. My boss tells us to come and go out whenever we want. He only let us, only children" (Bayram, Appendix E.92).

Ozan has fun at work; otherwise, he would spend time at home doing nothing, he says. "I like it. It is fun. Actually I do not work for money, I got bored at home. That is why I accepted to work" (Ozan, Appendix E.87).

Mehlika as a teenage girl is not allowed to go out, because outside is dangerous. On the other hand, staying at home is boring. As an alternative, going to work is fun. Work provides a safe environment with only the relatives. "I do not know, I got bored at home and I cannot go out easily. But I can go to work. Why can I not go out? Because my mom does not allow me to go out. There are some problems, some quarrels in our neighborhood. There are also some bad things happening, so I cannot go out. My mom does not allow it. Meanwhile, it is fun at work. Also, there are no strangers there, they are all relatives" (Mehlika, Appendix E.93).

4.1.4 Theme 4: Children's negative perception of work (Push factors of work)

Under this theme, the children are asked about their negative experiences at work. This theme enables me to understand what children do not like about work or what they experience as child laborers. Sub-themes under the heading of this theme are: negative thoughts about the people, negative thoughts about the work itself, dangers of work, working harms school performance and causes physical fatigue, working is a loss of childhood and wipes out play time.

4.1.4.1 Negative thoughts about the people at work

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they do not like about the people at their workplaces. Six of the children talk about how they are mistreated at work. People at work, sometimes their boss, sometimes their colleagues, sometimes customers, get angry with them, shout at them, or insult them.

Bahar is one of those children who are mistreated at work for no reason, and because she is so fragile, she is hurt. Sometimes the people at work get angry at something else or they get too ambitious and they shout at her. "Sometimes machine workers get angry with some other people, but they take out their frustration on me, they shout at me, they give orders rudely, such as they say, 'Go and bring me this, quick' and if I cannot find it, 'Aren't you an apprentice, why cannot you find it?'." She gets upset, but they also apologize afterwards. "Of course, you get upset. I'm an emotional person; I can easily be in tears" (Bahar, Appendix E.94).

Remziye has especially a few people at work that she cannot get along with. She talks in detail and emotionally about how she has been humiliated by them.

> There is a woman at work, she is the headworker, and I cannot get along only with her. She shouts at me, and I cannot respond back because she is older than me. But we have some arguments. We cannot get along very well. We do not have a good relationship.

Other than the headworker, she has trouble also with the wife of the boss and their sister-in-law, who shouts at her very often. The boss is a nice man, however; he cannot be a solution for the other people's mistreatments. She talks about their insults in detail:

> She is a headworker at the same time, she checks us from time to time. She says, "Are you stupid?" If I do something wrong or slowly, she says, "Do it quick or I'll tear your mouth apart". She uses such bad language. But still, textile work is comfortable; also the headworker does not walk around a lot. She does her job, too. But when she walks around, she talks in a dirty language. That is humiliating. (Remziye, Appendix E.95)

She talked about this problem with the owner, but it only caused the headworker to act more offensively.

> I talk about this problem with the owner but then she comes back and scolds us in return. She says, "From now on, I won't talk to you; you go and spy to the boss. Did I tell you something nasty? I am the headworker, but you do not really respect me." So, we cannot really do much about her. But, as soon as the boss leaves, the headworker and wife of the boss come together and they scold us whereas they are like angels when the boss is there. (Remziye, Appendix E.96)

Remziye talks about how even her needs such as being thirsty or the need to use the toilet are seen as unnecessary or evasion of work. She is exposed to humiliation or bad words when she takes her breaks or when she has to stop working for some reason; these people act like she avoids work.

> For instance, I go to the restroom or to drink water, she says, "Why do you go to drink water that often? There is a break soon, how can you not delay a bit?" (Remziye emphasizes and she tells angrily:) …I go to the restroom. She grumbles, "Are you going to pee on yourself? We are about to give a break at 4 PM, cannot you wait for it!" The daughter-in-law of the boss grumbles when I go to drink water, "Tell your father to put a water pipe in your mouth, you can use it when you are thirsty, and you drink water very often." They get angry when I need water. That is not because I try to avoid work, but this is just because I'm thirsty. It is a very human need. But that makes them angry. (Remziye, Appendix E.96)

Zeynep is also treated badly at work; they shout at her, they hit her when she does something wrong:

> They are nice to the new people. But later, when you make mistakes, they shout at you. You have lots of problems. You are responsible for the machine

> workers. If you do not pick the clothes nicely, they shout at you. Usually, the boss and the headworker are the ones who humiliate. (She says sometimes they falsely accuse her:) The warnings are noisy and loud. They can shout at you, but the way they do it is unfair. Somebody puts the work somewhere else and accuses you. Then they shout at you, humiliate you, and hit you. They are praising themselves because they are machine workers. (Zeynep, Appendix E.97)

When Zeynep is asked if it is something important to be a machine worker; she explains that they sew, they work on the machine, and they are not all over, they can sit. And then she continues:

> They shout at people, they see themselves as superior because they work on the machine. Also, because it is their own place, they shout without a reason, they are so unfair. (Zeynep, Appendix E.97)

Eda does not tell anything positive at all about the work during the interview. It is a place she can barely stand. She explains how the people at work are not nice to her, using these words:

> The conditions are not as good. They smoke cigarettes. They talk a lot. When they talk, the boss gets angry and he shouts at them. They try to blame me, they say, "This apprentice is making us talk." The boss tells me not to make them talk and he threatens me, he says, "Otherwise I'll fire you." I explain that I do not do anything or I do not make them talk, he calls me liar. (So, she does not like working or anything related to working:) I do not want to work. I do not like anything related with the work. (These manners fill her with feelings of revenge and she even dreams about one day being the boss of the people she is working with right now, and she says:) When I have a profession, I will also make them suffer. (Eda, Appendix E.98)

Ferda says she does not like the work. Even her reply to the question, "What makes you unhappy" is "Working". They treat her badly. "There is nothing I like about the work. If I cannot do something, they get angry, they shout. I never want to work with them. Rather than hearing the scold of the boss in front of a hundred people, I'd rather prefer teachers' scolding" (Ferda, Appendix E.99).

Yiğit likes his work in general. But he does not like when people avoid work. When he first started working, he was scared and his boss got angry with him. "When I first started working, I was scared. I was scared because I did not have my family with me. I was not capable of doing the work, it was hard for me, my boss

was angry with me." But it seems what he was exposed to in the beginning by his boss is now becoming his style as he feels more responsible at work, and that is why he cannot get along with some people at work. "Sometimes D. gets angry with me because I tell her to work. I tell her not to be busy with her phone; she says why does it bother me. And I tell M. not to laugh, not to dance. She scolds me" (Yiğit, Appendix E.100).

For Rahman, the situation is different. He is not exposed to mistreatment by the people at work, but he does not like it when people do not do what they supposed to do. Doing another person's work annoys him and he does not like it.

> I have a friend E., she is Azerbaijani. We are four people who pick up the cloths and there are 16 machines in total. Every one of us is responsible for four machines. I observe they all call me to pick up. I pick them up and they stare at me. E. says, "Rahman come and pick this up, do I have to pick yours?" (Rahman tells this angrily.) However, I do not have more, she has more! She stares at me doing nothing and I pick her pieces. That is very annoying. (Rahman, Appendix E.101)

For Musa, it is not his colleagues, but because he serves the customers, he is exposed to customers' negativity. When he is late in serving tea, some customers get a little angry. However, he is not affected as badly as the other children. "They give the order, I bring it, and sometimes I am late. They grumble. But I do not really care that they grumble" (Musa, Appendix E.102).

For Ozan, his negative feelings toward customers is as mild as Musa's. He does not like it some customers ask for something difficult (such as getting things down from the hanger) but then give up buying. "The lady comes by and asks how much the things are. I tell how much and she says ok, I'll purchase. I pull it down, it is high, higher than me (he shows how high it is) then she says that she changed her mind" (Ozan, Appendix E.103).

4.1.4.2 Negative thoughts about working

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what they do not like about the work they do. Other than the conditions at work or people at work, some children talk about what they do not like about the work they do. Yiğit does not like to do cleaning at work or dealing with the cloth waste (Yiğit, Appendix E.104). Reyhan has difficulty in cutting the hard parts of the cloth/ textile (Reyhan, Appendix E.105). Eda directly and clearly says, "I do not like to work!" During the interview, she said this five times. When she is asked what she does not like exactly about work, she insists, "I do not like anything related with work" (Eda, Appendix E.106).

For two of the children, when they first started working, they had difficulties in terms of what they had to do, but later they got used to doing it. Bayram had difficulties during the orientation period and it was exhausting, but later he got used to the work:

> When I first started working, I had difficulties; it was exhausting in the beginning. Then as time passes, after around one month, I got used to it. There were lots of customers. I was carrying service plates and they were giving orders. I had difficulties in getting used to it. Packing was also difficult. Now I do everything easily. (Now they are more prepared and have more practical solutions.) The food is precooked, we cut and put it down. Sometimes, we put the food on the plates and serve the plates immediately. When they ask for the drinks, we bring the drinks. (Bayram, Appendix E.107)

In the beginning Ferda had problems because she did not know what to do at work. "The start was hard. It is hard not to know anything about the work. They bring a sample; you do not know about it, you do not know how to do it. But as time goes by, your hands are more capable and you get used to doing it" (Ferda, Appendix E.108).

For two of the children, when there is no work, it is boring. Ozan does not like it when there are no customers and nothing to do. He is bored. Mehlika is also bored when there is nothing to do. For Mevlüde, who is in another category of

working children, what she does not like about her hobby group is to go selling the things she made. She wants to be the designers' team not the sellers' team.

4.1.4.3 Risks at work

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about what kind of dangers they face at work. Three children talk about risks at work.

Musa mentions how dealing with hot water may be dangerous. He had even burned his hand once. "For instance when you soak the tea, while pouring you might burn your hand. I burned my hand once." When he is asked about what he does in a case like that, he says, "There is a medicine for burnings; I put some on." When he is asked how often it happens, he says, "Yes, it happens. I burned all over this part of my hand once. I could not move my fingers. It happened when I first started" (Musa, Appendix E.109).

Ferda thinks it is not a safe and clean place. It is dusty. "When pieces in black color arrive, they release lots of dust. I have allergies, and it makes me sneeze. The dust stays in your system for a while. It affects me in a bad way, I do not recommend it to anyone." Also, Ferda mentions work accidents that are happening from time to time. She was hurt, injured her hand. "The start was hard. It is hard not to know anything about the work. They bring a sample; you do not know about it, you do not know how to do it. But as time goes by, your hands are more capable and you get used to doing it. But sometimes you cannot get used to it. Sometimes I have injuries on my hand" (Ferda, Appendix E.110).

She continues, "Cutting hands, being caught in a machine are possible. It never happened to me, but there are some people I know that it happened to" (Ferda, Appendix E.111).

Ferda also talks about an argument she had at the workplace with another girl and how she injured herself. When she is asked what happened to her hand, she says, "It happened with the scissors in my hand, when I was about to hit her… She said to me, 'There is no school tomorrow, Ferda is going to school for nothing.' I said, 'I have an English exam, I need to study. Soon I will have an exam (SBS)[2] and I want to focus on my lesson.' But I was so angry and about to hit her when the scissors stuck into my hand right to the bone." And she repeats, "All because she said, 'There is no school tomorrow, Ferda goes to school for no reason.' I have to study, and I have an exam" (Ferda, Appendix E.112).

Mehmet Can gets scared when his boss sends him to places that are strange to him. "I do not like it when I have to go to places, places that are far away. They send me to the markets downtown, to buy newspaper. No other places sell the newspaper, that's why." When Mehmet Can is asked why he does not like to go to other places, he says he is scared of being lost. When he is asked if he had told this to his boss, he says he told it once and then he got used to it (Mehmet Can, Appendix E.113).

4.1.4.4 Working harms school performance and causes physical fatigue

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about how they become exhausted from working and how their lessons are affected negatively. Besides the potential physical damages to children, the negative effects on children's school success and physical fatigue are the more common results of working. Ten of the children talk about those negative effects.

[2] SBS, High school exams. SBS exams changed into TEOG exams in 2013.

Bahar says she has to take permission from work for studying because the working hours are long.

> Sometimes we have long shifts; I usually stay at work until 10 PM. On Thursdays and Fridays we usually have long shifts until 10 PM. It is quite busy, it is not possible to take permission. I leave at 10 PM, come home, prepare my schoolbag; I read a book and then go to sleep. I come home at 10 and go to bed at 11, and soon enough when I start reading, it is time to sleep. When I read, I'm sleepy and go to sleep easily. (She says this schedule is exhausting:) Everybody gets exhausted. I'm standing all day. When I go at around noon, I only have a 15 min break. Only for 15 min I can sit. Other than this, I'm standing because I'm an apprentice, I run around all day and my feet hurt. I feel how much they hurt when I come back home and can sit finally. (She is afraid working too much affects her school negatively:) I've been working after school since the age of seven or eight. I told my mom, "Mom, I am an eighth grade this year and do not want to work." (Bahar, Appendix E.114). (Field note: That is actually how she started working two days a week instead of five days a week.)

Eda mentions that work prevents her from studying. "I do not have any spare time. I mean, I do not have enough time to be successful in my lessons. I cannot even study. I usually go to bed around 9 PM, but because I'm exhausted, I go to work immediately. I'm exhausted of standing all day" (Eda, Appendix E.115).

Ferda says when she started working her grades decreased. She says working affected her school life. Her mathematics and her Turkish lesson grades dropped drastically. She cannot do her homework because of working. "I come home around 8-9 PM, it is already very short time. Sometimes I have to do my homework until midnight, I cannot go to sleep" (Ferda, Appendix E.116).

Remziye is tired from working; she has to come home exhausted from work and she also gets exhausted at home, from doing homework and housework.

> I'm exhausted after work but I have to do my homework; otherwise, it is no good. My grades will drop. Homework is compulsory. I purchase the materials after school for my performance projects. I complete my project on Sunday. I do some writing and do the math exercises. My mom calls for dinner, we have dinner. *İnsan ne kadar da olsa vicdanı elvermiyor kalkıyorsun annene yardım ediyorsun* (My conscience bothers me if I do not get up and help my mom). Later, I go to sleep. (Remziye, Appendix E.117)

Musa, who works until around 11 PM, is usually tired during the morning classes because he cannot get rest. “After work, I directly come home, prepare my schoolbag and go to sleep. When I come to school in the morning, I’m exhausted so that I cannot focus and listen to the lesson in the first class hour” (Musa, Appendix E.118).

Even Bertan, who is mostly positive about work and did not really talk about other negativities at work, says he is exhausted when he goes home from work and he cannot get enough rest.

Yiğit is exhausted at work; when he goes home, he cannot do his homework. “If there is urgency, I have to work until 11-12 PM. If I’m not sleepy when I come home, then I do my homework. It affects me negatively. Once I get home, I change my clothes and go to work. After school I change at home, then go to work” (Yiğit, Appendix E.119).

Zeynep feels physically exhausted at work. “When you work, your legs hurt all day. When there is a late shift, I come home at 12:00-01:00 AM. The times when I come home earlier like 08:30 PM, and then I can do my homework and study for my exam” (Zeynep, Appendix E.120).

Bayram can sit for a very short time, and the breaks are short. He cannot get rest.

> When I first started working, I had difficulties; it was exhausting in the beginning. Then as time passes, after 2-3 weeks or around one month, I got used to it. There were lots of customers. I was carrying service plates and they were giving orders. I had difficulties in getting used to it. Packing was also difficult. Now I do everything easily. The food is precooked. We chop and put the food on the plates and serve the plates immediately. When they ask for the drinks, we bring the drinks. It is easy but a little exhausting due to standing all day. Textile was easier. We could sit and also took breaks. Now, we also have breaks, but we can sit down only when there are no customers. (Bayram, Appendix E.121)

Some children said before the "Our Job is to Study" project, they were spending their time at work rather than spending their time playing or having leisure. As Yiğit says, "Before the courses, I was at work all the time. I was also working on Saturdays. I was trying to earn a full-time salary before the courses. When the courses began, I started not going on Saturdays" (Yiğit, Appendix E.122). However, for Ferda, coming to the extra courses is impossible. Going to work prevents her from going to the courses ("*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study"). Her boss does not allow her to go because the courses are in the afternoon.

These are the examples of the children's thoughts about what they do not like about work. İsmail, on the other hand, does not mention anything negative about work. Also Mevlüde, who is not working in a workplace under a boss but is working as a hobby, says she likes to work just because she is by herself and with her friends and she would not prefer to work under someone else's control.

4.1.4.5 Ideas about quitting work

Under this sub-theme, the children talked about in which case they would quit working. Some children are ready to quit working, mostly because of their lessons.

Bahar says she will quit if she can enroll in a good high school and actually when she enrolls in high school. "If I am admitted to a good high school, then I'll quit working." (Bahar, Appendix E.123).

Remziye also says she will quit working when she enrolls in high school or university. "When I go to high school and university, I'll quit working completely." She also rephrases it and says she will quit after one or two years working during high school if her grades decrease: "In high school maybe I work for one or two years but if my grades decrease, if my attendance is low, I'll think about quitting" (Remziye, Appendix E.124).

4.1.5 Theme 5: Children's perception of childhood: "Working is a loss of childhood and wipes out play time."

Under this theme, the children are asked about their understanding of childhood, if playing is a part of their lives and if they have any spare time for their hobbies. This theme enables me to see if the children perceive themselves as children or not. Also, this theme helps to understand if the children have any spare time besides going to school and working, if they can relax and do something productive with their lives by enrolling in different activities that will enrich their personality. It also helps to see if their life conditions prohibit them to play and have a healthy childhood.

The children talked about how working prevents them from playing. When the children are asked about what being a child means to them, eight out of the 17 children explicitly say that they do not see themselves as children anymore or whatever a child has, they do not have it. For Bayram, being a child means having no problems in order to find food and having no worries about paying the rent. He says, "Being a child means 'freedom', according to me." And he adds that it is something he does not have anymore.

Only two of the children state they are living their childhood. For Rahman, being a child means spending time outside. He accepts himself as a child and says, "I go out to play; they, adults, stay at home and spend their time inside. I like going out, spending time outside." And he also mentions how he makes room for himself to play outside. "I finish at 6 pm but I go home at 7 PM. My brothers ask why I go home one hour later. I tell them, I have to play football. Because I'm in Beşiktaş young players football team, I play football very well" (Rahman, Appendix E.125).

For Mevlüde, being a child means having fun and she usually emphasizes that she has fun when she is with her friends and when she is busy with her hobby, making beads.

Seven of the children did not say whether they see themselves as children or not, but they give a more general answer of what a child can do. Such as: Reyhan and Yiğit said that being a child means happiness. Two of the children put emphasis on the rights while defining childhood. For Ferda, being a child means having education, fun, play, and lots of activities. For Ozan, being a child means freedom and having a right to live.

When the children are asked about play, nearly half of the children (seven out of 17) say that they do not have enough play time in their lives. Two of the boys complain about not finding time to play because of their schedule. Yiğit spends all of his extra time at work (no free time). "I do not have time to go out. I can only play when I'm at school" (Yiğit, Appendix E.126). Rahman complains he cannot play when he is at work.

Two other boys, Musa and İsmail, claim they do not like to play because there are deliquent children outside and they do not want to hang out with bad friends. Girls and boys rationalize this situation differently. While the boys adopt a reaction formation mechanism toward play and claim they do not like to play, the girls accept that they like to play but because of the outside dangers, and also cultural limitations for the girls, they are not allowed to play. Zeynep says she would love to play outside, but she cannot because of working and also her mother says, "You are a grown up, do not go out". Mehlika cannot go out to play, and it is boring to stay at home, so the only place she can play is school. She likes table games, water fight with her friends.

Work also prevents Eda from playing. When she is asked if she has any time to play, she says, “Nope. From home to work, from work to home, that’s it” (Eda, Appendix E.127).

When the children are asked about their hobbies, some children (Four of them) talk about the things they do individually and inside their houses. Remziye, Reyhan, Zeynep, and Mevlüde give examples of hobbies under that category, such as reading, listening to music, or making handmade things, sewing. The children who have individual and indoor hobbies are only the girls.

On the other hand, Bertan, Mehmet Can, Mevlüde, Bayram, Ozan (Four of the children) talk about outdoor or more social hobbies such as playing football, gathering together with friends and making beads, watching movies, picnicking, riding a bicycle, playing video games.

There are also some children (Four of them)—Bahar, Yiğit, Rahman, Musa—who give examples of both social hobbies and individual hobbies such as playing volleyball, going out with friends, riding a bicycle or painting, singing, and reading.

Meanwhile five of children cannot give any examples of hobbies they have or the examples they give cannot be counted as hobbies. For example, Reyhan, Zeynep, and Yağız talk about doing high school preparation tests; Zeynep also talks about playing with her nephews, which is actually taking care of them; İsmail talks about staying at home, going to the seaside instead of having hobbies. Eda does not have a hobby because she says, “I do not have any spare time at all.”

As a summary, the sub-themes derived from the themes in the first part of the findings are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. Themes and Sub-themes Derived from the Data.

Themes	Subthemes
Theme 1: Children's positive perception of school (Pull factors of school)	• Positive thoughts about studying • Positive thoughts about teachers • Positive thoughts about friends at school.
Theme 2: Children's negative perception of school (Push factors of school)	• Negative thoughts about studying • Negative thoughts about teachers • Negative thoughts about friends at school. • Negative thoughts about friends at school in general.
Theme 3: Children's positive perception of work (Pull factors of work)	• Positive thoughts about the people at work • Positive thoughts about work • Contributing to family budget • An alternative to boredom at home
Theme 4: Children's negative perception of work (Push factors of work)	• Negative thoughts about people at work • Negative thoughts about working • Risks at work • Working harms school performance and causes physical fatigue • Ideas about quitting work
Theme 5: Children's perception of childhood	• Working is a loss of childhood and wipes out play time

4.2 Additional analysis: Comparison of school and work experiences

Once the themes appeared, an additional analysis was made to see the interaction of the pull and push factors of the school and work environment for the children, meaning that we try to see the interaction of pull and push factors of these environments within the child.

4.2.1 What drawbacks of school/ benefits of work do the children mention?

In this part, I tried to see if the children's negative experiences at school (push factors of school) are compensated by their positive experiences at work (pull factors of work), from the point of view of the children. The children who have some negative feelings and thoughts about school are sometimes exposed to positive experiences at work.

4.2.1.1 Social relations at work

Five of the children who have some kind of difficulties in getting along with some people at school have an easier time with the people at work. Bahar has positive feelings toward all of her teachers. However, she has only a few good friends at school. She has difficulties making friends. They make her feel uncomfortable. On the other hand, she is loved by the people at work. And she finds emotional support at work. Mevlüde is also uncomfortable with her classmates whom she calls "troublemakers" and who have bad habits. She prefers to spend time with her closer friends at school. On the other hand, she is having fun while making the bracelets. Here, she is a popular and preferred person by her friends. Bayram also mentions the existence of some bullies and fighters at school. He was beaten by some of them in the past. The way he describes work, however, is a friendly, peaceful environment that also gives freedom to the children. His boss is more aware than the other bosses that these are children and he adapts some of the rules accordingly; for example, he gives them (the children) the freedom to come and go whenever they want. Mehlika, even though she has good friends at school, is disturbed by some of the boys at school who bother her and her friends. On the contrary, in her workplace, she has her relatives and it is fun to spend time with them. The only child who explicitly says, "I do not like school" and who is at the edge of dropping out is İsmail. He says the teachers beat him, hit him, and shout at him. He is disturbed by the girls who are protected by the teachers from him. On the other hand, he says he likes his workplace; he is comfortable there. He likes to be spending his time there. Contrary to his teachers, his uncle—at the same time, his boss—is nice to him; he does not get tired or upset. Even though Bertan says similarly positive things about school, he describes his work environment as a family environment. (His parents are divorced

and many times he mentioned how important a family is to him.) That means, a friendly environment at school will also compensate for him for the disadvantaged situation at home.

4.2.1.2 Feeling successful at work

Three of the children feel more successful at work with what they do than in their lessons at school.

Bertan sometimes has difficulties in his lessons. On the other hand, what he does at work is more manageable for him, so he likes to go on working; he expects more responsibilities in the future. Also for Mevlüde, some lessons are hard to understand. She has some kind of insecurity about school. She finds herself unsuccessful. That gives her the idea of taking open education school classes and attending Quran courses rather than coming to school. She even says, "*Açıktan okuyup Kuran derslerine gideceğim, hep kalıyorum ya o yüzden* (because I fail all the time in my exams, I would rather attend the Quran course)." While she feels herself helpless at school, on the other hand, she finds herself successful in making bracelets. Musa also states some of his lessons are weak; especially his mathematics grades are not good. He thinks he is not successful at school but he is at work.

4.2.1.3 School costs

Two of the children mention that school costs are difficult to cover while they are trying hard to contribute to the house budget. Mehmet Can has a pressure on him to earn more than he is earning. However, some teachers ask them to buy unnecessary things for school. The school expenditures are a problem for him that causes less free time, more work. So he does not like it. Zeynep, even though she does not mention anything positive about work, earns money as a benefit of working and she mentions

school payments are difficult to pay. She complains about her teachers behaving better to the children who can make the payments than to those who cannot pay.

4.2.1.4 Discipline issues at school

Yağız has some discipline problems at school but he does not really say good things related to that topic about work. (He does not mention any trouble he had related to his behavior.)

4.2.2 What drawbacks of work/ benefits of school do the children mention?

In contrast, the children who have negative feelings and thoughts about work (push factors of work) are exposed to positive experiences at school (pull factors of school) and they do not want to give up their education. Actually, 15 out of the 17 children in this study say that they like school more than work.

4.2.2.1 Negative effect of work on school performance

Eight of the children say working steals their energy and time from school. Bahar, who gives importance to school success, is afraid working too much would affect her school performance negatively. Remziye, who takes school seriously, is tired of working. She has to come home exhausted from work and do her homework. Bertan, who wants to continue his education, also says he is exhausted when he gets home from work. Other than this, he is mostly positive about work. Yiğit is also exhausted from work when he gets home and he cannot do his homework. Zeynep sees herself as successful at school. However, she feels physically exhausted at work. Eda, who directly says, “I do not like work”, claims that work prevents her from studying. Work also prevents her from playing. On the other hand, she likes school and her lessons, and she wants to be successful. Ferda, who likes school and her lessons, says that when she started working, her grades decreased. She says that she cannot do her homework because of working. Musa goes to a dershane every day to improve his

lessons. He likes his lessons. However, he is usually tired in the morning classes because he cannot get enough rest.

4.2.2.2 Humiliation at work

Four of the children do not like the way people treat them at work. They are happier with the people at school. Remziye cannot get along with her colleagues who shout at her. She is exposed to humiliation or bad words at work. On the other hand, she likes the teachers who teach in a fun way and she has the social support of her friends at school. Zeynep is treated badly at work: they shout at her, they hit her, they falsely accuse her. Her experience with the people at school is not the same way. She likes her friends and her teachers, especially her course teachers ("*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study"). Eda says the people at work are not nice to her, and she even dreams about one day being boss of the people she is working with right now and she says, "If I have a profession in the future, I'll also torture them" (Eda, Appendix E.128). Ferda says she does not like work. They treat her badly, which is different from her relationships at school. Some teachers are approachable, so they listen to her and try to be helpful to her. She likes this. She has some friends that she likes a lot. They spend time together also out of school and they do field trips by themselves.

4.2.2.3 Difficulties of work

Reyhan has difficulty in cutting the hard parts of the cloth/ textile. On the other hand, she does not talk about any difficulties at school. She is successful; she likes to study and do some high school preparatory tests. Ferda in the beginning had problems because she did not know what to do at work. On the other hand, at school, she knows better what to do; she likes to review the lessons to learn better. Sometimes the teachers are helping, so she understands better.

4.2.2.4 Stealing time from play/ relaxation

Yiğit does not like spending all of his extra time at work (no free time). At school, on the other hand, he likes to be with his friends and spend time with them. Bayram says he can sit for a very short time at work; the breaks are short. He cannot get rest. On the other hand, he has the break time at school when he can play with his friends. Yağız says he is happy to learn at school. And at school he does not get exhausted, whereas at work he is exhausted. "You learn new things at school, whereas at work you are exhausted. You are not exhausted at school" (Yağız, Appendix E.129).

4.2.2.5 Boredom at home and at work, whereas school promises more fun

Mehlika is bored when there is nothing to do at work. She also does housework, she does not want to be home, but there is no other option. She prefers coming to work. On the other hand, school is a social environment for her. She has a group of best friends. She is having lots of fun with her friends. She does not want the school year to come to an end. Ozan does not like it when there are no customers and nothing to do. At school, he likes to play, talk with the teachers and his friends; he likes to help his friends. Ferda has some limitations at home, whereas at school she is happy. She is a little scared of her family members asking her to quit school in the future and work full time, but she says she would not obey them. "I will push in order to be able to study. Sometimes I even think about escaping from home. I'm fed up with that family, they are pressuring me. My uncles, they even bother me about what I wear, for example, they never allow me to wear a shirt" (Ferda, Appendix E.130).

4.2.2.6 Risks at work

Mehmet Can gets scared when his boss sends him to the places that are strange to him. Ferda thinks her work environment is not a safe and clean place. It is dusty. Also, sometimes work accidents happen. She was hurt, injured her hand. Sometimes

workers argue, fight. For Musa, dealing with hot water may be dangerous; he burned his hand. On the other hand, school is a place that is safe for children. They are not asked to anything above their limits and anything not appropriate for their age level.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This section includes a discussion related to the findings, along with the limitations, conclusion, and suggestions.

This study aimed to understand children's perspectives on their school and work experiences. The study was conducted with children using semi-structured interviews. Seventeen children, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades, were involved in the study. Even though the Labor Law in Turkey prohibits the employment of persons under age 15, these children were working in part-time jobs and at the same time were enrolled in school. The children were chosen using the convenience sampling method from six of the "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" project schools in three districts of Istanbul in 2013. The data were transcribed, translated, and analyzed by me using a thematic approach.

Even though there are policies against child labor, there are still children working. There are various forms of child labor cases in Turkey. Some children have to take a break from their education temporarily, leave their homes with their families, and go working in seasonal commercial agriculture work. Some children have to quit school and work in hazardous jobs such as in factories or mines, which is considered work in the informal urban economy. Some children quit school at even earlier ages and they work on the streets, which is considered street work. And some children have to work and at the same time they continue their education. When their work and study load becomes too great, many children opt to drop out of school (ILO, 2007). There are also some children who work in less intensive jobs and have no extracurricular outlets like Mevlüde, who makes jewelry and sells it in her free time.

Children who drop out school are at a higher risk in life. They are totally removed from a center-based education and safe school environment, and instead they are exposed to many dangers at their full-time workplaces. That is why we should focus on children's school experiences and on keeping them at school. The children involved in this research are the children who are still at school but are also at risk of drop out. Because they are already in the workforce, and their contribution to their family budget has an inevitable role for some of the families, it will be realistic to focus on how we can help them to continue their school. For this reason, I will discuss here how to improve their bond with school to make them stay in education.

First of all, my focus is on how schooling in general affects children's perspectives, then how working affects their perspectives. Throughout the interviews, the children expressed that they are mostly happy at school. For them, their lessons and their success are important. As they feel successful, their motivation to continue their education goes on. Twelve out of the 17 children articulate their wish to continue to higher education. Three of them want to have at least a high school degree. The ones who are not passionate to continue their education are the ones who have more difficulties in their lessons. Even Mevlüde, who is talking about not continuing formal education but instead going to Quran courses, articulates her wish about being successful at school. Like for many of the children, Mevlüde's reply to the question of what makes her happy is, "Being successful in my classes". If she were successful, then her general perspective on school might have been positive. Some others explain that working affects them negatively in terms of studying for their lessons.

Especially some lessons are commonly harder for many of the children, such as English. Mathematics comes after English in terms of difficulty. Obviously, for some children, more time and review is needed for their comprehension of these lessons. There is not enough support for children who have difficulties as well as teacher tolerance in these lessons. In some cases, children feel free to ask questions, because some teachers explain to them one-to-one, but not all of them do so. Some teachers, on the other hand, are intolerant and not approachable. Usually, it is their course teachers who are friendlier. When there are support classes, for instance, "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" courses, it helps them understand the topics better. Therefore, the children who attend these courses have increased their grades in their lessons. For example, Bertan, whose mathematic grade was 1 out of 5 before the courses, increased his grade to 3 out of 5 after joining the courses. However, not always do the children have extra courses for the lessons they have difficulty in. For example, Yiğit has difficulties in English; the courses helped him to increase his grades in Mathematics and Turkish, but there is no English course. Instead, they come to school on Saturdays to play football, or for some other sociocultural activities which they also benefit from.

Another finding was, other than approachable and friendly teachers, whom they can easily ask questions and with whom they can share their private issues, students also like teachers who teach the lesson in a fun, entertaining way. This teaching style helps children like the subject matter more, despite the lesson's difficulty. Again, during the courses, teachers use different methods while giving the lesson, show them practical ways to work on things, and sometimes include games, as some children explained earlier. Just as Mac Iver and Mac Iver (2009) emphasize, supportive relationships at school as well as high academic expectations and coherent

instructional programming come up as the factors that contribute to students' success the most (Mac Iver & Mac Iver, 2009). That is why the children really like the courses. Even İsmail, who talks about many times how he does not like school and the teachers, says that he does not want the courses to be over, but he wants the lessons to be over during regular classes. He mentions the course teachers are friendlier and less punishing. Just like İsmail, who complains about the teachers who beat him, other children also talk about some teachers that they do not like who are punishing or treating children with discrimination. Remziye also talks about being punished as a whole class because of the spoiled children who interrupt the lesson.

5.1 Teacher as a motivation factor for prevention of school dropout

As a good sign, 15 out of the 17 children interviewed say that they like school more than work. Most of them dream to be either a doctor or a policeman in the future. Being a doctor means having a motivation to have higher education. Being a police officer necessitates at least having a high school degree. Although we are not sure how many children actually know about the necessary requirements to fill these occupations, due to the lack of career development sessions at schools, it is good for children have future aspirations to continue their education and they vocalized their aspirations during the interviews.

Other than having the desire to have an occupation, do the children like to study? Interestingly, as the data show, the answer depends on the teacher. If the children like the teacher, they like the lesson, too. They usually like it when the teacher presents the topic in a fun or entertaining way. This happens during the courses ("*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study") more, so the children recognize the difference and prefer these courses rather than the regular lessons, which they find boring. This might be an outcome of small-size classes of 20 students rather than the

regular classes of 40 to 50 students. Also, the reasons may be that the teachers are volunteers, can give more attention to the children, and can support them better, which in turn may cause the children to love the teachers and schooling more.

Like "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" project that has been applied in Istanbul for five years, there is an intervention program in the USA that gives similar results, which is called Check and Connect (2015), for disengaged and at risk of dropout students, to increase their attendance and help them complete school by building relationships at school. Since 1990s, Check and Connect is implemented in 27 states in the USA. There are mentors who monitor student performance variables such as absences, behavior, and grades. The mentors also help them with their learning and emotional or behavioral problems as well as work with their parents to build a constructive family-school relationship. The mentors first build a trustful relationship with the children, help them to build the capacity and overcome their obstacles, and give the message to the families that education is important. Not only at schools, "Check and Connect" sometimes works district-wide or even statewide. Research findings show that the "Check and Connect" program and student-mentor relationship improve school enrollment and student's engagement (Check and Connect, 2015). Somers and Pilliawsky (2004) also aimed to find out the motivators and role models for teenagers related to school dropout or completion in addition to evaluating a pilot of a dropout prevention program that aims to provide academic tutoring and supplemental enrichment for ninth graders who live in the Midwest of the United States and are 99% African American from a lower socioeconomic background. They found out students benefit from developing close relations with tutors as adult figures who care about their success (Somers & Pilliawsky, 2004). Similarly, in a study conducted by Erkman, Caner, Sart, Börkan, and Şahan (2010),

the predictors of academic achievement were investigated. The perception of teacher acceptance was found to be significantly correlated with a positive school attitude and higher self-concept of students as young as fifth graders. Students who perceive their teachers positively have better attitudes toward school and they have higher self-concept. Especially, when boys feel warmth, empathy, and positive reinforcement from their teachers, they perform better academically.

There are also studies to support these results. When the quality of teachers is not as good in the schools that children in poverty attend, the children do not care to attend school. Durgun suggests that there is a need for teachers who would encourage children to stay in the school system. There should be better teachers at school and children should get help for their lessons especially in schools in socioeconomically disadvantaged areas (Durgun, 2011). In a study done in Mozambique, when the number of the good teachers increases, attendance and the years spent in education for these children increase (Udry, 2006: 254, in Durgun, 2011). According to the results of Hallinan's research with the sixth, eighth, and 10th grade students in public schools, teachers are able to affect students' positive feelings toward school and they are powerful in shaping children's feelings toward school. They are able to affect the students' attitudes toward school with their social and emotional support, care, respect, and praise to the children. And when children like school, they have higher academic achievement, fewer discipline problems, and lower absenteeism and dropout rates than the children who do not like school (Hallinan, 2008).

These results show us the importance of empowering the student-teacher relationship at school as well as increasing options for individual attention to

children's success and engagement to school, just as the "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" courses do since 2010.

5.2 School as a social climate which provides friendships and appealing activities

Interviews with the children demonstrated that their friendships are important for the children. The children mostly talk about their friends when they are asked about what they do during recess time. The children are with their friends during the break times. They go out and spend time in the school garden; they play games, mostly football or volleyball. They have known each other for a long time; they usually start school and continue together because they live in the same neighborhoods, unless they moved from another place. Their friends are more than merely playmates to them. The children talk about how they support each other. Sometimes when they have topics that they did not understand, a friend can explain and help with the homework. They study for the exams or they do homework together. During the interviews, the children mentioned how important sharing with friends is for them. They share their emotions, their secrets, or sometimes they share their money to get something they like. They give support to each other when they are worried about something related with school or with their families.

However, they also mentioned the other side of the coin. There are also some friendship problems they encounter at school. The children describe some students at school as dangerous or bullies. Sometimes the misbehaviors are not too serious. They can be easily solved by working on their communication and problem solving skills. But there are also more problematic misbehaviors or bullying cases. For instance, Rahman talks about some children who come to school carrying knives. Mevlüde says that her class has the worst troublemaker students at school, which she does not like.

According to what the children said, school management applies disciplinary actions in these cases. Sometimes all children are being punished because of the behavior of a few classmates. Other than facilitating children's problem solving skills, there are some little things for which the teachers scare the children with the disciplinary committee, too.

Another problem the children are experiencing with their peers is caused by the preadolescent period they are in. The children are around 12 years old and they are in the beginning of their puberty. Friendship with the opposite sex is found to be dangerous by the families and community they are in. So, they talked about having some problems in the relationships between girls and boys as well as finding their peers' behavior odd if they flirt with the opposite sex. Zeynep has trouble with boys. They asked to go out with her. And when she refused, they falsely accused her. That affected her relations with her other friends.

According to the findings, it appears their friendships have an important place in the children's lives but they sometimes need facilitation from adults around them in terms of solving friendship problems.

These analyses of the children's emotional bond with school show that one of the important factors that keep children at school is their friendship. Children prefer a place where they are able to be involved in social relationships. If they have good social relations/ friendships at school, school is important to them. If they find good social relations at work, work is important for them. Other than the economic reasons, the feeling of social acceptance or having social support was the most common reason why the children liked to go to work. Jones and Jones (2010) mention that it is important to create classrooms and schools that meet students' basic personal and social needs where they feel safe, known, and valued. For them,

positive and supportive peer interactions are the key factors for students to have positive academic and social experiences in educational settings. Good and Brophy (2008) also emphasize the value of building a strong sense of community in schools. According to them, when students feel belonging and improve the sense of membership, these positive feelings promote their attachment to school as well as their motivation to engage in learning tasks (Good & Brophy, 2008).

For the lives of these children, extracurricular activities are also important. The first reason is existing extracurricular activities increase their interest in school (if there are any). Second, they (especially the girls) are not permitted to go out and do things outside of their houses, they do not have hobbies outside the home, or they do not have places to play because "outside is dangerous". So if the school can provide some opportunities, the parents trust the schools more than any other place and let their children benefit from them. Otherwise, these children are locked at home. And whenever they find an opportunity to go out, they do it; if it is work, they prefer working to be able to feel more beneficial to themselves or spending their time more efficiently.

On the other hand, in public schools especially, there are not many opportunities for children to experience any extracurricular activities. The children explained their happiness about attending the "Our Job is to Study" project trips. For example, Rahman mentioned he enjoyed the Miniaturk (a miniature park situated at Golden Horn in Istanbul) visit as a part of cultural activities in the project. But such trips are not commonly organized by the school. However, schools should not be only a place for academic learning and cognitive development but also a place to improve social interaction and social learning. As Durgun (2011) mentions, schooling should not be considered as keeping children at school for specific times of

the day or making them memorize the information provided. Schooling should provide social activities for children to improve their cultural development as well (Durgun, 2011). Parallel to the results of this current study, Hallinan also sees learning as a psychosocial process as well as a cognitive process. Children not only have better academic performance but also when they like school, they benefit more from it socially, which means they improve social skills, establish friendships, and learn to respect and to cooperate with people. As well as enjoying learning and interacting with peers at school, having good relationships with teachers also affects students' bonding to school. Just like in Woodhead's study, children like to see school as a place where they meet their friends and establish relationships with teachers (Woodhead, 1999).

The children also mentioned how "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" courses made them more enthusiastic and were more interesting for them than their regular classes. One of the reasons they are more interesting for these children is because these courses address their needs but at the same time serve other purposes such as being fun or providing different learning activities. Cambodia has an intervention program, which is funded by the US Agency for International Development, which aims to prevent school dropout by providing more appealing activities for children. Once the children attend secondary school in Cambodia, 20% of them leave school. Analysis shows that three out of four children drop out of school to supplement household income. A pilot implementation created an Early Warning System to identify students at risk. Schools get trainings to address the needs of the students, encourage students' attendance and performance using school activities to increase their interest and enthusiasm, involve parents in a prevention program that emphasizes the importance of school. The activities that aim to increase

interest and enthusiasm in children, such as receiving a low-cost solar-powered computer lab and computer literacy training, and also emphasize the relevancy of their education to future employability. As the Cambodia example of an intervention program shows, to prevent supplementing-household-income-related school dropouts, such activities as receiving a low-cost solar-powered computer lab and computer literacy training, encourages students' attendance and performance by increasing interest and enthusiasm toward school (Creative Associates International, 2015).

Therefore, extracurricular activities and social occasions at schools for children to spend time with their friends should be planned at schools as it is a trustworthy place and a safe environment according also to the parents. Also, schools should revise their curriculum to include more interesting and enthusiastic learning activities for children.

On the other hand, focus should also be given on how working in general affects children's perspective.

5.3 Economic benefits of working: But is this children's responsibility?

When the data were analyzed, it appeared that children's salary has an important contribution to their family budget. In Woodhead's study (1999), earning money in order to support the family and pay for the costs of schooling was also mentioned by the children involved as the "good things about work" (Woodhead, 1999). Leonard (2004) conducted a survey about the paid employment experiences of 545 15-year-old working children in 2004. Some children argued that by earning their own money they can be more independent and not be a burden for their parents (Leonard, 2004). According to working children, work is an inevitable and necessary part of growing up (Woodhead, 1999). In this study also, the children are aware of this contribution

and also the costs caused by them in case they do not work. As an example, as mentioned earlier, Remziye says, “I cannot rest aside while they’re trying so hard to contribute to the family budget. I cannot let that happen. So I work by my own wish. I could not ask money from them anymore.” Some of the children are happy about and proud of contributing to their families.

In some other cases, the children are not happy about their obligation. Ferda complains about her mother, who tells her that she has to work. Ferda says, “I do not really have to work.” Her father, on the other hand, is the one who asks for pocket money. He says she is working but not giving anything to him. Most of the children give the money they earn to their parents or spend the money on school expenses. Even though it is the families’ and state’s common responsibility to take care of the children and to provide free education, some of the children experience this as a burden to their family or accept it as their own responsibility, which loads them with adults’ role early in their lives.

State schools, according to the law, should be totally free. However, sometimes schools ask for money from the families for some expenses such as painting, cleaning, and heating. Obviously, the government does not inspect it and teachers, even though it is not in their job description, collect money from the students. Zeynep put the problem into words, “Maybe I am not able to pay the school fee, maybe I am not working. Teacher does not accept the money weekly, they ask monthly.” Beside the legal problems, it causes another problem: some families do not send their children to school because of its costs. Especially when these families do not give enough importance to education or if they believe their children cannot break the vicious cycle of poverty by attending school, then they prefer to send them

to work and get the short-term economic benefits instead of spending money on their education.

Moreover, other than the school fee, there are other costs that cause difficulties for children of these families. Mehmet Can mentioned some teachers ask for some school materials that are accepted as unnecessary or a waste of money.

In a qualitative study, Okoli and Cree (2012) conducted a study in Enugu, Nigeria with children and young people working in street vending (also known as "hawking"). In this study, Okoli and Cree attempted to understand the children's perspectives and experiences from their own perspectives about their work and school lives. They found:

All children are aware of the importance of their contribution to the family budget by working and they accept it as a duty. They do not see street vending in the market as burdensome or exploitative, but just as a way of helping to do the housework. Most of the children are found to be attending school and they work before and/or after school. The children and their families want them to get their education. However, if they do not work, they will not be able to attend school due to its costs; even though education is free, there are other costs such as school uniforms, stationary, etc., that the families cannot afford otherwise.

State should not only be inspecting school fee practices at public schools, but also increase the amount and also the coverage of conditional cash transfer for poor families, so that these families can send their children to school, as well as provide them with school materials.

Erktin, Okçabol, and Ural (2010) suggest that other than the short-term solutions related with improving school climate, long-terms solutions should be

adopted for school dropouts by improving the conditions in the society. Students and families need economic support as well as psychological support.

5.4 Social aspects of working

Another finding revealed that for children social relationships and social support that they find at work have great importance.

For some, it is a substitute for their family. Bertan, whose parents are divorced, sees his boss as someone from his own family and accepts himself as a member of his boss's family.

On the other hand, for some, work environment is safe because there are only family members working there. Mehlika and Reyhan are among those children who work with relatives and that is the reason they are happy at work and they do not work anywhere else. Mevlüde, who works without a boss, also says she would not like to work under some stranger's management.

In some cases, the place is a totally strange place in the beginning for some children and then they get used to it as time passes. For Yiğit, his boss became just like one of his family members; he even calls him "Brother". Woodhead (1999) also mentions about children who have fun at work and accept work as a provider of friendships and social support (Woodhead, 1999).

However, not all children in their workplace are exposed to people who are friendly and supportive. Some children are being exposed to mistreatment and humiliation at work. According to the findings of a study that was conducted in Turkey, 20% of children are subjected to abuse at work. Some of the children were even threatened with a knife or a gun (Kurt, Esenay & Ozer, 2013).

Woodhead (1999) also found that children were exposed to hazardous conditions and maltreatment at work. This topic will be addressed again later, when the children's rights argument is covered.

5.5 Work as an occupational investment

During the interviews, some children mentioned they like the work itself; they enjoy doing it and want to learn more. They get some responsibility and it makes them feel good. Some of them dream about being in place of the older people working there, probably because this duty will make them feel like an adult. In Woodhead's study (1999) when children were asked to judge the jobs they have, most of the children favored their job above all other children's jobs and were proud of it even though there were some hardships they suffered. Because work offers skills and training, it deserves respect and also ensures their future.

According to Leonard's study (2004), children see working at early ages as providing them with the opportunity to have experience they will need when they look for their actual work in the future. Some of them explained the role of work in teaching children responsibility and preparing them for their later adult roles (Leonard, 2004). In Woodhead's study also, children talked about the skills and training they get from work for their future (Woodhead, 1999).

5.6 Child labor against children's rights argument

When children are forced to work, other than that it is against the law, it is also a violation against many of the articles of the Convention on the Rights of Children.

According to Article 27[3], children should be provided with a standard of living adequate for their physical, mental, spiritual, moral, and social development. Parents should provide adequate conditions for their children's overall development and when the parents cannot provide this, the state should support the parents. However, the parents of children interviewed for this research study cannot provide the optimum conditions for their children's growth and they get no support from the state. Moreover, according to what 14 out of the 17 children said, parents sent the children to work and the money the children earned is used for house expenses, which is again a violation of the Convention Article 32[4]. According to article 32, children should be protected from economic exploitation, working in any dangerous work that might harm their education or negatively affect their health and their physical, mental, spiritual, moral, and social development. However, their parents, as well as their employers who underpay for the amount of work they do and also who do not provide any security, exploit these children. On the other hand, the State neither inspects those workplaces sufficiently, to see whether the minimum age laws are followed, nor do they punish violations of the law. Moreover, the State, which has to enforce those legal restrictions, also is the one which forces children into illegal forms of employment, by not supporting these families.

According to an OECD report, consistent with the United Nations Convention and ILO Minimum Age Convention, a legislated minimum age of employment is needed and this age should be consistent with the legislated compulsory education age. Also, the legislated minimum age of employment should

[3] Article 27: The child's right to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development. (Unicef, 2014)
[4] Article 32: The child's right to be protected from economic exploitation. (Unicef, 2014)

be realistic with respect to the economic conditions of the families; otherwise, those regulations might cause children to be exposed to illegal or more hazardous work (OECD, 2003).

Heyman et al. (2013) claim that if the employment age is 15 (establishing 15 as the minimum age for child labor) or over, supported by the compulsory education regulations, then children are more likely to attend and become more successful in secondary education, which in turn causes less unemployment and better life conditions, according to OECD reports supported by several studies. They also claim that if the minimum age for child labor is established and the age at which children can be employed is raised to 15 or higher, then it leads to a decrease in the cases of child labor (Heyman et al., 2013).

However, in Turkey, with new 4+4+4 education policy, the government divided the eight-year uninterrupted basic/primary education into three stages, each lasting four years. According to the new Law 6287, starting from the third stage, which means high school, children can do distance education or apprenticeship training as early as at the age of 13 (MEB, 2012). Even though the government claims that they increased compulsory education from 8 to 12 years, the fact that open education school and vocational training can start in the third phase of compulsory education means compulsory education time spent in formal schools has decreased. This change in the law increases the risk of children starting work at younger ages. The number of children who work and study at the same time increased 64%, from 272,000 to 445,000. The arrangements cause work to increasingly become a part of children's lives, now at a younger age (DISK, 2015).

As Şaşmaz (2012) claims, the change may turn into an excuse to pull disadvantaged children and girls out of school early, which might also cause an

increase in the phenomena of "child brides" and "teenage mothers" as well as child labor. Correspondingly, according to statistics by the Ministry of Interior Affairs, in the last three years, 134,629 persons below 18 years of age were married in Turkey, with 5,763 boys and 128,866 girls, 20 times more girls than boys (TUIK, 2014).

During the interviews, the children talked about the instances when they were humiliated, scolded, or beaten by their bosses or other workers at their workplaces. In another study, Woodhead (1999) summarized the perspectives of 300 children in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, the Philippines, and Central America, where children identify hazardous conditions of their work. Sometimes the monotony or work overload is mentioned. The most common theme to occur in the interviews is maltreatment including humiliation, intimidation, and abuse at work from the customers, employers, police, public, and even from the other children (Woodhead, 1999). Article 19[5] suggests that children under their parents' protection should be protected from any kind of maltreatment and abuse. By sending their children to work, parents neglect the needs of their children and the children are at risk of any kind of abuse in the work environment.

Another finding, which was revealed from the data, was that the children could not find the time to play due to the work or due to the restrictions from the parents. Most of them state that they do not see themselves as children. The mean age of the starting to work is 10.8 and they work approximately 20 and more hours a week. They said before "Our Job is to Study" project, they were spending their time at work rather than spending their time playing or having leisure. As Yiğit says, before the courses, he was at work all the time. He was also working on Saturdays.

[5] Article 19: State obligations to protect children against maltreatment and abuse. (Unicef, 2014)

He was trying to earn a full-time salary before the courses. When the courses began, he started not going on Saturdays. Just like Yiğit, most children usually go to school and work, they come home late and exhausted from work and homework; they cannot find the time for rest, leisure and age appropriate recreational activities, which is again a violation of children's rights, article 31[6].

Lastly, these children are at risk of dropping out of school. Even though most of them emphasized that they like school and they want to continue their education, two of them have already said that they do not like school and they are reluctant to come to school. Among the ones who like school, there were some complaints that they cannot go to the extra courses because of work. There are also some who said that they are exhausted from work and cannot study as much as they want because work prevents them from doing so. These data also show that Article 28[7] of the Children's Right Convention is violated.

5.7 Conclusion

At minimum, families and employers in Turkey are responsible for more than 893,000 children who work despite the illegality of such and violation of their rights (TUIK, 2013). Based on the findings of this study, work prevents children from relaxation, play, and academic study. This leads to poor academic performance and ultimately dropping out before graduation. We do not need more school dropouts. We need children to reach their full potential developmentally, to overcome illiteracy and get academic education, to have professions, and to break the cycle of poverty. There must be sensitivity to the special needs of working children in the world of

[6] Article 31: The child's right to rest, leisure and recreational activities. (Unicef, 2014)
[7] Article 28: The child's right to education. (Unicef, 2014)

education. Children in this study give signs that they will or will not continue their education based on their current aptitude for school and how welcome they feel in their educational environment.

The larger goal is to end child labor. There are many intervention programs to fight child labor and give the hope that some day they will not be necessary. The child labor problem should be considered a violation of children's rights, particularly their right to have an education. Rights should be protected aggressively. Parents, employers, communities, and governments must be held accountable through comprehensive legislation and follow-through by the authorities and court system is essential.

While government action often moves at a glacial pace, teachers and school administrators can act now to battle school dropout rates by providing a stimulating and supportive environment for working children. The findings in this study show that children who are subject to social inequality are more likely to stay in school if they have a strong relationship with their teachers and they have more educational future aspirations. The power of the school's social climate cannot be underestimated. Teachers must give special attention to working children at their schools and mentor them at this tipping point in their lives, just the way the teachers in "*İşimiz Okumak* - Our Job is to Study" courses achieved.

5.8 Limitations of the study

There have been some limitations to this study. The aim of this study was to understand children's lives at work and school, and also their feelings and their core relationship in these settings, from a counseling perspective. The study was conducted in some districts of Istanbul, where some of the "Our Job is to Study" project schools are. For that reason, the findings of the study cannot be generalized to

all working children who study at schools or working children who are out of the school system. Furthermore, because the children who are involved in the project were volunteers to be interviewed, the voices of the children who were not involved in the project or quit the project at some point are also not heard in this study.

Secondly, this research study is limited to the amount of information given by the children who are involved in the study. It was recognized that they sometimes had difficulties in verbalizing their experiences and their answers were a small reflection of their subjective thoughts. Thus, the answers may not have reflected all their experiences in every aspect.

Also, the interviews were conducted in the school environment. Sometimes the children were hesitant and frightened to talk about their experiences at school or about their teachers. On the other hand, even though I mentioned I am a student and need their help for preparing homework, there were times I thought they saw me as a teacher, and due to the social desirability bias, they talked about more positive things about school and more negative things about work.

Furthermore, the study only reflects children's thoughts and aims to broadcast their voices. There was no other voice involved in the study. No information was gathered from the families, educators, or employers. Also, no observations were made at school or in the work environment. Thus, the results cannot be generalized as an actual or objective situation.

5.9 Recommendations for educators and school counselors

In a study conducted by Cemalcılar and Gökşen (2014), the effect of social capital on adolescents' likelihood of school dropout in Turkey was examined. They searched whether the quality of students' interactions with their teachers, their extracurricular activity participation, and their parents' involvement in the adolescents' schoolwork

increase the probability of their staying in school. The data show that school dropouts are exposed to a higher number of social risk factors. If the teacher-student relationship is strong, if the children find a supportive and stimulating social environment at school, then the likelihood of children's staying at school increases even when there is the presence of social inequality (Cemalcılar & Gökşen, 2014).

The children who were interviewed for this research are the children who become happy when they are successful at school and they become unhappy or reluctant to come to school when they are unsuccessful. Also, most of the children who do not get good grades in their lessons explain that they like "Our Job is to Study" courses more than their regular classes. The courses take place during weekends or after school hours, the classroom sizes are smaller, the teachers are volunteers (although they are the teachers who already work at these schools and as their teachers), and the teachers introduce the topics in a fun way and with games. Maybe the way the teachers teach, having more one-to-one interaction with the teachers, or maybe feeling accepted and important enables these children to feel more successful and more motivated for school.

The results also revealed that teachers could be perceived as the reason for the children to be reluctant to come to school, especially in cases when they punish students. And according to what the children say, punishments still exist at schools. The children complain that the teachers do not listen to them, whereas what they really need is to be understood or at least cared about by these important and also the most educated figures in their lives. These children are more vulnerable than most of their peers at school, have more complicated problems in their families, and are open to risks of being involved in work life. Therefore, if the teachers can be more approachable, listen to the children, attend more to their problems or difficulties they

have learning a new topic, then this will be a crucial step in prevention of school dropouts, which is linked to motivational reasons.

According to Huang (2008), the emotional state of the teacher is important for children's emotions. When a teacher over-manages a class, the students report feelings of anxiety and depression. As well as over-managing, lower students evaluation of the teachers' classroom management causes greater stress in students. Other factors that affect the students' emotions negatively are lower self-evaluation, lower family support and peer support, and lower grades. Lower grades were found to cause more stress when there is less teacher involvement in classroom management (Huang, 2008).

Huang (2008) suggests that the classroom atmosphere should ensure students' adaptation to school life. Schools should provide a positive classroom experience for the children to better adapt to school and not to experience stress. He recommends:

- Teachers should manage classroom better and solve the classroom conflicts.
- Teachers should help to enhance students' self-esteem by employing counseling strategies to affect students' behavior.
- Teachers should help students adapt to the school environment and adopt more positive attitudes. (Huang, 2008)

The current study also shows the need for teachers to have more effective classroom management methods; also, they need support in planning the lesson for individual needs of children as well as having effective communication skills toward the children. Mac Iver and Mac Iver (2009) emphasize that high quality of instruction is related with the quality and skills of the teachers. Curriculum that keeps students engaged is also crucial to the students' decisions of enrollment in school. "Uninteresting classes" are given as a contributing factor to some children's dropout

decisions. So, teachers must be provided with professional development opportunities related with content learning and pedagogy. Also, teaching assistance as well as follow-ups are crucial parts of teacher improvement (Mac Iver & Mac Iver, 2009). A suggestion might be to organize teacher trainings at schools.

Part of building a positive school climate for children necessitates building a strong connection with students' families. It is especially important in middle school to involve parents because they tend to lessen their involvement in schooling as their children get older (Mac Iver & Mac Iver, 2009). A suggestion might be organizing parent meetings to inform parents about children's rights, legal restrictions of putting their children to work, and also revealing long-term positive outcomes of educating children rather than the short-term economic benefits of putting them to work. These meetings should be in the agenda of school counselors.

Finally, school counselors might also work with children at school. These children are at risk of dropping out of school. However, empowering their bonds with school, with their friends and teachers, also providing support for their lessons and extracurricular activities will help them keep them in school; in turn, they will be protected by a formal institution from the dangers of work life.

5.10 Recommendations for future research

This study aimed to understand children's perspectives on their lives at school and in work environments. The purpose is for the children's voice to be heard through this research. That is to say, it is aimed to be subjective data. Further studies can be designed for the researcher to be a participant observer of a child's day at both environments in order to get a more generalizable and objective data.

This study was conducted at "Our Job is to Study" project schools and the participants were the children who study and work at the same time; also, they were

students who attend the courses in the same schools. One suggestion would be selecting participants from a larger sample of school children who work at the same time. Meanwhile, in Turkey there are other children who are not enrolled in school anymore because of working and who become full-time workers. Another suggestion would be selecting participants from different working groups of children, such as children who work on the streets, children who work in seasonal work, or children who work in more hazardous jobs, to hear what their school and work experiences were, if they had ever attended a school, and what would have made them continue their education.

The children who are involved in this study were interviewed only once. There is no further information if they have continued their education or work. For further studies, a follow-up should be arranged to see how children are doing.

In this research, children were involved in the study one-by-one. Maybe interviewing them alone limited their associations. In order to get more comprehensive viewpoints, one suggestion might be conducting a focus group study with children for them to talk more about their experiences, their problems.

Sometimes the children are not aware that their rights are violated in both environments, at school and at work. Further studies should also focus on making these children aware of their rights.

Also, we could only hear the children's voices in this study. Another suggestion might be to also include the views of the parents, teachers, and the employers in further studies.

APPENDIX A

TABLE OF CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOL BY AGE GROUP, SEX AND TYPE OF ACTIVITY, 2006-2012

Table 3. Children Attending School by Age Group, Sex and Type of Activity, 2006-2012

	Total number of children attending school		Engaged in economic activity		Not working	
Age group and sex	2006 (Oct.-Nov-Dec.)	2012 (Oct.-Nov-Dec.)	2006 (Oct.-Nov-Dec.)	2012 (Oct.-Nov-Dec.)	2006 (Oct.-Nov-Dec.)	2012 (Oct.-Nov-Dec.)
TURKEY						
Total	12 712	13 950	272	445	6 923	6 504
6-14	10 519	11 067	170	239	6 138	5 649
15-17	2 193	2 884	103	206	784	855
Male	6 694	7 146	203	303	4 082	3 698
6-14	5 464	5 660	123	161	3 515	3 119
15-17	1 230	1 486	80	142	568	579
Female	6 018	6 804	69	142	2 840	2 806
6-14	5 054	5 406	46	79	2 623	2 530
15-17	963	1 397	23	64	217	276
URBAN						
Total	8 848	9 500	137	197	4 581	4 075
6-14	7 142	7 414	64	62	3 978	3 515
15-17	1 706	2 086	73	134	603	560
Male	4 664	4 818	110	141	2 698	2 276
6-14	3 715	3 770	54	46	2 271	1 908
15-17	949	1 048	56	94	427	369
Female	4 184	4 682	27	56	1 883	1 799
6-14	3 427	3 644	10	16	1 707	1 607
15-17	757	1 038	17	40	176	192
RURAL						
Total	3 864	4 451	135	248	2 342	2 429
6-14	3 377	3 653	106	177	2 160	2 134
15-17	487	798	29	72	181	295
Male	2 031	2 329	93	162	1 385	1 422
6-14	1 750	1 891	69	114	1 244	1 212
15-17	281	438	24	48	141	210
Female	1 833	2 122	42	86	957	1 007
6-14	1 627	1 762	36	63	917	923
15-17	206	360	6	24	41	85

TurkStat, Child Labor Force Statistics, 2006-2012

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Table 4. Demographic Information of the Participants

	Bahar	Remziye	Bertan	Yiğit	Mehmet Can	Reyhan	Zeynep	Eda
Name								
Sex	F	F	M	M	M	F	F	F
Age	14	13	13	11	11	12	14	13
Birth place	Iğdır	İstanbul	İstanbul	İstanbul	İstanbul	İstanbul	Sinop	Malatya
No of siblings	4	3	1	5	4	3	5	3
Birth order	4	2	1	5	4	1	5	1
Job	Textile	Textile-packing socks	Apprentice in a hairdresser	Confection	Apprentice in a hairdresser	Shoe making	Textile-material supplier	Textile-apprentice
Age of starting work	8	12	13	9,10	10	11	10	9
Who wanted them to start working?	Herself	Herself	Himself	Older brother	Himself but his father wants him to work that pays more.	Herself	Parents	Father-not the mother
Working hours per week	(Weekly 11 HOURS) Thu-Fri 13:00-18:30	(Weekly over 20 HOURS) Mo-Tu-Th 13:00-18:00 Wed 14:00-18:00 Sat until 16	(Weekly over 40 HOURS) Weekdays 13:00-20:00 Weekends only Sat	(Weekly 20 HOURS) 08:00-12:00 only weekdays	(Weekly over 20 HOURS) Weekdays 18:00-22:00, and also before school	(Weekly 2-4,5 HOURS) Weekends Sat 08 or 10-12:30	(Weekly 35 HOURS) Weekdays 14:00-20:30, Sat: 14:00-17:00	(Weekly over 30 HOURS) Weekdays 13:00-18:30, and on Sun but not Sat:(on course)
Salary per week	Uncertain, Monthly and around 70-100 (weekly 15-25 TL)	Weekly 40 TL	Weekly 20-25 TL	Weekly 50 TL, when schools are closed during holidays monthly 400 TL	Weekly 15 TL, plus tips from the customers sometimes	Weekly 50 TL his fathers gives as pocket money (Uncle& father work together)	Weekly 50 TL	Weekly 20 TL
What do they do with the money?	Saves, gives to mom, she takes 20 TL	Uses as pocket money, gives half of it to mom	Puts in the moneybox, when the family needs they take the money (mom and grandmom)	Gives to dad, dad gives 15 TL per week as pocket money	Gives 10 TL to mom and takes 5 TL for self. The rest is spent on food.	Shops from the market, buys book or spend on print outs to do homework	Gives to mom for house. Sometimes takes 5 TL for school expenses	Gives to dad

Name	Rahman	Mevlüde	Bayram	Yağız	Mehlika	Ferda	Musa	İsmail	Ozan
Sex	M	F	M	M	F	F	M	M	M
Age	12	13	13	13	14	14	14	14	12
Birth place	Urfa	İstanbul	İstanbul	İstanbul	İstanbul	İstanbul	Tokat	İstanbul	İstanbul
No of siblings	7	10	2	1	6	4	5	3	3
Birth order	6	10	1	1	1	2	4	2	1
Job	Confection	Making beads with her friends	Pita bakery	Tea server in a ventilation store	Textile-material supplier	Oversewing, material supplier	Tea place	Goldsmith	Seller in a market
Age of starting work	11	12	12	11	13	10	13	10	11
Who wanted them to start working?	Himself	Herself	Himself	Father	Herself	Uncle	Himself	Himself	Himself My parents ask my idea and I accepted"
Working hours per week	(Weekly over 20 HOURS) Weekdays: 08:00-12:00 and Sat	(Weekly 3-4 HOURS) Weekends 1-2 hours	(Weekly Over 40 HOURS) Weekdays 12:00/13:00 - 18:00/19:00 Weekends on Sun: 08:00-17:00/18:00	(Weekly over 20 HOURS) Weekdays 16:00-21:00	(Weekly 15 HOURS) Weekdays 14:00-17:00	(Weekly over 30 HOURS) Weekdays 14:00-20:00 Weekends on Sat until 13:00	(Weekly over 35 HOURS) weekdays and weekends from 17:30 to 23:00/ 23:30	(Weekly over 40 HOURS) Weekdays 13:00-20:00 Weekends on Sat 09:30-20:00	(Weekly 20 HOURS) Weekends 09:00-19:00
Salary	Weekly 60 TL, plus 10 TL extra for mopping the floor	Uncertain Daily, 5-6 TL	70-80 TL including the tips (It was 50 TL in previous job)	100 TL	For half day 15 TL (depending on the hours)	Monthly 350 TL	Weekdays daily 15 TL, Weekends 20 TL (Monthly 475 TL)	Daily 5 TL	Daily 5 TL
What do they do with the money?	Gives to mom	Spends together with friends or they buy new beads	Gives to mom, takes 5-10 TL as pocket money	Father takes the money and he gives 10-20 TL to him.	Spends for self for school expenses, clothes	Spends everything on house expenses, she takes care of the house by herself.	Gives to parents, spent on house expenses	Spends on house expenses.	Gives to mom. Spent on house expenses.

APPENDIX C

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

Turkish form

1. Ad-Soyad:
2. Cinsiyet:
3. Doğum Yeri/ Yaşı:
4. Okul/ Sınıf:
   AİLE BİLGİLERİ
5. Kaç senedir İstanbul'da yaşıyorlar?:
6. Anne babanın eğitim durumu: Anne…….. Baba……..
7. Kardeş sayısı / kardeşlerin yaşları:
8. Kardeşlerin eğitim durumu:
9. Ailenin geçimini kim/ kimler sağlıyor?
10. Evde kimler /hangi işte çalışıyor:
    …….. ( ) ……( ) …… ( )
    (Parantez içindeki gibi işaretle)
    Sürekli (S) Tam zamanlı (T) Mevsimlik/ Dönemsel (D) Günlük (G)
11. Oturdukları ev kime ait? Kira ( ) / Kendi evleri ( )
12. Evde kimler kalıyor?
13. Ailenin aldığı maddi yardım var mı?
    (Aşağıdaki bilgiler görüşme sorularından çıkarılacak)
14. Ne iş yapıyor?
15. Şu an çalıştığı kaçıncı işi?
16. Kaç yaşında çalışmaya başladı?
17. Çalışmaya nasıl başladı? İşi nasıl buldu?
18. Kimin isteği ile çalışmaya başladı?
19. Hangi saatler arasında çalışıyor?
    -Hafta içi:……
    -Hafta sonu: …….
20. Ne kadar kazanıyor? Günlük……./ Haftalık……./Aylık……
21. Kazandığı para ile ne yapıyor?

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

English form

1. Name- Surname:
2. Sex:
3. Birth Place/ Age:
4. School/ Grade:
   FAMILY INFORMATION
5. How long has your family been living in Istanbul?
6. Education background of your parents.
   Mother :……. Father :……..
7. Number of siblings / ages of siblings:
8. Education background of your siblings:
9. Who earns money for the family?
10. Which of the family members work? / what do they do for living?:
    …….. ( ) ……( ) …… ( )
    (Sign accordingly with the letters below)
    Full time (F) Seasonal (S) Daily (D)
11. Who owns the house they live in? Rented ( ) / Owned ( )
12. Who stays in the house?
13. Do they receive any financial assistance?
    (Take the information below from the interview questions)
14. What do you do for work?
15. Your current job is your ….. th job?
16. When did you start working?
17. How did you start working? How did you find your current job?
18. Who wanted you to start working?
19. Between what times do you work?
    -Weekdays:……
    -Weekends: …….
20. How much do you earn? Daily……./ Weekly……./Monthly……
21. What do you do with the money you earn?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Turkish Form

Ben senin yaşındaki çocukların günlerini nasıl geçirdiklerini öğrenmek için bir çalışma yapıyorum. O yüzden seninle de görüşmek istedim. Şimdi seninle biraz sohbet etmek istiyorum. Sana bazı sorular soracağım.
Bana sabah kalktığından, gece yatana kadar neler yaptığınla ilgili normal/sıradan bir günün anlatır mısın?
Sabah kaçta kalkıyorsun?
Daha sonra ne yapıyorsun?
(Kahvaltı yapıyor musun? Bu arada diğer aile fertleri ne yapıyor? v.s.)

Şimdi okulla ilgili sorular soracağım. Önce okulunu düşün.

1. Okulu seviyor musun? En çok neleri seviyorsun? Neleri sevmiyorsun?
2. Derslerde ne yapıyorsun? (Ek soru: Öğretmen sana soru soruyor mu? Sen soru soruyor musun? Söz istiyor musun?) En çok hangi dersi seviyorsun? Niçin? En az hangi dersi seviyorsun? Niçin?
3. Tenefüslerde ne yapıyorsun?
4. Okuldaki öğretmenlerini düşün. Öğretmenlerinle ilişkilerin nasıl? (Ek soru: çok sevdiğin bir öğretmenin var mı? Bu öğretmenin niye çok seviyorsun? Çok sevmediğin bir öğretmenin var mı? Onu neden sevmiyorsun?)
5. Okuldaki arkadaşlarını düşün. Okulda arkadaşlarınla ilişkilerin nasıl? (Ek soru: Çok sevdiğin arkadaşların var mı? varsa, bunları niçin çok seviyorsun? Çok sevmediğin arkadaşların var mı? varsa, neden?)

Peki şimdi de okul dışındaki zamanını düşün.

6. Okuldan çıktıktan sonra ne yapıyorsun?

(eve gidiyor ise….. evde neler yaptığını anlatacak, kurslardan bahsediyor ise aşağıdaki sorular sorulacak? ise gidiyor ise işle ilgili sorulara geçilecek)

Kurstan bahsediyor ise…

7. Ne kadar süredir kurslara geliyorsun?
8. Kurslara katıldığını kimler biliyor?
9. Kurslara katılman sende bir takım değişiklikler oluşturdu mu?

(Davranışların değişti mi?
Başarın değişti mi?
Okula devamın değişti mi?
Geleceğe yönelik planların değişti mi? Örneğin seçeceğin meslek, eğitimine devam edip etmemek vb.
Çalışmaya karşı düşüncelerin değişti mi?
Sana bir yararı oldu mu? Ne gibi?"

10. Kurslarla ilgili en çok neyi seviyorsun?
11. Kurslarla ilgili en az neyi seviyorsun?
12. Bu kurslara haftada 4 saat geliyorsun. Eskiden kurslara gelmediğin bu zamanda ne yapardın?

İşten bahsediyor ise…

13. Diyelim ki ben de bu işe gireceğim. Daha iyi anlamam için bana işini anlat. İşte neler yapıyorsun, işteyken zamanın nasıl geçiyor, neler yaşıyorsun bana işe gidişinden çıkışına kadar anlat lütfen?
14. İşini seviyor musun? Niçin? (İşte en çok neyi seviyorsun? İşte çok sevmedigin birşey var mı? Ne?)
15. Neler olsa çalışmayı bırakırdın? (Örn: Ailenin ekonomik durumu iyi olsa çalışır mıydın? Ailen çalışmanı desteklemese, istemese, okulda başarılı durumun değişse vb. çalışmayı bırakır mıydın?)

İş yerindeki kişileri düşün.

16. İş yerinde kimlerle çalışıyorsun? Bu kişiler ne iş yapıyor?
17. Bu kişilerle ilişkilerin nasıl? Onlarla calışmaktan memnun musun? Neden?
18. Saat kaçta işten çıkıyorsun? İşten çıktıktan sonra ne/ neler yapıyorsun lütfen anlat.
19. Okulu mu, işi mi daha çok seviyorsun? Niçin? Nerede kendini daha başarılı ve mutlu hissediyorsun? Niçin?
20. Çalıştığını kimler biliyor?

Şimdi sana kendinle ilgili bazı sorular soracağım.

21. Seni neler mutlu eder?
22. Seni neler mutsuz eder?
23. Başarılı olduğunu düşündüğün seyler/ konular/ işler ne?
24. Çok başarılı olamadığını düşündüğün şeyler/ konular/ işler ne?
25. Boş zamanlarında neler yapmaktan hoşlanırsın? Bir hobin var mı?
26. Sence çocuk olmak ne demek? Bir çocuk nelere sahip olur ve neler yapar?
27. Gelecekle ilgili planların/ hayallerin ne?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

English Form

I'm conducting this study to learn more about the daily lives of children like you. For that reason, I want to interview you too. I just want to have a talk with you and ask some questions.
Can you please tell me about one of your regular/ordinary days, from the time you wake up until you go to sleep?
When do you wake up?
What do you do later?
(Do you have breakfast? What do your other family members do? etc.)

Now I'll ask questions about school. First, think about school.

1. Do you like school? What do you like the most? What do you not like?
2. What do you do during lessons? (Probing Questions (PB): Do the teachers ask you questions? Do you ask questions? Do you say anything?) What is your favorite lesson? Why? What is your least favorite lesson? Why?
3. What do you do during break times?
4. Now think about your teachers at school. How do you get along with your teachers? (PB: Do you have a favorite teacher? Why do you like him/her? Do you have a least favorite teacher? Why do you dislike him/her?)
5. Think about your friends at school. How do you get along with your classmates? (PB: Do you have a favorite friend? Why do you like him/her? Do you have a least favorite classmate? Why do you dislike him/her?)

Now, think about your time out of school.

6. What do you do after school?

(If he goes home, he will tell what he does at home; if he talks about courses, ask the questions below; if he goes to work, ask the questions about the work.)

If he talks about courses…

7. How long have you been attending the courses?
8. Who knows that you attend the courses?
9. Have you changed after you started attending courses?

(PB: Has your behavior changed? Have your success/grades changed? Has your school attendance changed? Have your future plans changed? For ex: the occupation you'll choose, if you continue your school enrollment or drop out, etc.).
Have your ideas about working changed?
Have you benefitted from the courses? How?

10. What is your favorite thing about the courses?
11. What is your least favorite thing about the courses?
12. You attend those courses for four hours a week. What did you do before you started attending these courses?

If he talks about work…

13. Let's say I'll start working at the same place. Can you please tell me more about it so I will understand better? What do you do at work? How is the time spent at work? How is life at work? Please tell me about work from the time you get there until the time you leave.

14. Do you like your work? Why? (What is your favorite thing at work? Is there something you do not like? What is your least favorite thing at work?)
15. In which case would you stop working? (For example: Would you work if your family's economic situation were good? Would you stop working if your family did not support your working or did not want you to work? If you were very successful at school?)

Think about the people at your workplace.

16. Who do you work with? What do these people do?
17. How do you get along with these people? Are you happy to be working with them? Why?
18. When do you leave your workplace? What do you do after you leave your workplace?
19. Which one do you like more: school or work? Why? Where do you think you are more successful and happy? Why?
20. Who knows you are working?

Now I'll ask questions about you.

21. What makes you happy?
22. What makes you unhappy?
23. What are the things you think you are successful at?
24. What are the things you think you are not successful at?
25. What do you like to do in your spare time? Do you have a hobby?
26. What does "being a child" mean? (What is a child?) What does a child own and what does a child do?
27. What are your future plans/ dreams?

APPENDIX E

ORIGINAL INTERVIEW QUOTES

1. Zeynep: Benim için zaten her şeyden önce derslerim ve okulum.
2. Rahman: Ders anlıyorum, beynim çalışıyor okulda
3. Remziye: Her zaman ben cevap veriyorum zaten. Derslerim çok iyi, sınıfın en çalışkanı benim. Okulda olmak mesela, sonra öğretmenin sorduğu soruya cevap vermek, o beni mutlu ediyor.
4. Ferda: Yükselmeyi farkettim kendimde. Daha da heveslendim… Başarılı olmak istiyorum.
5. Ferda: Derslerde ilk önce bir konuyu hoca verince o konuyu anlamadığım zaman bir iki defa tekrar etmem lazım çünkü onu iyicene bir yerleştirmem lazım. Sonra anlıyorum ona göre cevaplandırıyorum.
6. Bahar: Derslerde öğretmenimiz ders anlatıyor. Onların söylediklerini not alıyorum. Üniversiteye hazırlık olsun biraz da. Onlar söylüyor, bazen "not alın" diyor ya da "belirli yerleri çizin" diyor kitaptan. Onları yazıyorum, eve gelince deftere yazıyorum tekrar. Tekrar ediyorum…. Pilot kalemle falan özeniyorum bazen yanlış yazabiliyorum. Çok özeniyorum performans ödevlerime. Ödevlerim bittikten sonra, o gün belirli derslerim var. Diyelim ki o gün matematik işledik, 2 saat matematik testi çözüp, tekrar ediyorum, 2 saat fen, mesela öyle olabiliyor.
7. Remziye: Ondan sonra eve geliyorsun. Kışın özellikle hava soğuk oldugu için pek fazlaaa…. odada tv izliyorlar. Kardeşim erkenden geldiği için o ödevini yapıyor, bitiriyor. Ben de evde bir tane ocak var, en fazla bir iki saat takabiliyorum, çok fazla elektrik yaktığı için. En fazla bir iki saat başka odaya takıyorum, ısınıyor. Orada bir iki saat… konular var, derste işlediklerimizi tekrar ediyorum. Sınav olunca hiç tekrar etmeden sadece sınava çalışıyorum.
8. Bertan: Okulu seviyorum çünkü berber de önemli iş, orada da öğreniyorsun ama okulda geleceğine, yapacağın işe katkı var…. Okulda daha iyi hissediyorum. Okulda çünkü konuları anlıyorsun ve geleceğini kanıtlıyorsun. Mesela "geleceğimde ben bu mesleği olabilirim" diyorsun. Ama berberde öyle değil. Berberde girdin mi işe berberci olucan.
9. Mehlika: Ben sonuna kadar okumak istiyorum. Bir meslek sahibi oluncaya kadar okuyacağım.
10. Ferda: Zorla okurum. Ama bazen de kaçmayı gerçekten düşünmedim değil. Hani o aileden sıkıldım, üstüme üstüme geliyorlar.
11. Rahman: Liseye kadar. Bırakmayacam hocam liseye kadar okuycam, sonra üniversite. Sonra topla devam edicem.
12. Bayram: Valla okuyabildiğim yere kadar gitmek istiyorum.
13. Remziye: B.T, Türkçe dersinde aşırı rahat bir öğretmen. Dersi içine komiklik katarak anlatıyor. Mesela giriş-gelişme-sonuç, derse nöbetçi öğrenci geliyor. İşte bunun içeri girdiği gibi giriş, gelişme, sonuç. Bunu böyle hatırlayın. Konuyu hatırlayacağımız şekilde, olaylar resimler çizerek anlatıyor.
14. Bahar: Bir de dediğim gibi Din Kültürü öğretmenimi seviyorum. O aslında resim öğretmeni ama Din Kültürü dersine giriyor. Güzel anlatıyor…. işte bize mesela farklı dinleri öğretiyor. Mesela bize diyor ki "hangi din sizin ilginizi cekiyor? Deftere yazın." İşte o tür şeyler. Bir de (gülerek) vatandaşlık dersini cok seviyorum. Ona mdr yard. giriyor. S.A. ondan da herkes çok korkuyor ama o da çok iyi biri. Bizim sınıf öğretmenimiz hem de. Sınıftaki herkes seviyor sadece ben değil. Çok güzel

şeyler yaptırıyor, mesela kendi düşüncelerimizi özgürce ifade etmemizi sağlıyor. Mesela çeşitli şeyler yaptırıyor bize, mesela tiyatro hazırlıyoruz.

15. Yiğit: İşte matematik öğretmeni de çok iyi bir öğretmen. Güzel bir ders anlatıyor. Hızlı anlatmıyor. Takıldığım bir soruda gine, "baştan alacağım" diyor bu soruyu. "Anlamayan gelsin" diyor yanıma.
16. Mevlüde: Sosyal hocasına din hocasına sorarım, diğerleriyle fazla samimi değilim. N.Y., sosyal hocası. Daha sıcak kanlı geliyor bana. Konuşuyor işte benle, ders anlatmasını daha çok seviyorum.
17. Mehlika: Matematik öğretmeni hem bana yardımcı oluyor derslerimde olsun, başka konularda olsun. Yani özel birşey olursa gidip ona söyleyebiliyorum. O da mesela bana yardımcı oluyor, diğer arkadaşlarımıza yardımcı oluyor. Derste hiç sıkılmıyorum yani, çok güzel espri yapıyor, çok eğleniyoruz onun dersinde.
18. Ferda: Öğretmenlerim arkadaşlarım gibi… Bazen hocalarımdan yardım alıyorum. Özellikle sınıf hocam bana çok yardımcı oluyor. Arkadaş gibiyiz onla. "Derdiniz olunca gelin anlatın" diyor, biz de anlatıyoruz. Hani sıkıntımı paylaşmak çok güzel birşey.
19. Zeynep: Öğretmenler ile ilişkilerim güzel. Kurs öğretmenim. Çok seviyorum. Bu öğretmenini niye çok seviyorsun? Ne bileyim o öğretmenden yakın bana annem gibi davranıyor (kurs öğretmeni) O. Hocayı da seviyorum ama Y. Hocayı bir ayrı seviyorum. Daha çok destek oluyorlar, mesela Türkçe'de bir konu kelime tümcesi, onu bir kere de anlatıp geçmiyorlar, 2-3 defa anlatıyorlar.
20. Bahar: M. Hoca var, matematik derslerimize giriyor. O da bize kitaplar falan veriyor, çeşitli oyunlar oynatıyor bize. Çok güzel şeyler yaptırıyor. O şekilde aldığım kitaplardan testler çözüyorum, sormak istediklerimi ona soruyorum.
21. Mehlika: Ders yapıyoruz, sınıfça fikir alış verişi yapıyoruz böyle. G. Hoca' nın dersinde çok böyle konuşuruz, sohbet ederiz. İngilizce hocamız yine öyle. Müzik hocamız gelir öyle saz çalar, şarkı söyleriz falan. En çok hangi dersi, matematiği seviyorum, öğretmen sayesinde.
22. Ozan: Öğretmenlerle aram güzel. (Tümay: Çok sevdiğin bir öğretmenin var mı?) E. Öğretmen, kurs öğretmeni. Çalışanlar klübü (İşimiz Okumak) var ya. Bazen matematik anlatıyor sınavımız olduğunda. Bi dakika düzelteyim, E. Öğretmen değil, giden bir öğretmenimiz vardı. D. Hoca, o öğretmeni çok seviyordum. Hatta giderken tel no' sunu istedim. Olmaz dedi, sonra arkasını döndü, geri verdi. (Tümay: Bu öğretmenini niye çok seviyorsun?) O da beni çok seviyordu, zaten ders anlatırken başkan yerine beni kaldırıyordu tahtaya konuşanları. O öğretmenimin dersini çok seviyordum, hep 5 alıyordum.
23. Bahar: Okulda bir müzik öğretmenimiz vardı, herkes çok korkuyordu ama ben çok seviyordum o da çok iyi davranıyordu.…. Bana hep iyi davranıyordu.
24. Bahar: Okulda öğretmenlerimiz sesimi beğeniyor. Bazen şarkı söylettiriyorlar
25. Remziye: Sosyal öğretmenimiz. Onu çok seviyorum. Ceza vermiyor. S.G.- İngilizce öğretmenimiz, ödev yapsan da yapmasan da kızmıyor. Yanlış yapan insanları azarlamıyor.
26. İsmail: Tek Fen Hocası birşey yapmadı hiç, bu sene geldi. (dövmüyor).... E. Hoca, fen. O daha iyi davranıyor şu an. Soru sorunca cevap veremeyince birşey yapmıyor.
27. Mehmet Can: Okulda eğlenceli oluyor, arkadaşlarımı görüyorum. En iyi arkadaşlarım okulda, onun için.
28. Mehlika: Mesela geçen gün şişe almıştık elimize, böyle delip su savaşı gibi bir şeyler yaparız. Çok eğleniyorum ben. Biz bir de bu dönem böyle, geçen dönem değil de bu dönem çok sıkı bir arkadaş ortamım oldu. Birbirimizi çok seviyoruz, okulun bitmesini istemiyorum keşke bir iki sene daha olsa diyorum böyle.

29. Ferda: Üç tane arkadaşım var zaten, onlar hakiki arkadaşım, diğerleri de arkadaş gibi zaten ama onlar gibi kimseye sırrımı anlatamıyorum. Üçü de çok iyi. Bana yardımcı oluyorlar. Bazen etkinlikler yapıyoruz, dışarıda olsun, okulda olsun geziyoruz. Bazen müzelere falan gidiyoruz.
30. Bahar: İyi… yani. Remziye var ama kendi sınıfımdan değil. Onunla herşeyimizi paylaşıyoruz.
31. Eda: O daha canayakın. Şule. O da çalışkan, ben de. O hiç ayrımcılık yapmıyor bana karşı.
32. Bayram: Çok iyi onlarla, en iyi onlarla ilişkim zaten. (neşelenerek söyledi) Yağız, Cem, Kerem, Oğuzhan… Onlarla daha iyi geçiniyorum, onlarla herşeyimi paylaşıyorum, derdim olduğunda. Paralarımızı birleştiriyoruz birşey almak için.
33. Mehlika: Biz okulda 6 kişi bir grup kurduk ve 5'ini de seviyorum. Arkadaşlarımızla buluşuruz bazen okulda. Proje ödevlerini hep ortak alırız mesela onlarla ortak ödevler hazırlarız. Bir de 2F sınıfı var işte bu okulda, mesela geliriz öğretmenleri ile aramız iyi "gelin der" bazen gideriz beraber. Salı günleri gideriz bazen. Böyle öğrencileriyle falan vakit geçiririz. Derslerine falan gireriz beden derslerine.
34. Remziye: Arzu falan matematik dersinde yardımı oluyor. Ennur tenefüste arkadaslarıyla gezdiriyor. Ennur'un beslenme saatleri var, voleybol maçına gidiyor. Pek fazla su içmeyi, beslenmeyi unutuyor. Onları hatırlatıyorum. O da bana hatırlatıyor, "su iç bak çok koştun". O yüzden seviyorum. Sultan'la ailecek, arkamızda oturuyorlar. Hiçbir rahatsızlığımız yok. Onların istediğini ben onlara veriyorum, benim istediğimi onlar bana veriyor. Bayağı bir paylaşımcıyız.
35. Yiğit: Tenefüslerde arkadaşlarla hepimiz paraları birleştiriyoruz. Beden olduğu zaman birleştiriyoruz her gün değil. Beden olduğu zaman herkes ne isterse onu alıyoruz, işte limonata falan, çikolata. İşte onu istedim mi alıyoruz. Beden dersimiz bitti mi yapıyoruz bu uygulamayı. Başka… maç oynuyoruz.
36. İsmail: Arkadaşlar iyi, hocalar vururken onlar koruyor beni. Onlar da beni çok seviyor.
37. Mevlüde: Bu sene fazla derslerde çok iyi olmadığım için, Kuran'ı daha çok sevdiğim için, hep tatillerde Kuran okumaya gittiğimiz için, hep Kuran'ın yatılısına kaldığım için, yatılı Kuran kursuna gidecem. Orda da açıktan okuycam.
38. Yiğit: İngilizce öğretmeni yabancı dille konuştu mu ne yapacağımı şaşırıyorum, hiç bir şey yapamıyorum, duruyorum öyle. Sonra öğretmenime dediğimde o örnek veriyor. Dediğine göre yapmaya çalışıyorum.
39. Rahman: Fen'den hiç birşey anlamıyorum. Bir şeyi soruyor, içinden 100 tane şey çıkıyor… Hoca "Rahman kalk ayağa, ben senin hayatını biliyorum sen 75ten 65ten yukarı alamazsın." diyor.
40. Bahar: Sevmekle sevmemekle ilgili değil, derste fazla bir şey anlamıyorum. Kitaptan kontrol ediyorum genelde. Bazen, sınavlarda biraz zor soruyor.
41. Ferda: O sırada işe başladığım için düştüğümü farkettim. Çalışmaya başladım. Çalışma hayatıma etki yaptı. Matematiğim mesela 4-5'ken 3'e 2'ye düştü. Türkçem 5'ti, 4'e düştü, 4-3 arası.
42. Mehlika: Fen Öğretmenimi sevmiyorum. (Tümay: Niye?) M: Seviyorum da ne bileyim böyle… duymayacak di mi bunu? (Tümay: Hayır hayır, kesinlikle) M: Yani bana göre, sadece bana göre değil, bütün arkadaşlarımız bazen konuşuyoruz bize göre ayrımcılık yapıyor derste. Sınavlarda olsun, ders dinlerken olsun arkadaşlarımızı çalışırken gördüğü arkadaşlarımızı direkt ön sıraya topluyor, bizi arkaya falan, o yüzden sevmiyorum.

43. İsmail: Hoca dedi "istediğiniz şarkıyı seçin". Kürtçe şarkıcı seçmiş internetten araştırınca. Hoca demişti, "kimi seçiyorsanız." O da getirince hoca dövdü onu. İşte Türkçe Hocası var, ayrımcılık yapıyor.
44. Zeynep: Zeynep şimdi zengin, her gün yeni birşey getiriyor. O da benim bir sıra arkamda oturuyor, böyle kalemi yere düşse vermeyince de, hani aidatı falan verdiği için öğretmenler onu daha çok seviyor. Dersleri iyi olabilir, dersleri baya bir iyi, bir de öğretmenler… kitap parası falan veriyor. Ben veremiyor olabilirim, çalışıyor olabilirim. Öğretmenler de haftadan haftaya kabul etmediği için aylık istiyor. Biraz müdür yardımcısını sevmiyorum. Ya çok böyle haksızlık -ben haksızlığa tahammül edemem- haksızlık çok yapıyor. O yüzden. Daha cok R. Hoca'dan şikayetçiyim o yüzden müdür yardımcısından. Bir tek İngilizce öğretmenimle sorunluyum. O da sınavdan kaynaklandı. Hani 63 aldım onu 70 yapmak için şey yaptım. O da biraz inatçı olduğu için İngilizce öğretmeni yapmak istemedi. Ya bir iki kere dersine girmemezlik yaptım. O yüzden bana biraz kızgın. R. Hoca'ya falan gitti. R. Hocaya durumu anlatıyorum anlamıyor o da. Sadece 70 yapmasını istemiştim. Bağırdığı için ben dersine girmedim 2 kere. O yüzden.
45. Yağız: Bir tanesiyle kötü. S. S.'le. Bir tane kız ben yazdım diye başkasına yazdı, benim arkadaşım var o başkasına yazdı bir tane mektup. Dedi onun arkadaşı var. O da ben yazdım sandı. Onun yüzünden bir tane dilekçe yedim. Benim üstüme attılar. Az önce de sınıfa çıktık, çocuğun biri yanında da bir tane çocuk vardı. Onla şey yaptık bir daha gidicem herhalde.
46. Yağız: Biz bahçede top oynuyorduk, geldi. Şakalaşıyorduk, topu veriyorduk, top geldi, ayağındaki çocuk hıp hızlı vurdu. Sonra çocuk "ne vuruyon" dedi. Sonra benim yanımdaki arkadaşım küfür etti. O da küfür etti. Ondan sonra o gitti hocasına söyledi. Çocuk da benim adıma diyor, "birşey yaparsan seni öldürürüm" demişim. Özür dilerim dedim hocaya. Dedi senle yanındaki arkadaşını pazartesi günü disipline göndericem dedi. Artık okuldan mı giderim belli değil (gözleri doldu)
47. Rahman: Hoca dedi ki "konuşanlara vurun" dedi. Hoca dedi ki: "tamam". Ben de birşey yapmadan dersime alışıyordum böyle bir kulağım kızda bir kulağım da şeyde. Müzik dersinde o işaretleri yapıyordum. Bir baktım hoca diyor ki "Rahman niye konuşuyorsun gel bakayım buraya" Bir vurdu elime. Vallahi, cok acıdı. Ben de tamam hocam bir daha yapmam. "Tamam" dedi "geç yerine".
48. Remziye: Bazen sınıftaki arkadaşlarımız çok fazla şımardığı için öğretmenlerimizden maalesef ceza yiyoruz. Üstelik özellikle müzik öğretmenimiz cezaları çok kötü yapıyor. Ayaklarımızın şurası çok kötü ağrıyor (Bacaklarının üst kısmını gösterdi) Şu şekil oturuyoruz 40 dk boyunca. (Sandalyede oturuyormuş gibi)" "Özellikle salı günlerinden nefret ediyoruz tüm sınıfça. Öyle oturduğumuz için hareket bile edemiyoruz.
49. İsmail: Öğretmenler vuruyor, bağırıyor, kızıyor. Bir şey olduğunda hemen vuruyorlar. Küçükken 4'e, 5'e gidiyorduk. Tahtaya çıkarıyordu, soruyu çözemeyince dövüyordu. Ben eskiden bütün ödevlerimi yapıyordum. Yeni hocalar geldi işte. Hepsi beni dövdü, ben de yapmadım artık. Ben onlara da dedim, vurursanız bir daha yapmam dedim (ödevlerini kastediyor) Vurdular ben de bir daha yapmadım. Geçende 70 aldım. 80 aldım işte, 70' e indirdi ben de dedim niye 70'e indirdiniz? Baktım itiraz eden var mı dedi, kağıdımı yırttı.
50. Ferda: Önden arkaya geçince öyle bir fark oluyor. Arkada ben fazla anlamıyorum. Arkadaş çevrem de biraz… hani seviyorum ama. … fazla da üzerime gelince hani içime giriyorlar çünkü sıkılıyorum onlardan. Onlar bayağı beni bir düşürdü. Hocadan yardım almaya çalıştım ama öyle birşey olmadı. Öne geçmeyi istedim ama yapmadı…. Sıkıcı olarak var, hani bunaltıyor bazen. G.D. Din Kültürü ve Ahlak

Bilgisi. İyi, güzel bir ders ama hoca baskı… (Tümay: Ne gibi bir baskı?) Baskı yani ondan yana değil hani… çok 20 tane sure verince ardından da çok ödev veriyor, o yüzden ben yetiştiremiyebiliyorum.

51. Ozan: Yazı yazıyoruz, zil çalıyor. Tam çıkacaz dışarıya, hoca "yerinize oturun, daha bitmedi yazıcaz" diyor, tenefüse çıkartmıyor.
52. Bayram: Bir sürü serseri var okulda. Onlardan şikayetçiyim biraz. Öbürleriyle de geçinmek istiyorum da serseri oldukları için biraz kavgacı oluyorlar, sataşıyorlar. Beni çok dövüyorlardı okulda o zaman söylemiştim şimdi dövmüyorlar. Benden birşey istiyorlardı ben de vermedim, kalemimi, yiyeceğimi, silgimi, ben de bağırıyordum onlara, onun için sinirleniyorlardı, beni dövüyorlardı ama artık öyle bir sorunumuz kalmadı.
53. Yiğit: Arkadaşlarım böyle gıcıklık hainlik yaptı mı öğretmen de arkadaşımıza uyuyor ona vuruyor. Yerlere çöp attım mı, birisi beni iteledi mi. Bizim toplarımızı dikiyorlar, 5-6 sınıflar. Onları sevmiyorum. Diktin mi toplar patlıyor. O yüzden biz de dışarıya çıkmama zorunda kalıyoruz. İçerde voleybol oynadın mı da toz oluyor içerler. Öğretmenler de bize kızıyor.
54. Mevlüde: Bizim sınıftakiler… zaten okuldaki en kötü sınıf bizim sınıf çok şeyler… mesela sigara bizim sınıftan çıktı, bıçak herşey bizim sınıftan çıktı. 4-5 kere kapı kırıldı. Çok oldu. Ya makyaj getiriyorlar, makyaj sürüyorlar. Artık nedense hep sosyal dersine geliyordu arama. Hep arama yapıyorlardı bize.
55. Ferda: Arkadaşlarım gelince, başımda bağırınca ben huzursuzlanıyorum... Arkadaşlar dersi işlememi çok engelliyorlar…. Bağırıyorlar… Geliyorlar okula kitapsız deftersiz, bizim hakkımızı yiyorlar.
56. Musa: Bazen hocam, bir arkadaş oluyor, okula zarar veriyor. Onları sevmiyorum hocam. Bizim sınıfta bir sürü kişi var hocam. Her gün kavga ediyorlar…Hocam çok kötüler, her gün kavga ediyorlar. Birilerine dalaşıyorlar. Derste hocaları dinlemiyorlar. Hocaları kızdırıyorlar. Hocalar dövüyor, gene de akıllanmıyorlar.
57. Bahar: Sınıfta var. Çok böyle yani çocukça hareketler yapıyorlar, gıcık oluyorum mesela bir arkadaşım bana çiçek vermişti, çocuk geliyor böyle elimden alıyor o çiçeği, masanın üzerine koyuyordum, kokusunu çok seviyorum, uzun bir karanfildi, geldi aldı böyle götürdü başkasına verdi. Sonra ben dedim ki neden veriyorsun başkasına, benimdi diye. Sonra diyor ki aman sen şakadan ne anlarsın! Tamam dedim birşey yapmadım. Gitti ikincisinde yine aynı şeyi yaptı. Üçüncüsünde yine aynı şeyi yaptı. Sinirlendim. Yaa dedim sen çocuk çocuk hareketler yapıyorsun falan dedim.O da ondan sonra başka birşey yapmadı. Evet, rahatsız ediyor. Sınıfta çok var öyle." "Okulda kavgalar oluyor onları sevmiyorum. Çok kötü. Hiç sevmiyorum çok kötü şeyler yapıyor kızlar. Yok yani kötü dediysem hani, mesela şöyle kızları sevmiyorum. Okula sevgili aramak için geliyorlar. Ya öyleyse gelmeyin. Öyle kızları hiç sevmiyorum. Bazıları makyaj yapıp geliyor, öylelerini disipline çağırıyorlar falan. Dilekçe yazıyorlar disiplin için öğretmenler"
58. Remziye: Sınıfta başka arkadaşlarımız var, üstün zekalı (vurgulayarak dalga geçer gibi) diyelim zil çaldıktan sonra yerinde oturmuyorlar. Asla oturmazlar. Şu gördüğünüz sıraları çekerler, en önde oturuyorum. Sıraları çekiyorlar. Tam kitap okuyacakken kitabı alıyorlar "bir bakayım, bir bakayım acaba içinde ne yazıyor, kesin içinde küfür yazıyordur" diye alıyorlar okuduğumuz kitabı. Veya sıraları çekiyorlar. Tam böyle kitaba dalıyorsun birden çekiyorlar, yere düşüyorsun. O yüzden kitap da maalesef okuyamıyoruz. Diğer derste sınav var. Baya bir rahatsız ediyorlar. Diğer ders sınav var. Takmaz arkadaşlarımız var böyle. Kızlar en arkada, een arkada oturup sınava çalışıyor. Geliyorlar "Of sizde, sınavdan 1 alsanız ne olacak 5 alsanız ne olacak, her türlü ağlıyorsunuz zaten." diyorlar. Biz kızlar düşük not

almaya alışkın değiliz ya, ağlıyoruz erkekler de "1 alsanız da ağlıyonuz 5 alsanız da ağlıyonuz, niye çalışıyonuz ki" diyorlar. İşte o yüzden kavga ederken bizi rahatsız ediyorlar, her dakika kavga ediyorlar. Maalesef erkek arkadaşlarımızla olan bir konu. Tenefüslerde bile dışarı çıkınca koşuyorlar, geliyorlar, vuruyorlar, saçını çekiyorlar. "Niye vurdun niye itekledin" diyince, ben vurmadım, ben arkadaşımı itekledim o vurdu. Sen vurmadın yani, yok ben vurmadım, arkadaşımı itekledim o vurdu. Diyor "çok konuşuyorsun sen de gel kavga edelim". Diyorum "Niye kavga ediyoruz ki? Ben şimdi sana birşey demedim. Kendi kendine havalanma! Kendi kendine de stres yapma, ben sana hiç bir şey demedim! Sadece dedim bana vurma, bana dokunma" "Dokunsam ne olur bir yerin mi patlayacak?" Geliyorlar, saçını çekiyorlar, arkadan bir arkadaşını itiyorlar, itekliyorlar. Çok itekleyince de hani sınıftan diyelim bir arkadaşımız olsun işte "onlardan uzak dur onlar kötü kötü şeyler biliyor". O türlü uzak durmamızı falan söylüyor, yani erkekler konusunda.

59. Mehlika: Erkekler böyle biraz özel hayatımıza çok karışıyor. Mesela biz beraber arkadaşlarımızla bir kitap yazıyoruz, birincisi bitti ikincisine geçtik ama özel bir kitap onların okumasını istemediğimiz bir kitap, kaçırıyorlar mesela bizden özel olarak gidip okuyorlar hatta bizim hakkımızda çok özel birşey yazıyordu onu okudular, ben ve bir arkadaşım sinirden ağladık yani çünkü çok özeldi.
60. Zeynep: Diğer erkeklerle. 8. sınıflardan oluyor genellikle, onlarla sorunum var. Tümay: Ne diyorlar, ne istiyorlar senden? Ya ne bileyim mesela, Perşembe günü okulda çıkma teklifi falan gönderdi birisi, ben de alışkın değilim diğer kızlar gibi, sevmiyorum. Sevmeyince reddettiğim için bazıları dedikodu yapıyorlar bir de olmadığı için, işte böyledir, şöyledir. Sevmiyorum! Bir iki tane kız arkadaşımla aramı bozuyorlar.
61. İsmail: Yok hocam bana vurunca, hocaya söyleyince birşey yapmıyor, ben vurunca, hoca beni dövüyor. (Tümay: Sen arkadaşlarına neden vuruyorsun peki?) Onlar vuruyor diye, birşey yapmayınca gittikçe vuruyorlar hocam (kızlar dövüyor, hoca onları koruyor).
62. Bahar: Bazı arkadaşlarımla ilişki kuramıyorum, onlarla fazla iyi olamıyorum. Bazıları çok utangaç oluyor. Fazla birşey yapamıyorum o durumda. Ondan mutsuz oluyorum.
63. Eda: (Tümay: Okulda arkadaşlarınla ilişkilerin nasıl?) Fazla iyi değil. (Tümay: Neden?) E: Yaa ayrımcılık yapıyorlar, tembelle çalışkanı ayırıyorlar. Çok sevmediğim arkadaşlarım K.G. O çalışkan, kendini beğenmiş, hep hocalara yağcılık yapıyor, hep kendine doğru çekiyor. Sınıfta duyuru yaptıklarında Eda hadi git diyorlar, dalga geçmeye başlıyorlar.
64. Ferda: Bilgisayar derslerini en az seviyorum, boş geçiyor. Bazen test kitabı falan alıyorum yanıma, boş duracağıma ders yapsam daha iyi.
65. Reyhan: Mesela beden eğitimine çıkıp zamanımı boşa harcamayı sevmiyorum… Çünkü bazen dışarıları çok sıcak oluyor bazen çok soğuk oluyor. Bir de çıkmaktansa test çözmek daha iyi.
66. Bahar: Çırağım yani, ablalarım da beni çok seviyor. Ustam da patronum da. Orada sevdiğim ablalarım da var
67. Remziye: "Bu hafta paranızı şöyle vericem." diyor. Mesela gelip bana soruyor "Remziye kursa gitcen paraya ihtiyacın var mı?" "Yok" diyorum "teşekkür ederim" diyorum. Bugün gittim yine (ct/bugun) dedim iş var mı? O da dedi yok dedi ama bekle dedi, geldi "Al, bugün kursun var, al bu 5 milyonu (5 TL yerine eski para birimi kullanıyor) harca dedi, öylesine verdi. Ama karısı olsaydı eminim bunu vermezdi. Harçlık da veriyor. (Tümay: Maaşından ayrıca mı?) Hi hih maaşımdan

ayrı veriyor. Onlar bana güveniyor, ben onlara güveniyorum. Mesela istediği gibi çalıştığında çorap hediye edebiliyor.

68. İsmail: Daha güzel, rahat. Bazen hiç olmuyor. Yüklü birşey taşımıyorsun, ağır değil. Dayımın kuyumcu... İyi davranıyorlar, ne istesem karşılıyorlar.
69. Ozan: Amcamla aram güzel, iyi anlaşıyoruz…. Arabadan malları, eşyaları indiriyoruz. İndiriyoruz, köşeye koyuyoruz. Ağırları ben taşımıyom. Hafif olanları. Ondan sonra amcam masa seriyor tahtalarla. Alt tarafına da sandıkları koyuyor. Onları öyle diziyor tek tek kenarlara. Üstüne de böyle bu masanın ince ince şöyle, 6-7 tane de bundan var. Üstüne seriyor hepsini, çivi ile çakıyor onları. Ondan sonra üstüne bir bez seriyor. Üstüne de diziyoz işte. Amcam o tarafa eşorfmanları seriyor, ben bu tarafa tokaları diziyom. Söylüyor işte onları ön tarafa, bunları arka tarafa falan. Diziyoruz. Ondan sonra da bağırıyoruz, "buyrun abla buyrun" diye, "kalmasın, kalmasın" Satıyoruz. Akşam olunca da, olmadan azcık önce de pilavcı geçiyor. Soruyor "yemek yiycen mi" diye. "Yerim" diyorum. Alıyor iki tabak, oturuyoruz kenara yiyoruz. Yerken eğer müşteri gelirse sıra sıra kalkıyoruz. Bir o kalkıyor bir ben.
70. Bertan: İyi. Haha. Gittikçe tanıyorsun birbirini. O sanki ailemizden birisi oluyor, biz de sanki onun ailesinden birisi oluyoruz.
71. Bahar: Evet memnunum. Dediğim gibi onlarla da sırrımı paylaşabiliyorum oradaki ablalarımla. Ağabeylerim de bana bazen komiklik yapıyorlar. Bazen moralim bozuk oluyor, hani okulda bir sınavım kötü geçti. İşe gidince hemen farkediyorlar, bugün neden böyle oldu diye. Anlatıyorum, "Boşver, canını sıkma, öbür sınavda daha iyi çalışırsın, düzeltirsin" diyorlar.
72. Mehlika: Zaten yabancı yok, hep akrabayla çalışıyoruz…. Akrabalar hepsi, hepsiyle iyi.
73. Bertan: Seviyorum. Adamlarla anlaşıyorsun, iyi kaynaşıyorsun, sosyal hayata giriyorsun. Tanıdıklar geliyor, öyle… Adamlarla sohbet etmeyi gelen müşterilerle, ustamla. Sonra onlarla kaynaşmayı falan seviyorum.
74. Bayram: Bazen de vaktimi öyle harcamayı seviyorum. Dışarıda koşacağıma falan böyle daha iyi. (Tümay: İşte en çok neyi seviyorsun?) Çalışmayı, servis götürmeyi, çok iyi geçiniyom zaten orayla, öyle şakalaşıyoruz, siparişleri götürüyom ben istiyorlar alıcılar falan. Onlarla çok mutluyum, çünkü onlarla da herşeyimi paylaşıyorum.
75. Reyhan: Orada halamlar olduğu için, amcamlar olduğu için biraz eğlenceli geliyor bana. İş ortamında iş bittikten sonra halamlarla sohbet ediyoruz bazen, onu çok seviyorum.
76. Yiğit: Güzel vakit geçiriyorum, orada elemanlarla konuşuyorum... Benim en iyi vakit geçirdiğim Suriye'den gelen çocukla, İlknur Abla'nın kardeşi Binnur… Metin ağabeyi (patronu) bir de işte onlar.
77. Mehmet Can: Eğlenceli oluyor, bazenleri yemek aldırıyor. Çoğu günler yemek aldırıyor. Bazenleri çiğ köfte oluyor, döner oluyor. Bazenleri de gezdiriyor. Ustamın bir tane çocuğu var onu da gezdiriyorum.
78. Mehlika: Amcamın çocukları, çalışmıyorlar, ay aman okumuyorlar , hepsi çok iyi ve onlarla aram çok iyi onlarla birlikte sohbet ederiz, şakalaşırız. Dayımla da aram çok iyidir, zaten sıkıldıkça yanına giderim, otururuz, konuşuruz.
79. Remziye: Usta başı dışında herkesten aşırı derecede memnunum. Komik komik hikayeler anlatabiliyorlar. Hep beraber gülüyoruz, eğleniyoruz.
80. Remziye: İşimi seviyorum. En çok ben orada overlook dikmeyi seviyorum. Çünkü orada sayı ile yapıyorsun. 50 tane diktiğinde 5 TL alıyorsun. Hani sayıyla olduğu için istediğin saatte çık, istediğin saatte gir. Gir-çık saati de yok. Hani overlokta

oturduğumda eve gidersin, ödevini yaparsın, gelirsin, hızlı dikersin, az dikersin paranı ona göre verirler.

81. Yiğit: Makinaya geçmeyi seviyorum... Ne deseler yaparım.
82. Yağız: Evet seviyorum. Daha kolay bir iş olduğu için. Daha zor işler oluyor, bunu dağıtıyorsun böyle. Çok kolay bir iş.
83. Bertan: Ben daha müşteri almıyorum. İstiyorum ama ileride. İzliyorum onları.
84. Rahman: Yedek topluyorum öyle seviyorum ara sıra işçilerle konuşuyorum. (Tümay: İşte en çok neyi seviyorsun?) Makineyi hocam, çok geçmek istiyorum, öğrenmek istiyorum.
85. Mehlika: İşe alıştım, hoşuma da gidiyor çalışmak. İş zor değil zaten alıyoruz öyle üstüste topluyoruz zaten çok zor değil. Katlıyoruz, topluyorum. Geniş bir yer, tozlu değil zaten o kadar, zaten temiz iş dikiyoruz…
86. Mehlika: Bilmiyorum ben evde çok sıkılıyorum, dışarı da durmadan çıkamıyorum, işe alıştım, hoşuma da gidiyor çalışmak.
87. Ozan: Seviyorum. Eğlenceli geçiyor yani. Ben aslında para için çalışmıyorum yani, evde canım sıkılıyor. Ondan dolayı kendim de kabul ettim.
88. Mevlüde: Boncukta başarılıyım. Her yaptığım. Mesela ilk başladığımızda öbür arkadaşlarımla Kader kavga etmişlerdi, Mevlüde benle olacak diye.
89. Yiğit: Sonra ilerleye ilerleye oradakiler anlattı bana, işte öyle yapıcan, böyle yapıcan, ilerleye ilerleye yaptım işte işi.
90. Remziye: Ailem zaten çalışmamı istemiyor. Ben kendi isteğimle çalışıyorum da işte yine de insanın gönlü el vermiyor. Onlar orada o kadar çırpınıyor, ediyor, sen orada evde yan gel yat… (güldü) öyle olmuyor. Ben kendi isteğimle artık onlardan istemekten bıkmıştım.
91. Bayram: Aileme birşeyler kazandırmak, bir katkıda bulunmak bana mutlu geliyor.
92. Bayram: Bazen çıkıp dolaşıyoruz. İzin alıyoruz, para da alıyoruz birşeyler almak için. 6:30-7:00' de çıkıyorum zaten patron da siz istediğinizde girip çıkabilirsiniz diyor. Bize diyor, çocuklara diyor.
93. Mehlika: Bilmiyorum ben evde çok sıkılıyorum, dışarı da durmadan çıkamıyorum, işe gidebiliyorum. Neden çıkamıyorum… annem izin vermiyor, bir de bizim mahallede bu aralar çok sorunlar çıkıyor, kavgalar falan var. Bir de kötü şeyler oluyor işte çıkmak istemiyorum. Annem de izin vermiyor. İş yerinde de vakit güzel geçiyor. Zaten yabancı yok, hep akrabayla çalışıyoruz.
94. Bahar: Bazen makinacılar başkalarına kızıyor ve hırslarını çıkarıyorlar benden alıyorlar, bağırıyorlar "git bana şunu getir çabuk", hani bulamayınca bazen diyorlar "sen çırak değil misin, neden bulamıyorsun?" İnsan üzülüyor tabi ki. Ben biraz duygusalım, gözlerim doluyor.
95. Remziye: İş yerinde bir tane ablamız var. Ustabaşımız, bir tek onunla anlaşamıyorum. Biraz bağırıyor, ediyor, cevap veremiyorum büyüğüm diye susuyorum. Onunla biraz atışıyoruz. Pek yıldızlarımız barışmıyor, onunla kötüyüz. O aynı sırada usta başı arada sırada kalkıp bize bakıyor. "Mal mısın!" falan. Bir şeyi yanlış yaptın ya da yavaş yapıyorsun "hadi şunları yetiştir senin ağzını ortadan ikiye ayırırım" bu türlü kelimeler kullanıyor. Ama tekstil bile daha rahat çünkü usta başımız o kadar gezmiyor. O da oturup işini yapıyor. Arada sırada kalktığında çok ağır laflar kullanıyor. O bizim biraz gururumuzu kırıyor.
96. Remziye: Onu da işin sahibiyle konuşuyoruz, öyle. İşin sahibine anlattığında o da gelip tekrardan bizi azarlıyor. "Bir daha ben size birşey demeyeceğim, hemen gidip patrona ispiyonluyorsun. Ben size kötü birşey mi dedim? Usta başıyım sözüm de dinlenmiyor." O türlü pek birşey de yapamıyoruz."Ama usta başımız patronumuz gittiği anda Bermuda şeytan üçgeni gibi, yanına da patronun karısı var onu alıyor,

birleşiyorlar, bize patlıyorlar. Ama patron olduğu zaman melekler. Ama usta başımız mesela lavaboya gidiyorsun, su içmeye gidiyorsun "ikide bir ne su içmeye gidiyorsun, paydosa ne kaldı şurada az birşey daha dayan" (çok vurgulayarak, öfkeli biçimde anlatıyor Remziye)…. Gidiyorum lavaboya giriyorum. "Aman ne yapacaksın, altına mı yapacaksın. Dört çayı geliyor işte, bekle!!" o şekilde söyleniyorlar. Patronun gelini var, su içmeye gidiyorum "babana söyle de senin ağzına su borusunu taksın, susadıkça çekersin" diyorlar "sürekli su içiyorsun." Su içmeye de kızıyorlar. İşten kaytarmak için değil, su içmek için. İnsan susuyor. Ona da karışıyorlar, kızıyorlar.

97. Zeynep: İlk önce zaten yenisine iyi davranıyorlar. Sonra işleri bozuk yapınca bağırıyorlar. Evet yani baya bir sorun yaşıyorsun. Makinacılardan sorumlusun. Düzgün toplamazsan bağırıp çağırıyorlar. Bunu genelde patron ve usta başı yapıyor, çok bağırtı çağırtı oluyor öyle. Bağırtı, çağırtı. Bağırabilir ama haksız yere çok bağırıyorlar. İşi başka bir yere koyunca onu senin üstüne atıyor, sana bağırıyor. Vuruyorlar, bağırıyorlar, çağırıyorlar. Kendilerini övüyorlar makinacıyım diye. (Tümay: Önemli birşey mi makinada olmak orda?) İş dikiyorsun, makinaya geçiyorsun, ortada durmuyorsun. Oturuyorsun. Bir de oturdukları için bağırıyorlar, onlar kendilerini daha şey görüyor, bir de kendi dükkanları olduğu için onlar daha çok haksız yere bile bağırıyorlar makinacılar.
98. Eda: Ortam fazla iyi değil ya, sigara da içiyorlar. Ne bileyim çok konuşuyorlar. Konuştuklarında patron bağırıyor. Onlar da üstüme atmaya çalışıyor. Diyo ki, hep bu çırak bizi konuşturuyor. Patron bana diyor ki, konuşturma onları. Seni atarım işten. Ben yapmıyorum, ben konuşmuyorum diyorum, diyor ki sen yalan söylüyorsun. Çalışmak istemiyorum. Cık, çalışmakla ilgili hiç bir şeyi sevmiyorum. Bir gün meslek sahibi olduğumda ben de onlara eziyetler çektireceğim.
99. Ferda: İşte sevdiğim birşey yok. Sinir oluyor bazen yapamadım mı birşey. Yapınca kızıyor, bağırıyor. Asla çalışmak istemem onlarla. Orada patronun azarını işiteceğime, orada 100 kişinin önünde beni azarlayacağına burada hocanın yanında azar işitirim daha iyi.
100. Yiğit: İşe girdiğimde çok korkuyordum, ailem yok ya yanımda, korkuyordum. İşleri yapamıyordum, zor yapıyordum, patron kızıyordu bana. İlknur Abla kızıyor bazen, ben diyorum işine bak diyorum. Telefonla şey yapma diyorum, o da diyor "sana ne be". Merve'ye diyorum, "gülme" diyorum, "halay çekme" diyorum. İşte o da tersliyor beni.
101. Rahman: Bir tane arkadaşım var. Azerbeycanlı E. diye birisi. Hocam ben topluyorum, 4 kişi ortacıyız, 16 tane makine var. Hepsi de 4'er 4'er bakıyor. Bakıyorum hepsi yedek yiyor, diyo Rahman gelip şunu topla. Topluyorum yedekleri hepsi boş boş bakıyo topluyorum E. diyo ki "Rahman topla şunu ben senin yedeklerini toplamaya" (tam vurgusu ile sinirli sinirli söylüyor) Halbuki bende yedek yok, onda var! O da orda boş boş duruyo ben de onun yedeklerini topluyom. O yüzden çok sıkıcı oluyor.)
102. Musa: Sonra sipariş geliyor, yapıyorum, götürüyorum, bazen geç kalıyor. Gene söylüyorlar. Bu sefer götürüyorum, geç oluyor, biraz kızıyorlar. Ben de aldırış etmiyorum onlara.
103. Ozan: Kadın geliyor şimdi, bayan. Soruyor bunlar ne kadar diye. Fiyatını söylüyorum, tamam alcam diyor. İndiriyorum (şu kadar var, benim boyumdan uzun), yok vazgeçtim diyor.
104. Yiğit: Fireleri almam, yani çöpleri falan, bunu sevmiyorum.
105. Reyhan: Çok sert olan kısımlar oluyor bazen, oralarda biraz zorlanıyorum.
106. Eda: Çalışmakla ilgili hiç bir şeyi sevmiyorum.

107. Bayram: Ben ilk girdiğimde biraz zorlanmıştım, bana çok yorucu geldi ilk günlerde. Daha sonra 2-3 hafta olunca 1 ay falan durdukça alıştım. İşte bir sürü müşteri geliyordu. Onlara tabak taşı, sipariş istiyorlardı. Ondan zor alıştım bir de paketleme falan zordu. Şimdi hepsini yapıyorum. Bir de önceden pişiriyor, biz kesip koyuyoruz, bazen tabakları koyup veriyoruz. İçecekleri istediğinde de veriyoruz.
108. Ferda: İlk önce bu işi bilmememek çok zor. Bir model gelince o işi bilmiyorsun, nasıl yapacağını bilmiyorsun. Ama zamanla bunu yapınca insanın eli alışıyor.
109. Musa: Mesela demledikten sonra koyarken eline dökülüyor. Ben elimi yaktım bir kere. (Tümay: Ne yapıyorsun öyle birşey olursa?) M: Orada yanık kremi var, onu sürüyorum. (Tümay: Çok sık oluyor mu bu?) M: Evet hocam. Bu elimi full burayı yakmıştım hocam. Parmaklarımı hiç oynatamıyordum. İlk geldiğimde.
110. Ferda: Siyah işler gelince baya bir tozlu oluyor. Bu bana alerji yapıyor, sivilce oluyor buralarımda. Toz yapıyor, hapşırıyorum işte. O tozlar bir süre kadar buralarında kalıyor insanın. Etki yapıyor buraya. O yüzden kötü birşey, kimseye de önermem. Girişte ilk önce bu işi bilmememek çok zor. Bir model gelince o işi bilmiyorsun, nasıl yapacağını bilmiyorsun. Ama zamanla bunu yapınca insanın eli alışıyor. Ama bazen de alışamıyor. Bazen de elimi yara yapıyor.
111. Ferda: Hani el kesme, kaptırma… başıma gelmedi ama… gelen var.
112. Ferda: İş yerinde bir kız ile tartışma…. Ona vurayım derken elimde makas vardı. Yarın okul yok boş yere gidiyorlar dedi. Ben de dedim ki benim İngilizce sınavım var, çalışmam lazım. Yakında SBS var, ben derslere konsantre olmak istiyorum. Öyle dedim. Ona sinirlenince de eline vurayım derken makas girdi içine, saplandı biraz kemiğime şey yaptı. Yarın okul yok boş yere gidiyorlar. Ben de dedim ki benim İngilizce sınavım var, çalışmam lazım.
113. Mehmet Can: Her yere gittiğim zaman, uzak yere gittiğim zaman sevmiyorum. Aşağıdaki bakkallara gönderiyor, gazete aldırıyor ya, başka yerde gazete yok, onun için (Tümay: Neden sevmiyorsun başka yerlere gitmeyi?) M: Kaybolurum diye korkuyorum. (Tümay: Söyledin mi peki hiç, ya bulamazsam, kaybolurum diye korkuyorum dedin mi?) M: Bir kere demiştim, ilk gittiğim zaman söylemiştim, sonra alıştım.
114. Bahar: Bazen cok mesai oluyor, 10 pm'e kadar kalıyorum genellikle. Her per-cuma 10'a kadar mesai oluyor. Çok sıkı oluyor işleri, izin alsam…" 10 da çıkıyorum, eve geliyorum, çantamı hazırlıyorum, kitap okuyup uyuyorum. Zaten 10da geldiğim için, 11de uyuduğum için. Kitap okuyunca, hemen zaten bitiriyor. Kitap insanın uykusunu getiriyor. Hemen uyuyorum… Her insan yorulur yani. Sabahtan akşama kadar ayaktayım. Gittiğim zaman. Diyelim ki öğlen gidiyorum 15 dk paydosum var. 15 dk'da sadece oturabiliyorum. Hep ayaktayım yani çırak olduğum icin, hep oraya buraya insanın ayakları ağrıyor. Eve gelince, oturunca hissediyorum bacaklarımın ağrıdığını….7-8 yaşımdan beri hep okuldan sonra çalışıyordum. Bu sene dedim ki "anne son sınıfım, artık çalışmak istemiyorum."
115. Eda: Boş zamanım hiç olmuyor ki. Yani derslerimde o kadar başarılı olmak için düzenli zamanım olmuyor.… Ders bile çalışamıyorum. 9'da yatıyorum normalde ama yorulduğum için direkt yatıyorum. Ayakta durduğum için...
116. Ferda: Akşam 8-9 da geliyorum işte kısacık bir zaman zaten. Bazen gece yarılarına saklıyorum ödevimi, yatamıyorum.
117. Remziye: Yorgun oluyorum ama ödevlerimi yapmazsam maalesef iyi şeyler olmayacak yani. Hani not düşecek. Ödevler mecburi. Performans proje için okuldan gelince tüm malzemelerimi alıyorum. Pazar günü de onları tamamlıyorum. Küçük yazma, matematikten alıştırmalar falan var kitabımda onları yazıyorum. Ondan sonra

annem yemeğe çağırıyor, yemek yiyoruz. İnsan ne kadar da olsa vicdanı elvermiyor kalkıyorsun annene yardım ediyorsun. Daha sonra da zaten yatıyorsun.

118. Musa: Direkt eve geliyorum, çantamı hazırlıyorum, yatıyorum… Sabah gelince yorgun oluyorum biraz. 1.derste dinleyemiyorum, yorgun oluyorum.

119. Yiğit: Fazla işler acil olursa 11-12'ye kadar çalışıyorum. Eve gelip, uykum gelmezse yani ödevlerimi yapıyom.... Biraz etkiliyor. Çünkü akşam eve geldim mi üstümü başımı değiştirip gene işe gidiyorum. Okuldan çıktım mı, eve gidip üstümü değiştirip gene işe gidiyorum.

120. Zeynep: Bir iş çeviriyorsun, bacakların ağrıyor akşama kadar. Mesai olunca 24:00-01:00'de geliyorum. (sabah 1). Eğer 20:30' da gelirsem ödevlerimi yapıyorum. Sınavıma çalışıyorum.

121. Bayram: Ben ilk girdiğimde biraz zorlanmıştım, bana çok yorucu geldi ilk günlerde. Daha sonra 2-3 hafta olunca 1 ay falan durdukça alıştım. İşte bir sürü müşteri geliyordu. Onlara tabak taşı, sipariş istiyorlardı. Ondan zor alıştım bir de paketleme falan zordu. Şimdi hepsini yapıyorum. Bir de önceden pişiriyor, biz kesip koyuyoruz, bazen tabakları koyup veriyoruz. İçecekleri istediğinde de veriyoruz. Kolay da biraz yorucu sabahtan akşama kadar ayakta olduğumuz için. Konfeksiyon biraz kolaydı. Orada oturuyorduk bazen mola da vardı. Bunda mola var da sadece müşteri olmayınca biraz oturabiliyoruz.

122. Yiğit: (Kurslara gelmediğinde çalışıyordu) İşe giderdim. Cumartesi günleri işte çalışırdım. Kurslar çıktı mı cumartesi gitmemeye başladım. Kurslar olmayınca gine orada çalışıp tam paramı almaya öyle çalışırdım.

123. Bahar: Mesela iyi bir yer kazansam lise olarak çalışmayı bırakırdım tabi ki. Lisede de bırakıcam.

124. Remziye: Liseye ve üniversiteye gidince tamamen bırakacağım…Zaten lisede 1-2 sene daha belki çalışırım da notlarım çok fazla düşerse, derslere katılımım azalırsa bırakmayı düşünürüm.

125. Rahman: Akşam hani 6'da çıkıyoz ya ben 7'de eve gidiyom. Ağabeylerim diyor sen neden 7'de geliyon? Ben diyom ağabeylerim biraz top oynamam gerek. Beşiktaş'ın alt yapısına giriyom ya, çok güzel top oynuyom.

126. Yiğit: Yok, dışarı çıkacak zamanım yok. Tek okulda oyun oynayabiliyorum, o kadar.

127. Eda: (Tümay: Peki çıkıp oynadığın oluyor mu?) Cık (Hayır anlamında bir ses çıkardı). (Tümay: Neden?) Evden işe, işten eve, öyle yani.

128. Eda: Bir gün meslek sahibi olduğumda ben de onlara eziyetler çektireceğim.

129. Yağız: Çünkü okulda birşeyler öğreniyorsun, işteyken de böyle yoruluyorsun. Okuldayken yorulmuyorsun.

130. Ferda: Mesela birşey giydiğim zaman da karışıyorlar amcalarım özellikle. Mesela tişört giymeme izin vermezler asla.

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